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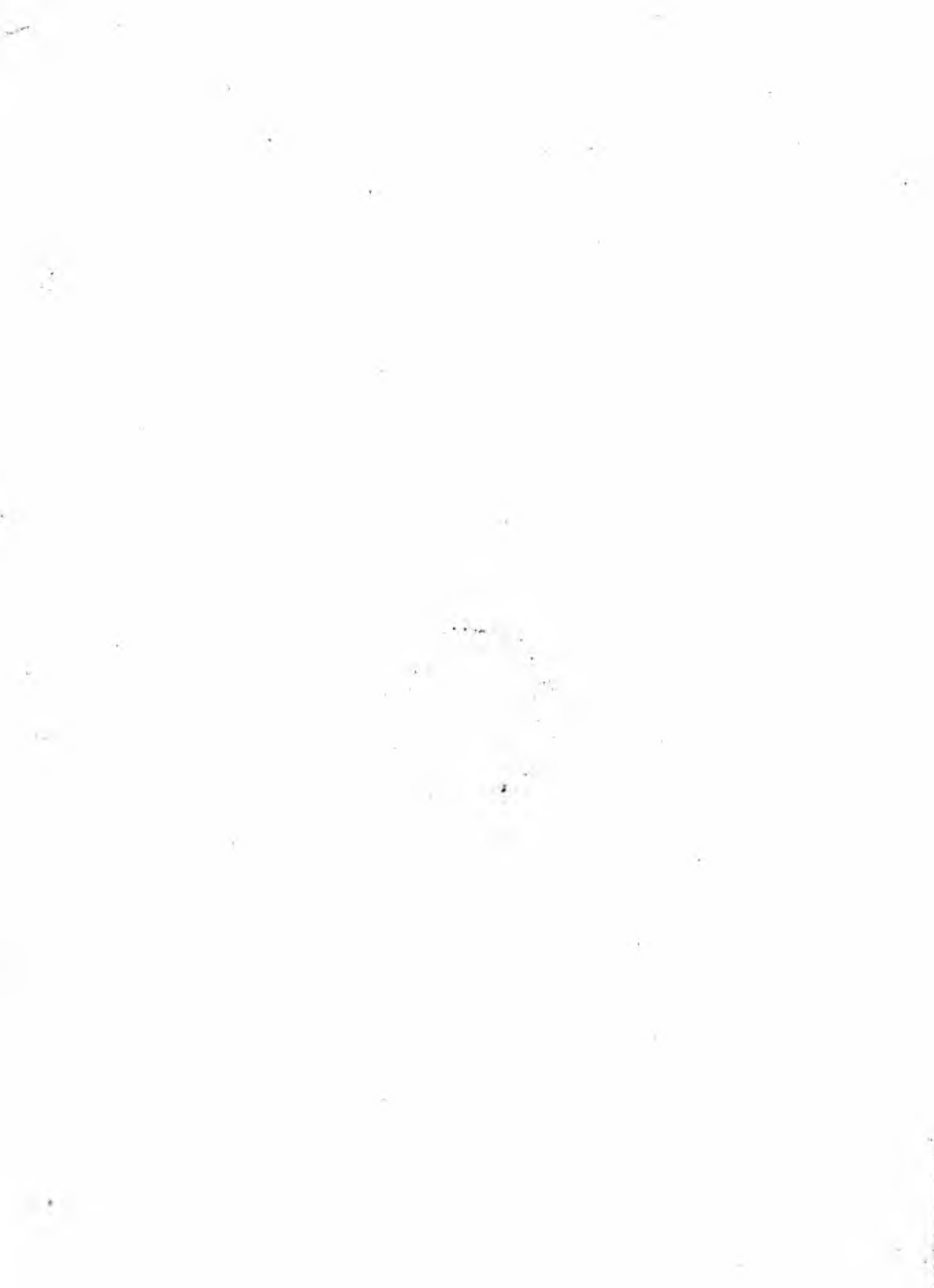
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#### A FORGER OF GRAFFITI.

50. Sherds in the British Museum. Scale 2 : 3.
51. Sherds in the British Museum. Scale 2 : 3.
52. Sherds in the British Museum. Scale 2 : 3.
53. 25. Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology. 26. Alexandria. 28. Cambridge. 29. Athens, National Museum. 30, 31. Halle, Professor Peek. 25, 29, 30, 31: Scale about 2 : 3.



## NOTES ON ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS (II)

### XXIII. WHO WAS LYSISTRATA?

Papademetriou, in publishing a new grave-inscription<sup>1</sup> from Zographo, has propounded a theory which, if true, has important consequences for our understanding of Attic comedy in general and of the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes in particular. For convenience I reprint the text with two slight modifications.

Καλλιμάχο θυγατρός τηλαυγῆς μνήμα (τόδ' ἔστιν),  
ἢ πρώτη Νίκης ἀμφεπόλευσε νεών.  
εὐλογία δ' ὄνομ' ἔσχε συνέμπορον, ὥς ἀπὸ θείας  
Μυρρίν(η) ἐκλήθη συντυχίας ἐτύμως;  
πρώτε Ἀθηναίας Νίκης ἔδος ἀμφεπόλευσεν  
ἐκ πάντων κλήρωι Μυρρίνη εὐτυχίαι.

In l. 4 the stone has MYPPINEHKΛHΘH. I prefer to assume that the stone-cutter, uncertain of the correct use of *eta* (cf. πρώτε and Νίκης in l. 5), has transposed the letters, rather than assume with Papademetriou an unnecessary and unparalleled lengthened form and an omitted augment. After ἐτύμως the three dots of punctuation are clear. Even if they were not, metre and sense would suggest that ἐτύμως went with the previous sentence. ἐτύμως has nearly all its later meaning here. Papademetriou has illustrated the cult-significance of the name Μυρρίνη.

His thesis is this. We know the first priestess of Athena Nike was appointed round about 450,<sup>2</sup> perhaps after the Peace of Kallias. Here is her gravestone, which, from the style of its lettering and the transition to Ionic which it illustrates, ought to be close to 400. Therefore in 411, when the *Lysistrata* was performed, the Priestess of Athena Nike was called Myrrhine. In the *Lysistrata* a Myrrhine appears at the Propylaea, perhaps even on the Nike Bastion, and appears to have a bed and other equipment close at hand. We should therefore assume that Aristophanes' Myrrhine is meant as a portrait.

We bristle with questions. Was the stage-setting really so elaborate as to make the

I have had much help from Professor A. Andrewes, who has laboured through all these papers. I am greatly indebted to Professors K. J. Dover, L. Edelstein, E. D. M. Fraenkel, B. D. Meritt, J. M. C. Toynbee, and R. E. Wycherley, and Messrs. J. Boardman, J. M. Cook, R. Meiggs, T. B. Owen, and G. P. Stevens for help on various points. No. XXIV owes a particular debt to Professor A. E. Raubitschek and Mr. G. A. Stamires, who were working on similar lines and shared their material with me, and to members of the Agora Excavations, notably to C. W. J. Eliot and E. Vanderpool. Dr. M. Mitsos of the Epigraphical Museum and his *phylax*, George Diakoumes, have, as ever, been lavish with their time and patience. The Oxford Craven Committee, the Warden and Fellows of New College, and the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi have continued to make it possible for me to spend most of my time on these matters.

#### Abbreviations

ATL	Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, <i>The Athenian Tribute Lists</i> .
Crosby.	<i>The Leases of the Laurion Mines</i> ( <i>Hesperia</i> XIX 189-312).
FdD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> .
GAI	Meisterhans-Schwyzler, <i>Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften</i> .
GHI	Tod, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> .
ILS	Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> .
PA	Kirchner, <i>Prosopographia Attica</i> .
PIR	Groag and Stein, <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> .

<sup>1</sup> AE 1948-49, 146 ff. (SEG XII 80); FIG. 1.

<sup>2</sup> IG I<sup>2</sup> 24 (GHI 40; SEG X 30).



position of the Nike Bastion clear? Was Myrrhine's husband really called Kinesias, or has Aristophanes selected the name for its meaning and/or paired Myrrhine with an old antagonist? Is the inscription really as late as 400? Ionic had been coming into private inscriptions for half a century. The inscription could be as early as 420, and since Myrrhine is one of the commonest names in Attica, the case for the identification would disappear.



FIG. 1.—THE EPITAPH OF MYRRHINE.

(Reproduced with the permission of Dr. J. Papademetriou  
from *AE* 1948-49.)

If the thesis is to stand, it must find further support. Papademetriou realises that Myrrhine cannot stand alone. If there is one genuine priestess, there must be more, and at least one must outrank her. *Lysistrata* is clearly no ordinary woman. At the beginning of the play, she has ordered the women of Greece to assemble and is surprised that they have not come at her command. Even before the assembly of women has decided to strike against the war and the tyranny of man, the elder women have, on her instructions, seized the Acropolis

under pretence of a sacrifice. Throughout the play her authority is unquestioned by women and recognised, at first grudgingly, at last willingly, even by men. Finally, when the scene moves to the Acropolis, she is completely at home there, and knows every part of it and all that happens in it with certainty. If Myrrhine is a real woman and Priestess of Athena Nike, there is only one position in the state that Lysistrata can hold. She will have to be the Priestess of Athena Polias, the servant of the ancestral cult of the olive-wood statue of Athena, which, at the moment of the play, was resting in a temporary shrine, while the Erechtheum builders planned the completion of their much-interrupted operations.

There is still no need for Lysistrata to be a priestess. She does nothing which could not easily be attributed to any comic hero or heroine. But before we come to the facts and see whether there is anything which tends to prove her priesthood, it may be profitable to ask whether our understanding of the play is at all deepened if we assume it. I feel that this is certainly so. One relevant note appears to be struck in the very first lines of the play. 'If they were summoned', she says, 'to a feast of Bacchus or Pan, of Aphrodite Kolia or Genetyllis, one wouldn't be able to move for the tambourines. But now no single woman has come.' Here I think we see the representative of the austerity of the old cult, and her distaste for flamboyance in religion comes out again later in a contemptuous reference to Corybantes. A little later the representative from Sparta arrives, a healthy, strapping creature. The women of Athens, who did not take much exercise, prod her with curiosity, led by Lysistrata. The Spartan girl complains that she is being handled as if she were a sacrificial animal.<sup>3</sup> If she were surrounded by Athenian priestesses, this would have a point which the audience could hardly miss. But this is a triviality. What is important, I think, is that Lysistrata is meant to represent the oldest and best elements in Athenian life, which, if properly emphasised, will reject war as the foolish thing that it is. This the Proboulos, arriving to put down the revolt, does not at first realise. Hearing that the women have revolted, he assumes that they have done so under the influence of Adonis or some such new-fangled god, and in fact repeats<sup>4</sup> the word 'tambourines' which Lysistrata rejected in the first lines of the play. He is soon disillusioned. The women have revolted, not because they are the most unstable, but because they are the most stable element in Athenian society. As the chorus says,<sup>5</sup> "When I was seven, I was *arrephoros*. At ten I made the cake for Athena's offering, and then wore the saffron to be a bear for Artemis of Brauron. And once as a fair young girl, I was *kanephoros*, carried the basket, and wore the necklace of figs. Have I not the right to advise the city?" They, the women, have been closest to the religion which holds Athens together, and Lysistrata, as the spokesman of that religion, calls for unity in Athens and all Greece. She reminds<sup>6</sup> the Greeks of their common festivals at Olympia, Delphi, and Thermopylae, and as the representative of historical continuity reminds the chorus of old men that there is another side to the events that they had recalled in their early choruses. They sang of the heroes of the age of Athenian expansion,<sup>7</sup> but they also, not only the Spartans, had forgotten that in that age Athens had been proud to come to the aid of Sparta, struck by earthquake and besieged by her own slaves.<sup>8</sup> They remembered how Cleomenes of Sparta had been driven off the Acropolis by the newborn democracy in 507,<sup>9</sup> but had forgotten the beginning of that story, and how Cleomenes had destroyed the tyranny of the Peisistratids for them.<sup>10</sup> Lysistrata, the one wholly serious character in the play, holds it together and gives it its peculiar force. I think that not a little point is added if we think of Aristophanes putting his message in the mouth of the priestess of the most important state cult.

<sup>3</sup> Aristophanes, *Lys.* 84.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* 801 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* 488.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* 1137 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* 641 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* 274 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* 1130 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* 1149 ff.

The theory therefore has its seductions. Are there any facts which may give it plausibility? The priesthood of Athena Polias, like the priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus, was a preserve of the Eteoboutadae, though the two priesthoods seem to have belonged to different families inside the *genos*. Now it so happens that the branch which supplied the priestess of Polias had a habit of giving names to its members very like Lysistrate. Admittedly the first certain member with that name is a remote descendant in the female line in the first century B.C.,<sup>11</sup> but it is generally considered likely that the priestess of Polias praised in a decree of 255 B.C. was called Lysistrate.<sup>12</sup> She seems to have been preceded in office by her aunt, whose name was almost certainly the very similar one of Lysimache. 'Dissolver of armies' and 'Dissolver of battle' come to very much the same thing. Lysimache's father, who was born between 400 and 371, possibly about 375, was called, quite certainly, Lysistratos, so that we can see that, even if it is not her real name, Lysistrate is a very suitable name, not only for a peacemaker, but also for a priestess of Athena Polias.

There is, however, evidence, I think, to show that it was not quite her real name. Plutarch<sup>13</sup> tells of a famous joke made by a Lysimache who was priestess of Athena. This could, of course, refer to the Lysimache of the beginning of the third century, but there is evidence for another Lysimache of an earlier date. The elder Pliny tells us<sup>14</sup> *Demetrius Lysimachen (fecit) quae sacerdos Minervae fuit LXIII annis*. It is generally agreed that this is the Demetrios of Alopeke of whose work Lucian<sup>15</sup> gives us a vivid description. He was considered an innovator in naturalistic portraiture, and for this reason some have tried to date him rather low in the fourth century.<sup>16</sup> But the facts are clear. All his four signed bases belong to the first half of the century on the evidence of their letter-forms, supported in one case by an identification of the subject,<sup>17</sup> and it does not seem to me likely that any of them belong after 360. He made a statue of Simon, the author of the first manual of horsemanship,<sup>18</sup> who is referred to by Aristophanes as early as 424<sup>19</sup> and is unlikely to have died much after 385. The statue described by Lucian is of a Corinthian general, Pelichos.<sup>20</sup> He is not himself known, but it will be remembered that one of the Corinthian generals at Sybota in 433 was Aristeus the son of Pelichos.<sup>21</sup> It seems not unlikely that this is his son. If we date Demetrios' working life from 400 to 360, we contradict none of the available evidence.<sup>22</sup>

The dating of sculptors is seldom convincing, and there is stronger ground for dating Demetrios' portrait of Lysimache. Benndorf<sup>23</sup> pointed out long ago that there is a strong

<sup>11</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1036. 34.

<sup>12</sup> For this and the rest of the paragraph, see Appendix.

<sup>13</sup> *Moralia* 534 C.

<sup>14</sup> *NH* XXXIV 76.

<sup>15</sup> *Philopseudes* 18-20.

<sup>16</sup> Pfuhl, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Bildniskunst* 7.

<sup>17</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3828, 4321 (revised Meritt, *Hesperia* XVI 288), 4322, 4895. The son of the Hippolochides who is commemorated in 4895 was trierarch before 334-3 B.C. (II<sup>2</sup> 1623. 26), probably in 337-6 B.C. The Kephisodotos of Aithalidai of 3828 may be the one who appears in the mining records (Hopper, *BSA* XLVIII 245, collects the evidence), and the date in the first half of the century would again be confirmed, but there are two men who differ only in patronymic (*PA* 8321, 8323) and *PA* 8322 may be a third. The second-century base, *Pergamon* 142, also belongs (Carpenter, *AJA* LVIII 5).

<sup>18</sup> Pliny, *loc. cit.*; cf. Xen. *De re equest.* I 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Eg.* 242 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See n. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Thuc. I 29. 2.

<sup>22</sup> The dates have been pushed even higher, e.g. by Picard, *La Sculpture* III 126 ff., and, very tentatively, on epigraphic grounds, by Raubitschek (*Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* no. 143, p. 159) and Meritt, *Hesperia* XVII 38 ff., no. 24. But Raubitschek warns us specifically (*op. cit.* 488) that his D 143 is so uncertain as to have no probative value. His photographs hardly do justice to the probability that its two pieces belong together, which seems more likely when the actual stones are examined. He places it in the last quarter of the fifth century. I would not myself have put it much later than 425, and one would perhaps expect a sculptor to be in a position to dedicate for himself later rather than earlier in his career. Meritt's new fragment only has *Ἰνὸς* with nothing of the name, and must in any case be close to 400.

<sup>23</sup> *AM* VII 47. The objections of Toepffer (*Attische Genealogie* 128) are irrelevant since the identification of II<sup>2</sup> 3464.

possibility that we still possess its base. To the west of the Parthenon towards the south wall of the Acropolis is a circular base <sup>24</sup> which once held a standing bronze of about two-thirds life size. I reprint the preserved text (FIG. 2)

] Δρακο[ . . . ]ο ἦν [ . . . 5 . . . ]ος μέν,  
 ἐ]ξεπέρασεν ἔτη·  
 -κον]τα δ' ἔτη [κ]αὶ τέσσαρ[α] Ἀθῆναι,  
 τ]έσσαρ' ἐπεῖδε τέκνων.  
 ]έος Φλυέως μήτηρ.  
 ἐπό]ησεν.

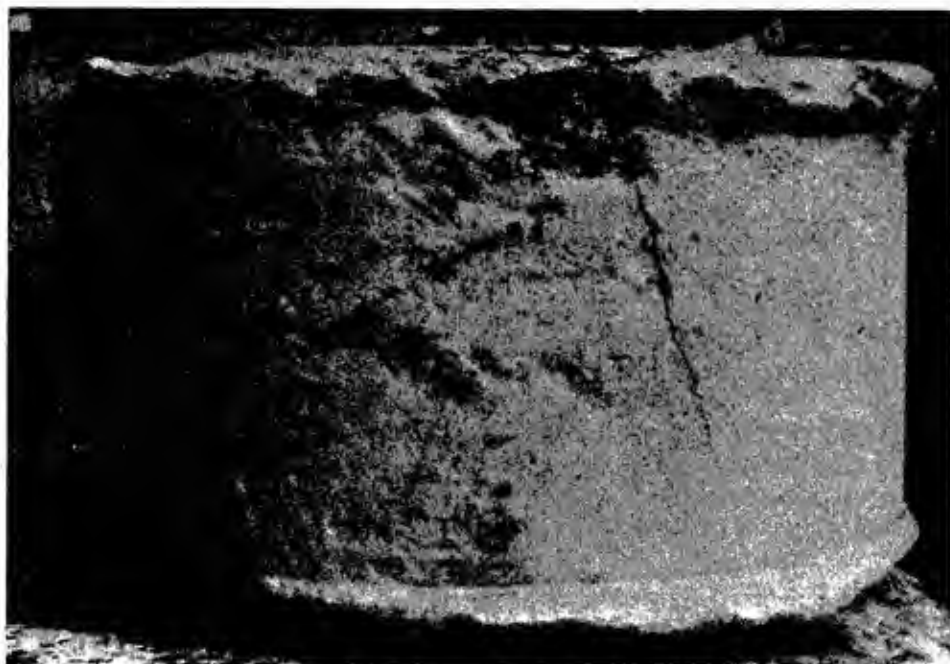


FIG. 2.—THE BASE OF DEMETRIOS' LYSIMACHE.

The name of the person commemorated and the sculptor's name have both perished, but there are certain points to tie it to our Lysimache. To take Benndorf's points first, the woman commemorated lived to a great age and did something for Athena over a period of years ending in four. This corresponds well to Pliny's description. She was the mother of someone from the deme of Phlya. Toepffer <sup>25</sup> demonstrated that the gentile qualification for priesthood was transmissible in the female line, and in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods priestesses appear in other demes than that of Bate, where we first find them. The first deme so to appear is Phlya,<sup>26</sup> and if the subject of our base, who married into the deme of Phlya, was of the priestly family, this is a satisfactory explanation of another priestess from Phlya in the first half of the second century. To Benndorf's points I can add no certain epigraphic evidence that the base is of a statue by Demetrios. None of the four signatures of Demetrios is in the

<sup>24</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3453.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* 125 ff.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix, no. 6.



same hand as our base, but they are all in different hands, and, whatever may have been the case with sculptors in stone, there is no particular reason to suppose that a bronze-worker like Demetrios employed any regular stone-cutter to carve his bases. One prosopographical point can, however, be added. It has, since Benndorf's time, been realised that the name of the father of this lady must be Drakontides. Reisch suggested that he was the general of 433.<sup>27</sup> The only attraction of this identification is a limited one. It would have a certain piquancy if Demetrios made statues of the children of two of the opposing generals at Sybota. Stahl,<sup>28</sup> however, made it very probable that the deme of the general of 433 was Thorai, and there is no particular reason to suppose that he was of the priestly family. Another Drakontides is known, the father of the secretary of the Treasurers of Athena for 416-5.<sup>29</sup> Not only did he certainly come from Bate, but his son's name Lysikles shows the characteristic family root. I think it very probable that our base did carry Demetrios' bronze of Lysimache, and that she was the daughter of Drakontides of Bate and the sister of Lysikles.<sup>30</sup>

The exact date of the base hardly matters. Kirchner<sup>31</sup> placed it around 360. This seems to me to be a little late. It appears to be in the same hand and from the same workshop as the troublesome unsigned base *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3091, for which opinion seems to be tending to a date in the early seventies.<sup>32</sup> Whatever the precise date, there would seem to be a case for maintaining that Lysimache was the sister of a man born before 446, that her sixty-four years as priestess ended some time between 390 and 360 and that she was therefore priestess of Athena Polias in 411 when the *Lysistrata* was performed. It will be seen from the Appendix that even if we manipulate the Demetrios evidence and ignore the base, the latest possible date for her to have entered office is still 405.

If this is so, I do not see how we can ignore the possibility that *Lysistrata* was deliberately modelled on her. As we have said, from Lysimache to Lysistrate is not a long jump. If a Lysimache was priestess of Athena Polias, the audience must have had the gravest suspicions when they saw a Lysistrate of great authority among men and women, closely associated with the Acropolis and possibly even with the priestess of Athena Nike. The mask may well have made all things clear. The possibility of coincidence would be further reduced with the lines:<sup>33</sup>

ἀλλ' ἥνπερ ὁ τε γλυκύθυμος Ἔρως χῆ Κυπριογένηι Ἀφροδίτῃ  
ἱμερον ἡμῶν κατὰ τῶν κόλπων καὶ τῶν μηρῶν καταπνεύσει,  
κᾶτ' ἐντήξῃ τέτανον τερπνὸν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ῥοπαλισμούς,  
οἶμαι ποτε Λυσισμάχας ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καλεῖσθαι.

'If the sweetness of Love and Aphrodite of Cyprus aid us and we are successful in our plot, I think that the Greeks will call us "Dissolvers of battle"' or 'The Greeks will call us Lysimaches'. Would not the audience now be sure that she has been called Lysimache all the time?

If my epigraphic and historical case is sound, I do not see how the audience could have avoided making the identification. If so, Aristophanes must have courted it, for he could

<sup>27</sup> *ÖJA* XIX-XX (1919), 304.

<sup>28</sup> *RhMus* XL (1885), 439.

<sup>29</sup> *PA* 4549.

<sup>30</sup> I note for the sake of completeness that a statue has been found for the base by Six (*RM* XXVII 83 ff.), viz. Brit. Mus. 2001, a head of Roman date, and a striking portrait of an old woman which commended itself for the purpose by the aggressive naturalism of her face coupled with the fifth-century nature of her hair. Professor J. M. C. Toynbee has been good enough to confirm that the original was probably a bronze and that the hair appears to be of fifth-century style, but she doubts whether the face could have become nearly as realistic as it now is much before the end of the second century. Therefore, even if we could demonstrate that its prototype is the work of Demetrios, we would still be far from an idea of the bronze original.

<sup>31</sup> *Ad IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3453.

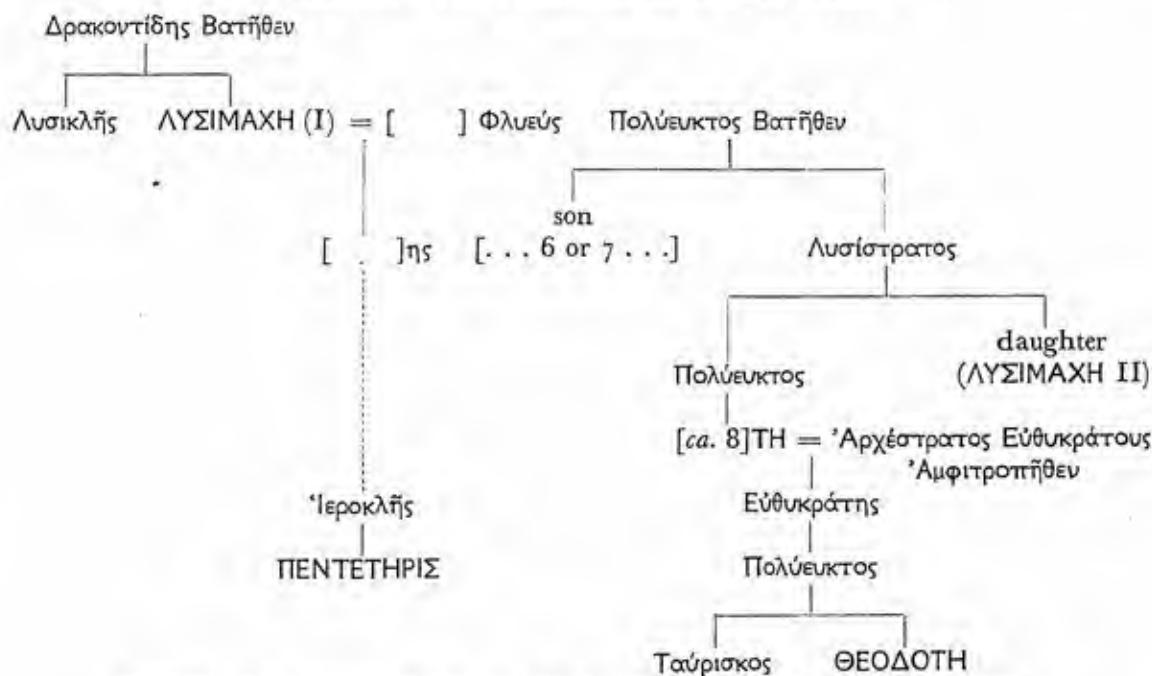
<sup>32</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* 52 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Aristophanes, *Lys.* 551 ff.

easily have selected a name with the same meaning, but without the close resemblance. Παισιστράτη comes to mind immediately.<sup>34</sup> It may be disturbing to find that we have missed this strand in the play's meaning, but now that we have the evidence, it can hardly be denied that it is as relevant to our study of the play in relation to its time as our knowledge of the war-situation of 411.

New problems, of course, emerge, but I leave them to others better qualified to deal with them. I have sketched some of them in connection with Myrrhine. One may speculate why Lysimache's name was veiled and Myrrhine's not. Who was Kalonike and how was she Lysistrata's κωμῆτις<sup>35</sup>? Did the Proboulos indicate which of the ten he was by speech, mask, or gesture? The old view that Lysistrata is a coined name has long gone out,<sup>36</sup> but there is no evidence yet for it among the Eteoboutadae in the fifth century. Were they so proud of the play that they took the name over later?

## APPENDIX: THE PRIESTESSES OF ATHENA POLIAS



Stemma of priestesses of Athena Polias from the fifth to the second century  
(Priestesses in capitals).

The latest list of priestesses of Athena Polias is in Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (1889), 128 ff. It is now incomplete, and it may be found useful if I revise it here. The chronological order cannot be guaranteed at all points.

(1) Λυσιμάχη (I) Δρακοντίδου Βατῆθεν is fully discussed in the main text.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. e.g. *JG* II<sup>2</sup> 1529. 10.

<sup>35</sup> Aristophanes *Lys.* 5.

<sup>36</sup> Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* IV 2, 1, 206. The name is now known before the middle of the fifth century (*SEG* X 321) and c. 410 (Beazley, *AJA* LIV 319). I have nothing to add to Beazley's remarks on the Jatta vase bearing the names Lysistrata and Myrrhine.

(2) Φανοστράτη Ἀνακο[. . . . . ca. 14 . . . .] θυγάτηρ. Priestess in 341-0 B.C. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1456. 31 ff. Ἀνακο[ is a new reading in l. 31. The restoration of ll. 34 ff. can be improved, and note should be taken of the right margin. ἐν δὲ [τῇ | ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ κι]βώτιον χαλκοῦ [ν] ἐ[χει, ὃ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ ἱερέα] Φανοστράτη [Ἀν]ακο . . . . . ca. 14 . . . . θυγάτηρ. The name beginning with Ἀνακο[, presumably to be connected with the Anakes, is unknown, although Bechtel (*Historische Personennamen* 44) has considered the possibility that a name like Anakodoros might exist, and speculation as to how this priestess fits the family cannot even start. It would be attractive, of course, to suppose a slip by the mason and read <Δρ>ακο[ντίδου Βατῆθεν], which would fit the space well enough, but the possibility is not worth pursuing.

(3) Λυσιστράτη (II) Λυσιστράτου Βατῆθεν. As will be seen from my *stemma*, I have returned to Kirchner's original *stemma* (*ad PA* 9615), rejecting that suggested by him *ad IG* II<sup>2</sup> 776. The new *stemma* was never very satisfactory in that it transmitted the name Polyeuktos from great grandfather to great grandson instead of from grandfather to grandson, and in that it posited a Λυσιστράτος Λυσιστράτου for whom there was no evidence. As it rested on dates for the archons Olbios and Alcibiades which are now regarded as much too low (I follow Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*), there is no reason to accept it. I list the evidence for the family group which includes Priestesses 3 and 4.

Λυσιστράτος Πολυεύκτου Βατῆθεν, *prytanis* 341-0 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1749. 34), and therefore born before 371.

His brother [. . 6-7 . .] Πολυεύκτου Βατῆθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 5867), died c. 340. His name may be the missing link to the earlier group.

His daughter, priestess of Athena Polias, [- - - Λυ]σιστρά[του] Βατῆθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 3455), whose statue was made by the sons of Praxiteles. The base survives, but its lettering does not, as may be seen from the photograph in Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs*, I 58.

His son, Πολυεύκτος Λυσιστράτου Βατῆθεν, archon of the Mesogeioi in the archonship of Oloios (277-6) (II<sup>2</sup> 1245).

His granddaughter [. . . ca. 8 . . .] τη Πολυεύκτου Βατῆθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 776), priestess of Athena Polias in the archonship of Alcibiades (255-4), married to Ἀρχέστρατος Εὐθυκράτους Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν].

Λυσιστράτη, presumably priestess of Athena Polias, mentioned in the base of her servant Sueris set up in the second quarter of the third century (II<sup>2</sup> 3464; Paus. I 27, 4). Reisch (*ÖJh* XIX-XX 299) maintained that Lysimache I was in question here, and that for some reason the base had to be recut eighty years or so after it was set up. This is not happy, and his further reasons carry no conviction. He could not believe in two priestesses called Lysimache for reasons which would count against any repetition of names in any family, and appealed to a date in the 360s for the sculptor Nikomachos. This has to rest on a rejection of Koehler's contention that *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3038 was twice used and bears two distinct inscriptions and on a doubtful restoration of l. 1 of that inscription. Mr. O. S. G. Crawford was good enough to take an excellent photograph of 3038 for me, and after some study of it and of the stone itself (from a distance), I am reasonably sure that Koehler was right. The case against a Lysimache II therefore disappears.

It will be seen that, by positing that Lysistratos was a rather young *prytanis* in 341 and Polyeuktos an elderly archon of the Mesogeioi in 277-6, there are no difficulties in the *stemma*. I would further be inclined to identify the priestess of II<sup>2</sup> 3455 (c. 300-290) with the priestess Lysimache referred to c. 270. There is no compulsion, but if Lysimache II is not the subject of 3455, she must have held office between aunt and niece, which is a little improbable.

(4) [. . . ca. 8 . . .] τη Πολυεύκτου Βατῆθεν. Priestess in 255-4. Evidence under priestess (3). Koehler's restoration of Λυσιστράτη after her grandfather Lysistratos has been univer-

sally accepted, perhaps rightly, but with a Phanistrate in the family as well, it would be foolish to pretend certainty.

(5) Καλλ[ι - -], priestess in 220-19 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3461. 6, where ἐπι Καλλ[ι - - ἱερείας] should be restored). This suggestion has not been made before, but it seems nearly certain. If any date is appropriate to an ἑρρηφορός, it is the dating by priestess of Athena Polias (*cf.* II<sup>2</sup> 3470-3, 3486, 3497, 3515-16, 3554-5). The interpretation of the inscription has been held up by the desire to find in Καλλ[ι - -] and Μενεκρ[άτης] two immediately following archons. Dow (*Hesperia* II 437 n. 3) pointed out there need only be one archon, and Kirchner suggested ἐπι Καλλ[ι- ἱερέως], which is very close to what seems to me right. The normal form later is, of course, ἐπι ἱερείας τῆς δεῖνα, but the fourth-century dedication II<sup>2</sup> 4333 has [ἐπι - - - - -]ς [ι]ερείας.

(6) Πεντετηρίς Ἱεροκλέους Φλυέως (II<sup>2</sup> 928, 3470-1) can only be dated by letter-forms and the little we know of the sculptors Kaikosthenes and Dies to the first half of the second century. It has been suggested in the main text that she descends from the marriage of Lysimache I into the deme of Phlya.

(7) Θεοδότη Πολυόκτου Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν. II<sup>2</sup> 3472. Close to the preceding judging from letter-forms and the name of the sculptor, Kaikosthenes. The way in which she was an Eteoboutad can be determined. As we have seen, priestess (4) married Archestratos of Amphitrope. They had a grandson Polyeuktos (*PA* 11936). I do not see that Πολύοκτος can be anything but a vulgar spelling of Πολύευκτος, though *GAI*<sup>3</sup> cites no parallel for the vowel change, and identification seems probable, with the dates, as far as we can determine them, fitting well.

(8) Ἀβρυλλίς Μικίωνος Κηφισιάς. II<sup>2</sup> 3477, and her gravestone with the insignia of the priestess, II<sup>2</sup> 6398. Presumably daughter of Mikion (IV) (*PA* 10187), who was born a little before 200, since he appears in II<sup>2</sup> 2314. 44 (probably in 182) with his grandfather still alive. She appears to belong to the third quarter of the century. A closer date for II<sup>2</sup> 3477 can be obtained if we note [κ]ανηφορήσασαν [τ]ῶι Ἀπόλλωνι [τῇ]ν Πυθαῖδα. We know of no Delphic Pythais in the second century before that of the year of Timarchos, 138-7 (*FdD* III 2, *passim*). 138 is also a year of the great Panathenaia, and we note [κ]ανηφορήσασαν [Π]αν[αθ]ήναια. 138 may actually be the date of the inscription. Koehler (*AM* IX 301) thought that Habryllis proved the whole great family of Kephisia to be Eteoboutads, but they are more likely to have acquired Eteoboutad blood by marriage.

(9) Φιλωτέρα (Φιλτέρα) Πausimάχου. II<sup>2</sup> 3473-4, 3870. We can hardly derive a clear *stemma* from the poem II<sup>2</sup> 3474, but if she was the daughter of the Pausimachos of II<sup>2</sup> 954, she cannot have been born much before 160. If she was in office late in the third quarter of the century, there is something wrong in the *stemma* of 3473 (Kirchner *ad loc.*), but hardly enough evidence to determine where the trouble lies.

(10) Χρυσίς Νικήτου Περγασῆθεν. In office 106-5 (II<sup>2</sup> 1136), and mentioned II<sup>2</sup> 3484-6.

(11) Φιλίππη Μηδείου Πειραιέως. [Plut] *Mor.* 842. Sister of the archon of 101-100, she presumably came to her office very shortly after Chrysis' only dated appearance. She is probably referred to shortly before (? 120-110) at Delos (*Inscr. Délos* No. 1869).

(12) Στρατόκλεια [- - - -] Φιλαίδου. II<sup>2</sup> 3497. First century B.C. from letter-forms only.

(13) Μεγίστη Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀλαιέως. II<sup>2</sup> 3173. Only on the architrave of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, dated by the archonship of Areos, probably between 27 and 18 B.C. Her probable grandfather's priesthood of Rome (II<sup>2</sup> 2336. 262) must now be dated 97-6 (Dow, *HarvSt* LI 111 ff.).



(14) Ἀλεξάνδρα Λέοντος Χολλείδου. II<sup>2</sup> 3155-6, 4341-3. Five inscriptions, but no possible lead to the date except the letter-forms. Probably early first century A.D.

(15) Κόλλιςτ[.]. II<sup>2</sup> 3515. Probably early first century A.D.

(16) Ἰουνία Μεγίστη Ζήνωνος Σουινέως. II<sup>2</sup> 3283, 3535-7, 4175-6, 4242. Of these 4175-6 must belong to A.D. 44 or earlier, since P. Memmius Regulus is still *legatus Augusti*. 3535 is a little difficult. It is dated c. A.D. 57 by Kirchner, because Ti. Claudius Novius is hoplite-general for the fourth time and his eighth generalship is fixed to A.D. 61-62 by II<sup>2</sup> 1990. This date is too late because 3273 also belongs to his fourth generalship and is still in the reign of Claudius. Greater precision is possible. The year is proved by 3535 to be a year of the great Panathenaia, and is therefore A.D. 47-48 or 51-52 (I follow West, *Corinth VIII* 2, 34; the dates of Graindor (*Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* 142 n. 1) seem faulty. Of these the latter is slightly preferable. It is nearly certain that 3270 and 4174 belong to Novius' first generalship, since the appearance of the number indicating repetition is so frequent in this period. They are already Claudian, though 4174 (Regulus) shows that A.D. 44 is the latest date. Therefore, even allowing A.D. 40-41 as a possible though unlikely date for the first generalship, Novius would have to hold three generalships in seven years, with other repeating generals coming into question (Διονυσόδωρος Σο[- -] Σουινεύς has to have three before Claudius' death (3274), and Diokles of Hagnous reaches his fourth between A.D. 40 and 44 (4176)), and in fact we know of two other generalships which have to be fitted into these seven years (see II<sup>2</sup> 3268, 4176). I therefore prefer A.D. 51-52 as the latest demonstrable date for Junia Megiste to be in office. There is one more inscription which provides indications of date, the dedication to Junia Lepida (4242). Of course, it could belong to any year up to 65, but the only plausible occasions for Junia Lepida to be in Athens are when her husband C. Cassius (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 501) was proconsul of Asia (40-41) or legate of Syria (44-51).

(17) Ἱπποσθενίς Νικοκλέους Πειραιέως. II<sup>2</sup> 4126-7, *Hesperia* X 238 no. 39. At this stage our apparently innocent investigation moves into an area more acutely disputed. Briefly, the position is this. 4126 is a bilingual dedication to L. Aquillius Florus Turcianus Gallus. He is now proconsul of Achaëa, but he has previously been tribune of the Legion IX Macedonica, *Quaestor Imp. Caes. Aug.*, and proquaestor of Cyprus, apart from holding less controversial offices. The main difficulty is IX Macedonica, an unknown legion. When the inscription stood alone, there were no great problems. Unknown legions ought to be triumviral and of a date before 27 B.C. at the latest. *Imp. Caes. Aug.* is Augustus after 27 B.C. The proconsulship of Achaëa would be a little after 14 B.C. Hipposthenis would find her place between priestesses (13) and (14). The difficulty is that we now have a duplicate dedication to Aquillius Florus from Corinth (*Corinth VIII* 2, no. 54), and it is made by two *duumviri quinquennales*, a Ti. Claudius Anaxilas and another Ti. Claudius whose cognomen is lost. West, in republishing this inscription, drew attention to the fact that Ti. Claudius Anaxilas was known as an ordinary *duumvir* in Corinth towards the end of Claudius' reign, showed that the quinquennial *duumvirates* probably fell in A.D. 52, 57, 62, 67, and concluded that A.D. 52 is the most likely date for Anaxilas' quinquennial *duumvirate*. On this view IX Macedonica is simply a mistake or an unknown title of IX Hispana. The reference to *Imp. Caes. Aug.* is to Gaius. It is a possible title for him (cf. *IG VII* 2711. 21), and Florus might wish to conceal his connections with him, yet boast his services as quaestor of the *princeps*. Lastly, Florus' multiple name is more suitable to the Claudian than to the Augustan period. Groag at first accepted this case (PIR<sup>2</sup> A 993), but later recanted (*Reichsbeamten von Achaia* 15-16). He maintained that the Ti. Claudius Anaxilas mentioned here must be a grandfather of the Claudian *duumvir*, and was fortified in returning to the original arguments by the fact that the

Corinthian copy adds to the proquaestorship of Cyprus 'ex auctoritate Augusti', which suggests a reference to the extraordinary commission of P. Paquius Scaeva in Cyprus early in Augustus' reign (*ILS* 915). I prefer West's date. The Corinth dedication is by two Tiberii Claudii, and in the absence of evidence of an occasion for grants of citizenship in Corinth by Tiberius or his father, a Claudian date is more likely. It will be seen that the Athenian evidence is indecisive. When the long-delayed study of fashions in imperial letter-forms is made, it may clinch the matter. If it were possible to determine the name of the priestess of II<sup>2</sup> 3277, the answer might emerge, but I suspect that this is now impossible. Further discussions of this problem by Von Premerstein (*Abh. Bayer. Ak., Phil.-hist. Kl.* XV (1934), 217) and Oliver, *AJP* LXIX 435 add little.

POSTSCRIPT. I leave the case for a Claudian date as it went to the printer, but its difficulties are increasing. Professor Syme draws my attention to Suetonius, *Tib.* VII 2, which is evidence for a Claudian *clientela* in Greece in the first century B.C. and offers a possibility that there might be two Tiberii Claudii in Corinth under Augustus. More serious doubts are raised by a forthcoming revision of the Corinthian coinage by Mr. D. M. Macdowall, who has generously discussed these problems with me. He will show that the coins of Anaxilas as ordinary *duumvir* fall at the end of Nero's reign in 65 or 66 and not at the end of Claudius'. If this is the same Anaxilas, we will have to abandon one of West's postulates, that an ordinary *duumvirate* ought to fall before a quinquennial one, for we will have Anaxilas as *quinquennalis* thirteen or fourteen years before his ordinary *duumvirate*. (West's arguments against a Neronian date for the inscription remain sound.) This is odd procedure, and the combined effect of these two points is to make me a good deal less certain of the Claudian date of the Corinthian inscription.

(18) Στροτόκλεια. II<sup>2</sup> 3554. First century A.D., from letter-forms only.

(19) Νη[-]. II 3543. Priestess in the archonship of L. Flavius Flamma. The date, which is towards the end of the first century A.D., is discussed by Notopoulos, *Hesperia* XVIII 26.

(20) [- -] Μηδείου. II<sup>2</sup> 4247. I accept Kirchner's date at the end of the first century A.D., without great conviction. There seems no adequate reason for restoring Λαδάμηα.

(21) Φλαβία Φαιναρέτη. II<sup>2</sup> 3582-3, 4061(?), 4210, 4345. If [ἐξακοσίων] is the right restoration in 3582, as considerations of space certainly seem to indicate, her term of office extends over the year of the reduction of the numbers of the *boule* from 600 to 500, since she appears with the Council of 500 in 4210. This does not help to date her very precisely, since it still seems doubtful whether A.D. 124-5 or 128-9 is the correct date for the change (see Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* 18 ff. and Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3283, *Addenda*; Notopoulos (*TAPA* LXXVII 53-56) now argues for 127-8). The matter is complicated by the dispute over the position held by the dedicatee of 4210, (L.) Aemilius Juncus, *cos. suff.* A.D. 127. Was his position, attested also by *IG* V 1, 485, where he is described as δικαιοδότης, praetorian or consular? Groag (*Reichsbeamten von Achaia* 64-5) plumps for an extraordinary office of *corrector* after his consulate. In any case, the inscription must be earlier than about A.D. 134, as we see immediately.

(22) Ἀθήνιον. II<sup>2</sup> 2810, 3596, 5063a. Graindor (*Hérode Atticus* 28 n. 2, 34, 35) has shown that 3596 must be dated about A.D. 134 on our knowledge of the career of the father of Herodes Atticus. 2810 is perhaps rather later; but Professor Syme confirms my impression that its principal dedicator, L. Aemilius Carus, is not the consul of 143 or 144 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 338; Syme, *JRS* XXXVI 167; Degraffi, *Fasti Consolari* 41), but a provincial. 'Consular families are unlikely to be flaunting Greek names so early.'

(23) Γ[- - - -]. II<sup>2</sup> 3612. If the reading is right, it represents an unknown priestess, hardly much later than A.D. 150 from the *stemma* of the subject of the base.

(24) Σαβεινιανή Ἀμιλλώ. II<sup>2</sup> 3678. Date quite indeterminate, but later than the preceding.

(25) Παυλλείνα Σκριβωνία Καπίτωνος. II<sup>2</sup> 3199. Her father, Scribonius Capito, is archon in the inscription II<sup>2</sup> 2247 + 2250 + 2484 (joined by Mitsos, *AE* 1950-1, 48), at the end of the second century. II<sup>2</sup> 2122 presumably belongs to the same year.

I add one doubtful priestess from the fourth century B.C. [- -]υλλα (II<sup>2</sup> 4601), because she is in Toepffer's list. Koehler suggested [ἐπ]ὶ ἱερείας [Νικ]ύλλης, comparing II<sup>2</sup> 1472. 9 (326-5 B.C.). This passage does not prove that Νίκυλλα Πρεσ[βίου] is priestess. It merely says that the priestess handed over to the *tamiai* a dedication by her. 4601 does not prove that [- -]υλλα is a priestess of Athena Polias, though she may be.

Except for 5063a, where Athenion is specifically described as priestess of Athena, I have not used the evidence of the seats in the Theatre of Dionysus, because they prove nothing. However, it can hardly be a coincidence that so many of the priestess' names appear on them, 5104, 5105, 5107, possibly 5123 and 5159. I can think of several explanations, but none worth pursuing.

#### XXIV. THE DEME KOLONOS

Homonymous demes from different tribes cause a large part of an Attic prosopographer's troubles, and there is one apparent case where the same demotic may indicate three different tribes. Three demes get their name from the root Κολων-. One is certainly from Aigeis, one from Leontis, one from Antiochis, passing later to Ptolemais.<sup>1</sup> It is the purpose of this note to argue that part of the trouble this causes is unnecessary and that the clearing up of this confusion throws valuable light on an old topographical problem.

The following demotics have to be considered.

(1) ἐκ Κολωνοῦ. Well-attested, though it has so far not appeared before the fourth century and disappears, inexplicably, as far as I can see, in the first century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

(2) Κολωνῆθεν. Well-attested in all periods.

(3) Κολωνεύς, plural Κολωνεῖς or Κολωνῆς. Κολωνεύς an emendation for Δωδωνεύς on a lost fourth-century dikast-ticket (II<sup>2</sup> 1899), on a second-century grave-stone (II<sup>2</sup> 6511). Κολωνεῖς e.g. II<sup>2</sup> 1927 (c. 325), 2427 (240-230), 848 (222-1). Κολωνῆς e.g. II<sup>2</sup> 1724 (? 370-69),<sup>3</sup> 1750 (334-3).

(4) ἐκ Κολωνέων. Two examples only: *IG* XII 5, 634 Ἀλείνη Διονυσίο[υ] ἐκ Κολωνέων, but this may be a Kean deme, and is in any case a woman, who might well have a demotic of this type; *Milet* 148. 8 Θεόπομπος Δημοκλέους ἐκ [Κο]λων(ε)ων. The editor associated him with *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2332. 178, Θεόπομπος ἐκ Κολωνοῦ of about the same period. Professor Klaffenbach tells me that neither squeeze nor stone is accessible at the moment, and we cannot check the reading. Since an engraver's error has been supposed, we might suspect that ἐκ Κολωνοῦ was the right reading, but since the editor had it in mind, he would presumably have read it, if possible. This must remain a mystery for the present.

(5) Κολωνόθεν. Attested only by A (Parisinus 2712) in the first hypothesis to the *Oedipus Coloneus*. Existence denied by Eustathius, p. 351, 10.

<sup>1</sup> Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes after Cleisthenes* 30.

<sup>2</sup> Last dated appearance, an ephebic decree, II<sup>2</sup> 1009 (117-16 B.C.). On two gravestones dated by Kirchner in the first century B.C., II<sup>2</sup> 6514, 6516.

<sup>3</sup> For the date, *Hesperia* XVI 151.



My views may, perhaps, be best set out in a series of dogmas.

(1) ἐκ Κολωνοῦ must come from a form Κολωνός. Κολωνῆθεν ought to come from a form Κολωνή or Κολωναί. Eustathius asserts that confusion is possible and has received powerful support from Lejeune.<sup>4</sup> As not all Lejeune's examples of confusion are firmly rooted, they repay examination. Σφηττήθεν is a myth, resting on a false reading.<sup>5</sup> Γαργήττοθεν is attested by Aristophanes;<sup>6</sup> Γαργήττηθεν is supposed to be supported by Steph. Byz., but as the manuscripts have Γαργιτήθεν there is at any rate some confusion in the transmission and the support is dubious. In other cases, the possibility that the deme is neuter plural in form has not been sufficiently explored. Κικυννόθεν is attested by Aristophanes,<sup>7</sup> but there is no evidence at all for the nominative.<sup>8</sup> Ἰκαριόθεν is backed by II<sup>2</sup> 6285, but Ἰκαριά is a neuter plural, as Wilamowitz saw,<sup>9</sup> and forms Ἰκαριοῖ in the locative.<sup>10</sup> Αἰγυλιόθεν is backed by II<sup>2</sup> 5376; Herodotus (VI 101) shows that at any rate the Euboean Aigilia is neuter plural. Steph. Byz. gives Αἰγυλιάδε and Αἰγυλιοῖ, which fit the neuter plural, and Αἰγυλιᾶθεν and Αἰγυλιάνδε, which are perhaps corruptions. Alternatively, the Euboean town may be neuter plural and the Attic deme feminine singular. If this is right II<sup>2</sup> 5376 will be the gravestone of a Euboean, and Stephanus' collection of forms a conflation. This only leaves Ἑστιάοθεν, attested by the manuscripts of the μαρτυρίαι [Dem.] XXXV 20. The Euboean Hestiaia is definitely feminine, but, if the Demosthenes manuscripts are right, there is no morphological reason why the Attic deme should not be neuter plural. The only definitely false formation in Attic that I know is the very late (s. II A.D.) Παιανιοῖ.<sup>11</sup> It will be time to start arguing, as Eustathius does, that the identical meanings of κολωνός and κολωνή led to confusion, when confusion is demonstrated. In any case confusion ought to be late rather than early. We are dealing with Attic, so I doubt the relevance of parallels from other dialects. Γορτύναθεν<sup>12</sup> seems to me certainly to come from Γόρτυνα. Τίθυρηθεν,<sup>13</sup> Φλειεοντάθεν,<sup>14</sup> and Σεκυώναθεν<sup>15</sup> are, I agree, puzzles.

(2) Whenever the form ἐκ Κολωνοῦ appears, the tribal affiliation is certainly or possibly with Aigeis.

(3) Whenever the forms Κολωνῆθεν or Κολωνεύς appear, the tribal affiliation is certainly or possibly with Leontis, Antiochis, or Ptolemais.

Unless the confusion is irremediable, these views ought to be right. In fact, for the third century, two scholars have assumed them to be right. When Dow<sup>16</sup> had to identify the tribal affiliation of a prytany-list from the one demotic Κολωνῆθεν, he only considered Leontis and Antiochis. Pritchett<sup>17</sup> describes the deme transferred from Antiochis to Ptolemais as Kolone B, indicating that he assumes two demes named Kolone and one named Kolonos. There are, however, difficulties which have not yet been faced.

IG II<sup>2</sup> 2407 is described by Kirchner as a *Catalogus Aegeidis*. This is based on the certain reading [Κ]ολωνῆθεν in l. 44 and the reading [Ἀγκ]υλῆθεν in l. 31, about which he expresses no doubts. Koehler had had doubts. 'Cives tribus Aegeidis recensiti fuerunt, siquidem recte restitui verum 31, lectio enim non nimis certa est. Μελησιππος Μελησιου Ἀγκυλῆθεν est in tit. 872 vs. 29' (II<sup>2</sup> 1749. 73). This reading and interpretation governed for many years our view of the demotic of the great Kallias-Hipponikos family, since a Καλλίας Ἱππονίκου appears in l.

<sup>4</sup> *Adverbes grecques en -θεν*, 98-100.

<sup>5</sup> *Thesm.* 898.

<sup>6</sup> LS<sup>3</sup> cite Theognostos, *Can.* 101 for Κικυννα, but it is an emendation even there.

<sup>7</sup> *Ad IG* I<sup>2</sup> 186/7. 3. Cf. Athenaeus 40 B, Paus. I 2, 5.

<sup>8</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v.

<sup>9</sup> *Inscr. Cret.* IV 186 B 16.

<sup>10</sup> Robert, *Collection Froehner*, no. 30; Daux, *REG* LIV 222.

<sup>11</sup> *REG* LIV 62.

<sup>12</sup> Σφηττή(θεν) for Σφηττι(ος) in II<sup>2</sup> 1672. 52.

<sup>13</sup> *Nubes* 134.

<sup>14</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 2776. 109-110.

<sup>15</sup> *Orph. Arg.* 126.

<sup>16</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. I 54-5.

<sup>17</sup> See n. 1.

43. It is now, however, demonstrable that the family belongs to Alopeke,<sup>18</sup> and the appearance of a Καλλίος Ἰππονίκου in Ankyle is a serious prosopographical difficulty.<sup>19</sup>

This difficulty and our belief that Κολωνήθεν ought not to belong to Aigeis suggested a re-examination of the stone, which brought me to the belief, possibly partly subjective, that the traces were more suited to ΰεκηθεν than to ΰληθεν, and to the certainty that the beginning of Ἀγκυλήθεν would lie considerably to the right of the beginning of Κολωνήθεν, whereas Ἀλωπεκήθεν would balance it neatly. I am therefore inclined to think that ll. 32-43 are names of Alopeke, and that the whole list consists of names of Antiochis. There is an apparent right margin, but as it appears to have been recut, I am unwilling to use it to support my case.

On this assumption, nearly all the names begin to make prosopographical sense. Νικόστρατος (l. 33) may be identical with Νικόστρατος Ἀρχωνίδου Ἀλωπεκήθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 5573). [Κ]τ[ησι]κλείδης Κτήσωνος (new reading), already known without demotic from II<sup>2</sup> 2345, may well be the same as the Ktesikleides of II<sup>2</sup> 2423. 29, a list which I had already assigned to Alopeke on other grounds.<sup>20</sup> Λεώστρατος of l. 38 is surely the νεωρίων ἐπιμελητής of 360-59 (PA 9152). Θουδῆς (l. 40) appears only once besides this in Attica, on the gravestone of Νικαρίστη Θουδοῦ Ἀλωπε[κήθεν] (II<sup>2</sup> 5571), Χαϊρέδημος is related to PA 15119, Διοφάνης to PA 4405-6.

The case which led to the reading [Ἀγκ]υλήθεν remains. Koehler read [Μ]ελησίος Μελησίππου in l. 37, and, although I can now see nothing before -ίος, I see no reason to doubt his reading. Coincidence in father-son pairs of names does occur between different demes, and one may suspect relationship in the female line. Another possibility, which can hardly ever be demonstrated from inscriptions (PA 8480 + 10552 is the only case I know), is illustrated by Demosthenes XLIII and XLIV. The father, having been adopted into a deme, has a son while in that deme, and then goes back to his own deme. The son has his father's name, but belongs to a different deme. Something of the kind may have happened here. A relationship with Thucydides son of Melesias, from Alopeke, is tempting, but too many connecting links are missing.

There is not really enough evidence to identify other demes on this list. Ll. 24-5 could be from the end of Pallene (cf. PA 1244, 11406) or Anaphlystos (cf. PA 1227, 11395-7), and it should be noted in favour of the second that Ἀπολλόδωρος Ὀλυμπιοδώρου would be far more satisfactory spatially than Koehler's restoration, though, since practically the whole of the first name is now lost, I cannot check the readings. Ll. 1-9 are hardly very characteristic of any deme of Antiochis. I would be inclined to prefer Χα[ρίππ]ου in l. 2.

Epigraphically and prosopographically the catalogue seems to fall around 330 or a little later. I hesitate as to its character. Twelve names from Alopeke is probably a little high for a *bouleutai*-list. II<sup>2</sup> 1750 (334-3) has ten, II<sup>2</sup> 2423 (340-320) nine or more.

Let us pass to a more complicated problem. It concerns the family of the poet Sophocles. The tribal affiliation is demonstrably Aigeis. Sophocles himself stands second on the generals' list of 441-0,<sup>21</sup> which at any rate begins impeccably. His grandson stands second on the list of *tamiai* of 402-1.<sup>22</sup>

The demotic is not so clear. The latest member of the family, Ἰοφῶν Σοφοκλέους, who makes an unexpected appearance in 137-6, has none.<sup>23</sup> The great-grandson is unquestionably ἐκ Κολωνοῦ.<sup>24</sup> The grandson appears once certainly as ἐκ Κολω[νός],<sup>25</sup> and has been restored

<sup>18</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia* V 410; Crosby, *Hesperia* X 17. Ἰππόνικος Ἰππονίκου Ἀλωπεκήθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 4680) should also be added to this family, its last known member.

<sup>19</sup> See no. XXVII below.

<sup>20</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1374-5.

<sup>21</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 2825. 12.

<sup>22</sup> Hopper, *BSA* XLVIII 245, n. 330a.

<sup>23</sup> Andron, *FGH* 324 F 38.

<sup>24</sup> *Fd* III 2, 23.

<sup>25</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1445. 37.

twice as [Κολωνῆθεν] in II<sup>2</sup> 1374-5. That there are nine letters for the demotic depends on the restoration [‘Αλ]κιδῆμος in 1374. 3-4. As far as I know, this name, though not in itself objectionable, is still unparalleled in Attica. The *kappa* is in fact uncertain. The whole centre of the letter has gone, leaving only the left *hasta* certain. There appears to be the trace of a chisel along the top, suggesting *pi* or *rho*. There is, however, still no Attic name which fits. Πυρριδῆμος occurs as near as Oropos,<sup>26</sup> and I do not know any reason why there should not be a name Χαριδῆμος. The possibilities then are: (a) There are eight letters for the demotic, and we should read [ἐκ Κολωνῶ], a hypothesis not to be adopted until we find an Attic name which fits; (b) there are nine letters for the demotic, and we should read [ἐκ Κολωνοῦ], which is highly improbable in this period, especially since 1374 has two certain examples of ο for ου; (c) there are nine letters for the demotic, and we should read [Κολωνῆθεν]. This contradicts dogma 3, and should not be done as a matter of restoration; (d) there are nine letters for the demotic, and we should read [Κολωνόθεν], which contradicts neither the dogmas nor the evidence.

Finally, we come to Sophocles himself. His demotic is given as ἐκ Κολωνοῦ by Androtion,<sup>27</sup> a first-rate authority, and by the Marmor Parium,<sup>28</sup> a respectable authority; as Κολωνόθεν by the manuscript of Sophocles already cited; as Κολωνῆθεν by all manuscripts of the *Vita* and by some of the *Hypothesis* to the *Oed. Col.* The authority of these last cannot be put high. If ἐκ Κολωνοῦ had disappeared in Roman times and Κολωνόθεν much earlier, it would be a natural change to Κολωνῆθεν, the current form, with better literary authority. A's reading Κολωνόθεν is very strange as a corruption, and would have to be attributed to a morphological conscience much stronger than that shown by modern scholars.

The one contemporary document for Sophocles' demotic has been taken for nearly a hundred years to be the last line of *ATL* List 12. [Σ]οφοκλῆς Κολο[νέθεν] ἡλλενοταμί[ας] ἔν. One preliminary remark must be made. The *phi* now rests on Rangabe's word alone, since no trace of a chisel remains, but since he restored [Σ]οφοκλῆς Κολο[φόνιος], he had no axe to grind in the matter. Again, I tabulate possibilities: (a) Rangabe's reading was wrong, and we should restore Θ[ε]οκλῆς or [Χ]ο[ρ]οκλῆς; (b) this is not the poet, but another man of the same name; (c) we should accept Κολο[νέθεν] and the poet, and admit the collapse of dogma 3; (d) we should restore Κολο[νόθεν].

I have shown my leanings to this last form. I would agree that there can be no certainty about it until an epigraphical example appears. It is pertinent to note that there are fifth- and early fourth-century forms of demotic, which drop out of use later. I have counted fourteen, apart from varying spellings.<sup>29</sup> The appearance of a fifteenth should cause us no surprise.

Two minor attempts at confusion can be dismissed briefly. Kirchner connected Αισχύλος ἐκ Κολωνοῦ (II<sup>2</sup> 6512) with Αισχύλος Πρωτομάχο Κολωνῆθεν (*AE* 1918, 75. 13, Leontis). As far as one can tell from the description, II<sup>2</sup> 6512 must be earlier than 317, an unlikely, though not impossible, gravestone for an ephebe of c. 325. A rough count shows Αισχύλος in eighteen demes, and coincidence is probable. Sundwall<sup>30</sup> restored II<sup>2</sup> 1752. 9, a Leontid list, as ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, because the Καλλίστρατος there mentioned might be connected with Καλλιστράτη Αισχιοῦ ἐκ Κολωνοῦ θυγατήρ (II<sup>2</sup> 6525). A count with no pretensions to completeness

<sup>26</sup> *IG* VII 270.

<sup>27</sup> See n. 21.

<sup>28</sup> *FGH* 239. 56.

<sup>29</sup> Ἀγκυλιεύς (I<sup>2</sup> 301. 24), Ἀθμόνοθεν (I<sup>2</sup> 661), Ἀλωπκεῖς (I<sup>2</sup> 237. 56 etc.), Ἀνακαΐσθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 2765), Ἀχαρνέθεν (I<sup>2</sup> 911), ἔξ Ἐλαίας (I<sup>2</sup> 370. 8), Θημοκείς (II<sup>2</sup> 338. 6), Θριῶθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 1672. 109), Κεραμείς (I<sup>2</sup> 366. 12), Κεφαλείς (I<sup>2</sup> 370. 7, 571), Κοιλεύς (I<sup>2</sup> 295.20, etc.), Φληθῆν (I<sup>2</sup> 359. 18), Μαραθώνοθεν (I<sup>2</sup> 905), Σφήττοθεν (I<sup>2</sup> 591). The last two only occur with women.

<sup>30</sup> *Klio* V 283-4.



shows Καλλίστρατος in thirty-four demes, and there is not even any certain evidence that this column contains names from Leontis.

I think it is now clear that the supposed confusion between ἐκ Κολωνοῦ and Κολωνῆθεν only rests on restorations, and that in all cases there exist other possibilities. I think it will be agreed that restorations which produce confusion and break morphological rules should not be made.

Our investigations have shown that there is only one deme called Kolonos. Current deme-lists show two, the Kolonos Hippios and the Kolonos Agoraios. One of these must go, and any doubts there may be about this should be dispelled by the trittys-affiliations. If there are these two demes, they would both have to be city-demes, and Loeper<sup>31</sup> long ago demonstrated that the Aigeid deme was a city-deme (from II<sup>2</sup> 1749, 2362), that the Leontid deme belonged to the Mesogeia (from II<sup>2</sup> 1742, 2362, confirmed since his time by *AE* 1918, 75),<sup>32</sup> and that the Antiochid deme was also of the Mesogeia (from II<sup>2</sup> 1750). We can now say with security that there was only one deme Kolonos, that it was a city-deme of Aigeis, and that it was the deme of Sophocles.

That it is the Kolonos Agoraios which must be dismissed from our lists seems to me inevitable. That the Kolonos Hippios was a deme has never been doubted. The Kolonos Agoraios has, with good reason.<sup>33</sup> The one statement that it was a deme is in the not very learned note *Schol.* Aeschines I 125. It is, however, quite evident that it was not a deme, but a district. If it were not so, it would be quite impossible for the Eurysakeion to be both in Kolonos and Melite<sup>34</sup> and for the area described in *Schol.* Ar. *Av.* 997 to be known popularly as Kolonos, although scholarly research asserted it was in Melite.

Milchoefer<sup>35</sup> and Judeich<sup>36</sup> have tried to maintain that Sophocles' deme was the Kolonos Agoraios, against the general opinion of antiquity. It may be inferred that antiquity was right from the fact that even they have to admit that he was buried by the Kolonos Hippios, as the *Vita* implies.<sup>37</sup> Their reason for maintaining this lies in the belief that city-trittyes ought to be continuous, a theory which receives little support in the centre of the city, and that Kolonos should touch Kollytos, another Aigeid deme. Pritchett<sup>38</sup> has now demonstrated that Kollytos lies to the immediate south of the Agora, and revives the theory of continuity. But Kollytos has to touch Melite as well, and with Melite certainly taking up at least part of the Kolonos Agoraios,<sup>39</sup> Kollytos could only touch a Kolonos deme on a very narrow front.<sup>40</sup> The only

<sup>31</sup> *AM* XVII (1892), 319 ff.

<sup>32</sup> The confirmation is not complete, since trittys-division is not strong in this list, but the continued grouping with ἐξ Οἴου and Εὐρυπύδα is striking enough. Milchoefer (*AM* XVIII 293 ff.) never really succeeded in shaking this determination, although Judeich (*Topographie* 172 n. 5) quotes him for a refutation.

<sup>33</sup> For a bibliography, see Hoenigmann, *RE* XI 1111-3. No new points have been added since.

<sup>34</sup> Harpocration, s.vv. 'Κολωνάσιος', 'Εὐρυσάκειον'.

<sup>35</sup> *BPhW* 1900, 348 ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, 168 n. 4.

<sup>37</sup> It is perhaps pertinent to note that one ἐκ Κολωνοῦ gravestone, II<sup>2</sup> 6512, was found at Sepolia.

<sup>38</sup> *Hesperia* XXII 276.

<sup>39</sup> See *Hesperia* VI 348, VII 1 ff. for the site of the Eurysakeion.

<sup>40</sup> One fairly certain and one possible alteration in Pritchett's new text may be suggested. He reads (Stele VI ll. 13 ff.):

[οἱ]κα ἐν Κολωνοῖσι ἡ[1- - - -]  
ἐκ τῶ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὸ Αἰ[άκειον]  
καὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ

and says that the Aiakeion must now be sought at the south-west corner of the Agora. I do not see what could have stood at the end of l. 13, if not γειτον, which hardly affects the matter. What is more important is that the reference to the Aiakeion may be delusive. I see nothing against Αἰ[άντειον]. Ferguson (*Hesperia* VII 18 n. 2) pointed out that the cult-centre for Aias was the Eurysakeion, and Wycherley will show that there is no difficulty in identifying the Eurysakeion with the Aianteion. If this is so, the Aianteion will fit the topographical requirements of the passage, and we will still be without firm evidence for the site of the Aiakeion.

argument for supposing that Sophocles' deme was the Agoraios is that the *Vita* says that his father kept a metal-working shop. We are not, however, told that the factory was in Kolonos, and there appears to be an unjustifiable assumption here that one carried out one's trade in the deme one was in at the time of Cleisthenes.<sup>41</sup>

One more point about the Agoraios as a deme. It was also the *Misthios*, the place of resort of casual workers. We have a considerable body of evidence about the place of residence of metic-workers from the accounts of the Erechtheum and the *φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικαί*. In it, Melite and Kollytos are, as we might expect, well represented. Kolonos is represented once only, by a *γεωργός*.<sup>42</sup>

The disappearance of the Kolonos Agoraios from the deme-map can only be a relief. Even Hoenigmann<sup>43</sup> admitted that there was very little room for it, and the approximate location of the Eurysakeion has left even less. Judeich's attempt on his map to extend it in a long strip to the north-west never had anything to recommend it. With Kollytos located to the south of the Agora, the main question now becomes the frontier of Melite. It is contiguous with Kollytos,<sup>44</sup> it includes at any rate part of the Kolonos Agoraios,<sup>45</sup> it is behind the *μακρά στοά*,<sup>46</sup> and when walking in the Agora, one goes up to it.<sup>47</sup> It seems fairly clear that no stoa yet located meets the requirements, and at the moment it seems most probable that Melite includes the whole Kolonos Agoraios, and that the 'Long Stoa' is to be sought on the main road to the Dipylon and is probably to be identified with the *μακρά στοά ἐν Κεραμεικῷ*.<sup>48</sup> In this problem, I would only consider the *ὄροι Κεραμεικοῦ*<sup>49</sup> as relevant in determining where Melite cannot be. They bear no direct relation to the deme *Κεραμεῖς*.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The late fourth-century metal-worker *Νικοκράτης ἐκ Κολωνοῦ* (*PA* 10914) adds nothing to this point. The Scholiast on *Oed. Col.* 57 places *μέταλλα χαλκῶς* at the Kolonos Hippios. This I doubt, but the cults of Prometheus and Hephaistos in the district may point to a metal-working tradition there quite sufficient to balance Milchhofer's argument.

<sup>42</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1558. 65.

<sup>43</sup> See n. 33.

<sup>44</sup> Strabo 65.

<sup>45</sup> See n. 34.

<sup>46</sup> *Schol.* Aristophanes, *Aves* 997.

<sup>47</sup> *Dem.* LIV 7.

<sup>48</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 968. 14. I cannot say what the date of the 'Long Stoa' should be. This inscription probably belongs to 141-0. I doubt whether the work entitled *ὁρισμοὶ τῆς πόλεως* from which our information comes could have been written before 250 at the very earliest. (See now Jacoby's commentary on *FGrH* 375.) The first reference to the 'Long Stoa', not necessarily the same one, is II<sup>2</sup> 1469. 130 (c. 320), a treasure-record. One tends to think of *tamiai* as concerning themselves only with the Acropolis, but cf. II<sup>2</sup> 1445. 24 ἐκ τῶ μητρόσι παρακαταθήκη.

<sup>49</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2617-9, *Hesperia* IX 267.

<sup>50</sup> I am much sustained in this view by an unpublished paper by Prof. Wycherley on the different meanings of *Kerameikos*.

## XXV. CHOREGOI OF PANDIONIS

It is difficult to believe that *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2812 is in fact the dedication by three *epimeletai* of the tribe Pandionis that it is at present held to be. Its back and sides are preserved and determine the dimensions of its section as 0.52 × 0.60 m.; although broken top and bottom, it is still 0.60 m. tall, and since there is no trace of a set-line, although the dressed surface continues below the inscription for 20 cm. and a rough surface for another 29 cm., it was clearly once much taller. At the top left of its back, it has a shallow cutting 27 × 30 cm., apparently original and designed to fit the protruding masonry of a wall against which it stood. These dimensions resemble no dedication known to me in Attica.<sup>1</sup>

When we turn to the inscription, the difficulties of the present interpretation become clearer. Kirchner's layout is hopelessly misleading in showing two out of three balanced

<sup>1</sup> Both laterals were left undressed. The left lateral now contains a sketched circle and scrolling, but, since it was inscribed with reference to the size of the block as broken, it may be ignored. A metal lug has at some time been inserted off centre of the circle, low to the left; I cannot guess when or why. I am deeply indebted to Mr. G. P. Stevens for examining the block and discussing its architectural problems with me.



names. Koehler<sup>2</sup> faithfully reproduces the distribution on the stone, and it only makes sense if we take what remains as the bottom of the second and third of four narrow columns. This points to the solution. What we have corresponds exactly in words, disposition, and syllabification to what Chandler<sup>3</sup> reported at the foot of the inscription now published as IG II<sup>2</sup> 1138, a decree and list of victorious *choregoi*, which has not been seen since his day. When we realise its probable dimensions, we understand his hesitation about the description '*marmor sine stele*'.

The recent history of the piece can now be reconstructed. Chandler saw it whole by the East Cave of the Acropolis; it had obviously, he says, rolled down from above.<sup>4</sup> Our fragment was detached in 1822 and removed to form part of the wall in front of the Klepsydra, re-emerging in 1888 with an identity of its own.<sup>5</sup>

There is one point against the identification. The decree provides for a list of victors in the Prometheia and the Hephaistia, which does not appear in Chandler's copy. He also says, '*Inscriptum fuit alterum quoque latus, sed legere non potui.*'<sup>6</sup> This should mean the opposite side to the inscribed side, but this side on our stone must have stood against a wall. I am inclined to think that he inferred, rather than saw, that the reverse was inscribed, but this does not explain what has happened to the other lists. There may have been no victories to inscribe, or, if there were, they were not inscribed on this stone.

Little as remains on our new fragment, it proves one important point. Names were added after the original list had been drawn up, for what remains of Εὐριππίδης Ἀδεϊμάντου Μυρρινούσιος seems more shallowly cut than Φιλόμελος Φιλίππιδος Παιανιεύς. It would be prosopographically important to have the whole block to determine what names were cut later. Kirchner has tended in prosopographical discussions to place all victories recorded on this list around 400. This view hardly stands examination. There are two Dionysiac victories (as I shall argue later) and one Thargelia victory possible for a tribe every year. If Pandionis had its fair share of victories and no more, the eleven victories here recorded would finish about 367. It may have had more or less than its fair share, but to place all the victories in the nineties would be clearly absurd. The monument was definitely out of use by 344-3, since Chares' Thargelia victory of that year (II<sup>2</sup> 3068) is not recorded, but this is obviously too low a date, and I shall show later that at least one victory is not recorded which cannot be later than 366-5.

Νικίας Ἐπιγένος Κυδαθηναίεύς, whose double victory provided the occasion for the monument, stands naturally at the head of his two columns. It certainly cannot be inferred from this that his victories fall before the Dionysiac victory of Andocides, also attested by [Plut.] 835b, which falls before his exile in 392-1.<sup>7</sup> The letter-forms of II<sup>2</sup> 1139 suggest a date for Nikias' victories in the eighties rather than in the nineties, though not with security. We know in any case remarkably little about this presumably wealthy family. A little more can be obtained from the grave-stele II<sup>2</sup> 6587<sup>8</sup> for Μεταγένης Ἐπιγένους Κυδαθηναίεύς and his wife<sup>9</sup> Φιλουμένη Τηλοκλέους Κυδαθηναίως. This could well be a grandson, as Kirchner thought, and the combination of Epigenes and Metagenes suggests a relationship with the branch of the Kerykes in Koile (PA 4804-5). Another link with the Kerykes is suggested by the other name on the *stele*. Her father is not improbably grandson of that Telokles of Pandionis (PA 13583) who married a son to Andocides' sister and a daughter to the brother of the

<sup>2</sup> IG II 5, 1209 b.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels in Greece* (1776), 60-1.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptiones Antiquae* xxii.

<sup>5</sup> An accurate text in the *Addenda*; photograph in *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* IV 939a.

<sup>6</sup> Marshall in the British Museum volume says 'step-daughter'; I do not know how he knows.

<sup>7</sup> *Inscriptiones Antiquae* II 6, p. 48.

<sup>8</sup> *ADelt* 1888, 68. For this wall, cf. *Hesperia* XII 261.

<sup>9</sup> *FGRIH* 328 F 149.

great Nikias. The family links with Nikias of Kydantidai may go farther back, but there is only the coincidence of the names of Nikias to suggest it. There seem to be fair grounds for associating the family with the old nobility, and this is confirmed by the appearance of a descendant as archon of the Mesogeioi in about 260.<sup>10</sup> The only other identifiable archon of the Mesogeioi is an Eteoboutad (PA 11940).

The last person named in column II, Εὐριπίδης Ἀδεϊμάντου Μυρρινούσιος is clearly of some importance in the nineties, proposing a decree between 402 and 399<sup>11</sup> and probably referred to in Ar. *Eccl.* 825,<sup>12</sup> but we know little of him. A relative appears on II<sup>2</sup> 2646, a *horos* of uncertain character.<sup>13</sup> Kirchner considers Lucian's Ἀδεϊμάντος Στρομβίχου Μυρρινούσιος<sup>14</sup> to be fictional, probably rightly, but it is never clear what strange scraps of learning lie behind Lucian's imagination,<sup>15</sup> and there may be a connection with the great family of Euonymon (PA 13015-7, 13020-2).

Δήμων Δημοτέλος Παιανιεύς. We must take it provisionally that Chandler was right in reading Δημοτέλος and not Δημομέλος. This being so, there is really no reason for assuming any very close connection with the family of Demosthenes, and Kirchner's *stemma*, which makes Demoteles Demosthenes' great-grandfather, not only has no foundation, but gives this Demoteles an improbably early *floruit*. In the interests of economy, we can continue to believe that it was Demon whose sons were Phrynion and Demochares,<sup>16</sup> although there is no compelling reason for it.

Χαρμαντίδης Χαίρεστράτο Παιανιεύς. His victory must fall considerably after 400. Even if he was one of Isocrates' earliest pupils<sup>17</sup> and is not attested epigraphically after 365,<sup>18</sup> his brother (PA 15167) is *prytanis* in a list falling after 355 and probably well after,<sup>19</sup> and his son (PA 5211) is *prytanis* in a list now generally agreed to fall after 307.<sup>20</sup> If Plato was thinking at all clearly when he mentioned Χαρμαντίδης Παιανιεύς in *Rep.* 328b, he must, I think, have meant a grandfather, possibly to be identified with a *tamias* of 427-6.<sup>21</sup>

Φιλόμηλος Φιλίππιδος Παιανιεύς. This is a very great family, which has received its due in a brilliant note by Treves on Philomelos' son Philippides,<sup>22</sup> though not in the colourless collection of references which makes up Fiehn's note on Philomelos himself.<sup>23</sup> It was a long-lived family, and some further precision can be added to our knowledge of it. It will be advisable to work backwards. Philippides was still alive in 293-2.<sup>24</sup> His first trierarchy<sup>25</sup> is difficult to date. Treves put it in 353-2, the date of the inscription, but it is certainly earlier. Our knowledge of the law of Periander is still too imperfect for us to say with certainty that, as a joint trierarchy, it should fall before 358-7. If it does, our knowledge of Demosthenes, his fellow-trierarch, would strongly suggest 359-8.<sup>26</sup> Philippides' birth will then fall before 379, and fairly close to that year. Philomelos was married by 387 to the sister of the speaker of Lysias XIX, who is unfortunately unidentifiable, and was probably born close to 420, fifteen or twenty years younger than his teacher Isocrates. He, like his son, survived into

<sup>10</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1247.

<sup>11</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 145 (cf. BSA XLIX 37 f.).

<sup>12</sup> Wilamowitz, *Hermes* XXXIV 618.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Finley, *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens* no. 157, p. 164.

<sup>14</sup> *Nav. sive Vota* I 10.

<sup>15</sup> Compare the anti-Macedonian politician Eukrates, whose existence was denied until he turned up as proposer of the great anti-tyranny law (*Hesperia* XXI 357). This is a warning not to take Lucian too lightly.

<sup>16</sup> [Dem.] LIX 30.

<sup>17</sup> Isocrates XV 93, but the identification is from name only.

<sup>18</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1609. 46.

<sup>19</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1751.

<sup>20</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1753 (Gomme, *Population of Athens* 52 n. 1, 58).

<sup>21</sup> PA 15501 is a creation of Busolt (*Hermes* XXV 567) from the letters -[φωρ]- in I<sup>2</sup> 263. 49.

<sup>22</sup> RE XIX 2201 ff. Users of this article should note that Philippides, the *thesmothetes* of 224-3, does not belong to this family or to Paiania. This has been seen since SIG<sup>3</sup> 542, but the references escaped Treves.

<sup>23</sup> RE XIX 2524.

<sup>24</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 649, revised by Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens* 1 ff.

<sup>25</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1613. 191-2.

<sup>26</sup> As Kirchner (*ad loc.*) inferred.

extreme old age, dying in 336-5 after already having been assigned a trierarchy for that year.<sup>27</sup> His father, the elder Philippides, must have been born around 450, which agrees well with the place assigned to him by Plato in the *Protagoras* (315A). His only other appearance is in the lost prytany-list II<sup>2</sup> 1740, which cannot be dated at all closely. The only reason for taking it to be fourth century at all that I can see is not to remove Ἀλκιμάχου Παιανιεύς (l. 42) too far from what we must assume to be his son Ἀνδρῶν Ἀλκιμάχου Παιανιεύς (PA 926), now attested in person in an unpublished Agora document (I 3183) of around 325, and his grandson Ἀλκιμάχου (II) Ἀνδρῶνος, who is *prytanis* after 307.<sup>28</sup> The *terminus ante quem* was taken by Kirchner to be 388 on the ground that Aristophanes of Kydathenaion appeared in it. The date was doubted by Gomme,<sup>29</sup> because this might not be the poet. It should rather be doubted because it rests on the persistent, but quite fallacious, assumption that because Aristophanes is not mentioned after 388, he died in about that year.<sup>30</sup>

Philomelos' choregic victory mentioned here could, as far as our knowledge of his life goes, be as early as 400, but its position on the *stèle* suggests a much later date. It was followed by another Thargelia victory, this time with a boys' chorus.<sup>31</sup> If the rule that boys' *choregoi* had to be over forty was followed rigidly,<sup>32</sup> and I shall argue below that it was, it can hardly be earlier than 380. It is quite clearly from the same workshop as the two bases it now stands beside, 3065 (365-4) and 3066 (364-3). It is close to them in date, since they all have the same *didaskalos*. It is the earliest of the three, since it lacks the archon's name, a refinement unlikely to drop out when once introduced, and its upper moulding is identical with that of 3065 in being about twice the size of that of 3066. 366-5 is obviously a very likely date. I should doubt whether it could even be as much as five years earlier.

This is not the place to discuss again the career of Philippides the younger. I hope to show elsewhere that Hyperides' speech κατὰ Φιλίππιδου is directed against him, and throws valuable light on his political development.

\* Ἀπῆμων Φειδίππου Μυρρινούσιος. As far as I know, this and II<sup>2</sup> 1182. 23 remain all we know about this family.

Ξενοπείθης Ναυσιμάχου Παιανιεύς. We know a great deal about this family from Demosthenes XXXVIII, but have hardly any fixed points to fix the detailed internal chronology. Kirchner's assumption that Xenopeithes, father of an ephebe of 305-4,<sup>33</sup> is the son of the Nausimachos against whom the Demosthenes speech was delivered gives a consistent chronology. Since Xenopeithes and Nausimachos came of age at the same time, I take it that they were twins. A thirty-three year generation gives them a birth-date of about 389. The events follow approximately as follows:

Death of their father Nausikrates . . . . .	c. 387
They come of age . . . . .	c. 371
They come to an agreement with their guardian Aristaichmos . . . . .	c. 363
He dies three or four months later . . . . .	c. 363
Demosthenes XXXVIII . . . . .	c. 349, which

agrees well enough with its resemblances to Dem. XXXVII.<sup>34</sup>

The implication of XXXVIII 7 and 23 is that the death of their uncle Xenopeithes with whom we are dealing here followed the death of his brother, but not by very long. The choregic victory here recorded should not therefore fall much after 385. It is quite clear that

<sup>27</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1628. 374.

<sup>28</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1753. See n. 20.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* 58.

<sup>30</sup> Kent's attempt (CR XX 153-5) to show that Aristophanes was still alive in 375 has gone unanswered and ignored.

<sup>31</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 3067.

<sup>32</sup> Aeschines I 11; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 56.

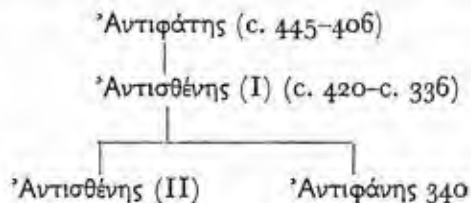
<sup>33</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 478. 36.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, Beil. 210.

the trierarchy of (?) 365<sup>35</sup> of Ζενοπείθης Παιανιεύς, belongs, not, as Sundwall thought,<sup>36</sup> to the uncle, but to the nephew, and is one of the ones which they claimed had ruined them. It is entirely possible that the Ἀρίστειχος Χολλείδης of that inscription (1609. 98), probably also referred to in 1605. 13, is their guardian. He does not recur, and there is no means of identifying his four sons.

Κλεομέδων Κλέωνος Κυδαθηναίεύς. This is the Cleon. His son will have been born before 421 and probably well before. He must have died not much later than 385, since his wife's son by her second marriage, Mantitheos II (PA 9676), married at eighteen at the end of the sixties.

Ἀντισθένης Ἀντιφάτο Κυθήριος. This has been the most destructive case arising out of the view that all these victories must fall near 403, and Kirchner's *stemma*, which owes much to Koehler, can and should be considerably simplified. The position of Antisthenes' name on the list suggests a date around 380, if not later. There is no reason for not identifying him with PA 1197, or, that I can see, with PA 1194. I suggest the following *stemma*:



Ἀντιφάτης died as πεντηκόνταρχος, probably at Arginusai (1951. 99).<sup>37</sup>

Ἀντισθένης (I), attested as his son by this inscription, 1623. 233 and by 2828, was born about 420, if we apply the forty-year rule about *choregoi* of men's choruses rigidly. He was priest of Pandion in the middle of the fourth century (2828), owned property at Amphitrope in the late forties,<sup>38</sup> and was mentioned in the navy-list of 334-3 as having had some responsibility in connection with a trireme which had sailed with Diotimos, probably in 337-6.<sup>39</sup> The language of this passage does not demand that he is still alive in 334-3. He is certainly dead by 325-4, when Antisthenes (II) pays a debt as his heir,<sup>40</sup> and at the time, probably slightly later, of an unpublished Agora inscription (I 3183) when Antisthenes (II) and Antiphanes join to free a family slave.

Ἀντισθένης (II) is attested only in the two inscriptions just mentioned.

Ἀντιφάνης was trierarch before 330-29 (1627. 204), mentioned in the Agora inscription, and ἱεροποιός of Bendis in 337-6 (II<sup>2</sup> 1255).

The disadvantages of Kirchner's arrangement are three-fold. (1) Why should a family deliberately choose to confuse all concerned with such a repetition of names in two generations? (2) The two crucial links in his scheme are missing, since there is no Ἀντιφάτης Ἀντισθένους or Ἀντισθένης Ἀντισθένους attested to bridge his generation of 400 B.C. to his generation of 367 B.C. (3) He came later to realise that the Antiphates of 1951. 99 was the father of his Antisthenes (II), but never revised his *stemma*, which demanded for this Antiphates a *floruit* of c. 367. Although the precise attribution to Arginusai must remain in doubt, no one will

<sup>35</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1609. 117.

<sup>36</sup> AM XXXV 58.

<sup>37</sup> I still think this the most likely interpretation, but I am a little shaken by Mrs. Pope's arguments (*Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* II 1047-8). The find-spot is difficult, but trierarchs thinking tribally seem to be quite unknown. In any case the inscription must be fifth century, which is the main point.

<sup>38</sup> Crosby, *passim*; Raubitschek, *Hesperia* XI 304.

<sup>39</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1623. 233.

<sup>40</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1629. 569-71.



now dispute that the Antiphates of 1951 was a mature man in the fifth century, even if he did not die in it, and his son must also go back into the fifth century. If he is thus updated and the choregic victory brought down, there is no reason not to make the identification. It gives him a very long, but not impossibly long, life, and even that could be shortened, if we abandoned the age-requirement for boys' *choregoi*.

Before leaving II<sup>2</sup> 1138, we may emphasise that Chandler saw the inscription whole under the East Wall of the Acropolis. He comments <sup>41</sup> 'Amongst the other articles, which Pausanias saw in the Acropolis, was, it is probable, the temple or edifice sacred to Pandion, father of Erechtheus, in which the inscribed marble, mentioned as having rolled down from the Acropolis, was once placed. One statue of him was among those of the Eponymi or heroes, from whom the tribes had been named; and another, worth notice, was in the Acropolis, probably in this building, which may have been supposed to have stood near the eastern extremity of the rock.' As no one has ever taken note of this sensible opinion, to which it has taken us nearly two hundred years to return, it may be helpful to collect in his spirit the find-spots of inscriptions set up certainly or probably in the *hieron* of Pandion.

- II<sup>2</sup> 1139. Old fragment, 'East of the Promachos Base' (Pittakis, *Eph.* 3865). New fragment, North Slope of the Acropolis in wall of modern house (*Hesperia* XXII 177).
- 1140. Between Odeion of Herodes and Theatre of Dionysos (Kumanudes, 'Αθηναίων V 92).
- 1144. North of the Parthenon. (Pittakis, *Eph.* 1985).
- 1152. 'East of the Parthenon' says Pittakis (*Eph.* 1414), but he had already published it four years before the excavation in which he claims in *Eph.* to have found it.
- 1148. Built into cistern, west of the Parthenon (Pittakis, *Eph.* 3337).
- 1157. None.
- 1159. Foundation-fill of the temple of Rome and Augustus (*BCH* XII 129, 148).
- 1160. None.
- 1167. 'North Wall near the Erechtheum' (*S. B. Berlin*, 1887, 1194; cf. *ibid.* 1185).
- 1740. 'Ὁδὸς Ἀδριανοῦ' (Kumanudes, Φιλίστωρ III 456).
- 1748. *In arce* (*IG* II<sup>1</sup> 871).
- 1751. Sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis (*ADelt* 1889, 18 and 5-6).
- 1753. *Athenis in domo privata* (Spon, *Itin.* III ii 70).
- 2370. *Ad Gigantes* (*IG* II<sup>1</sup> 998).
- 2828. *In Acropoli* (Chandler, *Inscr.* p. 48).
- 2836. North Slope of Acropolis (Pittakis, *Eph.* 2230; *Ancienne Athènes* 166).
- 2976. None.
- Hesperia* X 341, no. 1. In Roman wall at north-east corner of Acropolis, 20 m. west of the Belvedere.

The scattering of fragments is characteristic, but it will be noted that there is absolutely no support from them for Pfuhl's identification of the *hieron* with the poros foundations north-east of the Propylaea.<sup>42</sup> They do, however, fit well the placing of it near the sanctuary of Zeus Polieus advocated by Jane Harrison<sup>43</sup> and given precision by Stevens,<sup>44</sup> who has traced

<sup>41</sup> *Travels in Greece* 100.

<sup>42</sup> *Mythology and Monuments* 429.

<sup>43</sup> *GGA* CLXIX (1907), 476.

<sup>44</sup> *Hesperia* XV 21-25.

its plan.<sup>45</sup> It will be seen that Chandler had anticipated them. The decisive pieces are the large inscription discussed here, II<sup>2</sup> 1159, admittedly only probably from the *hieron*, and the new block from the north-east wall. I have not been able to locate a cutting for our inscription, but it may be possible when the site is cleared of its present encumbrances.

It may be suggested that, besides the two inscriptions (this and II<sup>2</sup> 1139) arising out of the victories of Nikias, which have been recognised, one more survives in part. Kirchner rightly rejected Brinck's attempt<sup>46</sup> to exclude II<sup>2</sup> 3031 from the choregic monuments. The stone is a dedication by a *choregos* of Pandionis, whose father's name was Epigenes, and it belongs to the first quarter of the century. Coincidence is unlikely to go so far. We have here a choregic dedication by Nikias. If we accept the traditional readings, it does not conform to either the standard Dionysiac Πανδιονίς παίδων ἐνίκᾳ or the standard Thargeliac ὁ δαίνα χορηγῶν ἐνίκᾳ Πανδιονίδι - - - - - ἰδίᾳ ἀνδρῶν. The only stone to which it does in part conform is II<sup>2</sup> 3072, correctly inferred by Bodensteiner<sup>47</sup> to be from the Thargelia. I restore tentatively:

ΣΤ 32

[Νικίας] Ἐπιγέν[ος Κυδαθηναεὺς ἐχορήγ-]  
[ει, Πανδι]ονίς Ἐ[ρεχθίδος ἐνίκων ἀνδράσι]  
[. . . 7 . . .] ἐδίδα[σκε, - - - - -] ἡϋλεί  
[. . . 7 . . .] ροίς βρ[- - - - -]  
[- - - - -] ἦν καί[- - - - -]

The stone will then be just wide enough for the two hexameters which probably formed ll. 4-5. An elegiac couplet is unlikely metrically, unless l. 5 was inset and we have the end of the first and the beginning of the second foot. We may infer that the permanent coupling of tribes for the Thargelia suggested by Brinck<sup>48</sup> and Bottin<sup>49</sup> for the period after 365 had not yet come into force. 3065, 3067, and 3068 all couple Pandionis with Akamantis. That Pandionis is coupled with Erechtheis here as in 3063 I take to be no more than a coincidence. Since 3063 does not appear in 1138, it belongs either to the seventies or to the fifth century, when the lot was certainly in force for coupling.<sup>50</sup> The latter is a good deal more probable.

Unfortunately, there is an alternative method of restoring 3031. Three letters of the old readings cannot now be confirmed at all, and the critical *epsilon* of l. 2 now appears only as a vertical and top bar. *Pi* is a possible and much easier reading.

[Νικίας] Ἐπιγέν[ος Κυδαθηναεὺς ἐχορήγ-]  
[ει, Πανδι]ονίς π[αίδων ἐνίκᾳ, . . . . .] ἰο . . . .] κτλ.

It may be noted in favour of this Dionysiac interpretation that [ι]ε[ρ]οίς βρ[ομίου] is a tempting restoration in l. 4.

I add two general and a few particular remarks on the fourth-century *choregia*.

(1) Pickard-Cambridge<sup>51</sup> has unfortunately resuscitated the view that there were only five men's and five boys' choruses at the City Dionysia. This is not a necessary interpretation of *Schol.* Aeschines I 11, and the epigraphic evidence, as Brinck pointed out,<sup>52</sup> is decisive against it. In 333-2 Kekropis won both choruses,<sup>53</sup> and Kirchner is probably correct in assuming

<sup>45</sup> They, of course, also fit Judeich's assignment of it to the Mycenaean palace site (*Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup> 260, 284), supported by Immerwahr, *Hesperia* XI 342. This view remains without foundations.

<sup>46</sup> *De Choregia Quaestiones Epigraphicae* (Kiel, 1906), 18, 31.

<sup>47</sup> *Choregische Weihinschriften* 74.

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.* 8-9.

<sup>49</sup> *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* IX 766.

<sup>50</sup> Antiphon VI 11.

<sup>51</sup> *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* 75.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* 7.

<sup>53</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 2318. 320-324. (Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.* 108, where 334-3 is a misprint.)

that the same thing happened in the year reported in II<sup>2</sup> 3061. We may take ten men's and ten boys' choruses as the rule.

(2) I have assumed so far that the rule reported by Aeschines and Aristotle<sup>54</sup> that *choregoi* for boys' choruses had to be forty years old was maintained. Pickard-Cambridge<sup>55</sup> says that there must have been exceptions on the evidence of Lysias XXI 1-5. Lysias' client won with his boys' chorus in 406-5, not a normal year, and in any case no evidence for fourth-century practice. The rule should be maintained in the fourth century for prosopographical purposes. The one instance where the *choregos*' age can be exactly fixed confirms this. Apollodoros son of Pasion won with a boys' chorus in 352-1.<sup>56</sup> His birth-year is attested as 393.<sup>57</sup> It is entirely in accordance with all we know about the Athenian attitude to him that he should have been assigned the liturgy at the first legally possible moment. If he appeared recalcitrant, the answer was swift to come: ἄρτι μὲν πίττης γέυεται· ἐβούλετο γὰρ Ἀθηναῖος εἶναι.<sup>58</sup>

(3) It is clear that the Dionysiac victory with a boys' chorus won by Φίλοστράτος Διονυσίου Κολωνῆθεν over Chabrias<sup>59</sup> must fall between 366-5 and 357, when Chabrias died. Since Philostratos was still an ἡθεός around 380,<sup>60</sup> the end of the period should be preferred. 359-8 is the most likely date. The next year is improbable, if Schweigert's view on the Battle of Chios is correct;<sup>61</sup> the year before Chabrias was probably in Egypt, when the archon selected the *choregoi* in the summer of 360. The Dionysiac judges, like the electorate which failed to re-elect him general the same spring, may have been influenced by his lack of success against Kersobleptes.

(4) Similar reasoning may be applied to the boys' victory of Chabrias' son Ktesippos.<sup>62</sup> With one exception, the evidence about his age is consistent. I do not know what led Kirchner to attribute 1604. 87 (377-6) to him. It is his grandfather, otherwise only attested by IG XIV 1222 and denied a separate heading in *PA*, making his one personal appearance. Chabrias' son was not of age at the time of Demosthenes' speech against Leptines, and cannot have won with a boys' chorus till 330 or a little after. 331-0, 329-8, 323-2, 320-19 can all be eliminated as possible years, but the closer we get to Menander's attack on him in the *Orge* (325-4),<sup>63</sup> the better.

(5) II<sup>2</sup> 3053 belongs to 329-8 or 323-2. Brinck<sup>64</sup> pointed out that, if it belongs to 323-2, we must read [ἀνδρῶν] in l. 1, since we know that Λυσικλῆς Οἰθῆθεν won with a boys' chorus in that year.<sup>65</sup> But we must read [ἀνδρῶν] in any case, since Hippothontis won the boys' chorus of 329-8.<sup>66</sup>

(6) Kirchner never saw II<sup>2</sup> 3058, which he assigned to the fourth century. It is EM 3126, its preserved part corresponds to no fourth-century formula, and it has second-century lettering. It has curved surfaces back and front and a cutting for the foot of a tripod. Its dimensions and its lettering correspond exactly to those of II<sup>2</sup> 3088 (175-4), to which it must be the companion-piece. I add one letter to the text, and restore:

[ὁ δῆμος ἐχορήγει, Σώνικος ἥρχει]ν.  
[ἀγωνοθέτης Δρακοντίδης Δράκοντος Παια]νιεύς.  
[----- ἀνδρῶν ἐνίκα, -----] ἡῦλει.  
[----- ἐδίδασκεν.]

<sup>54</sup> See n. 32.

<sup>57</sup> *PA* 1411.

<sup>60</sup> Dem. XLIX 22.

<sup>63</sup> Fr. 303 (Koerte); for the date, see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens* 41.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.* 16, no. 28.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* 76.

<sup>58</sup> [Dem.] L 26.

<sup>61</sup> *Hesperia* VIII 14-16.

<sup>62</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 3054.

<sup>56</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 3039.

<sup>59</sup> Dem. XXI 64; XLII 22.

<sup>62</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 3040.

<sup>66</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 2318, 362.

## XXVI. ELAPHEBOLION 346

To the tables of ordinary and intercalary years in Athens drawn up by Kirchner,<sup>1</sup> Dinsmoor,<sup>2</sup> and Pritchett and Neugebauer,<sup>3</sup> one year can certainly be added. The secretary of the Athenian νομοιοί at Delos for the year 345-4, paid at the rate of a drachma a day, received 355 drachmae for his year's work.<sup>4</sup> 345-4 was therefore an ordinary year of 355 days. Using Pritchett and Neugebauer's working assumptions,<sup>5</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 219<sup>6</sup> (Pryt. VIII. 16) falls into Elaphebolion, as Kirchner correctly states. II<sup>2</sup> 220. 23 ff. (Pryt. IX. 10), on the other hand, must fall into Mounichion and not into Thargelion. Pryt. IX. 10 is the 294th day of the year, and the sixty-one days still to come must push it back into Mounichion, unless we suppose arbitrary intercalation.

346-5 has already been inferred<sup>7</sup> from Michel 832 to have been an ordinary year in Athens as well as Samos. The succession of two ordinary years raises a strong presumption that the preceding year, 347-6, was intercalary, and in fact the internal evidence suggests this. Whether the year was intercalary or not, the forthcoming assembly on the 18th of the month referred to in II<sup>2</sup> 212. 57 of the eighth prytany, must be that which we know to have been held to discuss the peace with Philip on Elaphebolion 18,<sup>8</sup> for neither Anthesterion 18 nor Mounichion 18 really comes into question. But in an ordinary year Elaphebolion 18 is approximately equal to Pryt. VIII. 5-6, which would imply that the eighth prytany came into office after the Assembly we know to have taken place on Elaphebolion 8.<sup>9</sup> If this is so, the only assembly at which the two decrees II<sup>2</sup> 212-13 could have been passed was the one in the theatre on the day after the Pandia, somewhere between the 15th and the 17th inclusive.<sup>10</sup> But this assembly was always for business arising out of the festival,<sup>11</sup> and surely the reason why Elaphebolion 18 is mentioned in 212. 57, instead of the normal 'next assembly', is that the assembly of the 18th was not the next assembly, but the next that was available for political business. We therefore know the date of II<sup>2</sup> 212-13. They must have been passed at the special assembly of Elaphebolion 8, for it was only then that assemblies were fixed for the 18th and 19th.<sup>12</sup>

We are therefore in a position to check Aeschines' statement<sup>13</sup> that Demosthenes got an assembly held on Elaphebolion 8, a thing previously unheard of, merely to rush the peace-negotiations through. Clearly there was plenty of other urgent business on hand, and the special assembly served at least to discuss relations with the Bosporean Kingdom and Mytilene as well. We also gain an interesting sidelight on Athenian methods, when we realise that the already limited time for discussion of the peace on the 18th was further cut into by the need to discuss the Bosporean debt, a fact omitted by Aeschines and Demosthenes in their fairly full accounts of the day.

If the eighth prytany was already in office by Elaphebolion 8, 347-6 must have been intercalary. I abstain from working backwards. To work forwards, it is reasonable to assume that 344-3 was intercalary also, though we have no chronological information for it, particularly

<sup>1</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> iv. i, p. 8.<sup>2</sup> *Archons of Athens* 423.<sup>3</sup> *Calendars of Athens* 40. Though not drawn up for this purpose, this table is most useful for it.<sup>4</sup> Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Delos*, App. A.<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* 36.<sup>6</sup> Revised by Schweigert, *Hesperia* VIII 172 ff.<sup>7</sup> Dinsmoor *op. cit.* 355.<sup>8</sup> Aeschines II 61; Dem. XIX 15, 57.<sup>9</sup> Aeschines III 67.<sup>10</sup> Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* 76 ff.<sup>11</sup> Dem. XXI 9.<sup>12</sup> Aeschines III 68.<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* III 67. Made sixteen years after the event, it will be observed.



if Dinsmoor is right in arguing that 343-2 was ordinary.<sup>14</sup> Since 341-0 has been shown by Pritchett and Neugebauer to be intercalary,<sup>15</sup> we get the following scheme:

347-6 I.  
346-5 O.  
345-4 O.  
344-3 [I.]  
343-2 O.  
342-1 O.(?)  
341-0 I.

It will be seen that this is the scheme obtained by Dinsmoor<sup>16</sup> by a mechanical application of his view of the Metonic Cycle. It is too early to say whether this coincidence is significant.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* 355-6.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* 42.

<sup>16</sup> See n. 2.

## XXVII. A BOULEUTAI LIST

IG II<sup>2</sup> 2397 and II<sup>2</sup> 2423, although from different blocks, are from the same inscription. The marble is similar in appearance and dressing, they were both found near the Erechtheum, their disposition is the same, their lettering is identical. Particularly characteristic is the tendency of the diagonal of *nu* to leave the left-hand vertical below the top. 2397 comes from the right-hand side of its block. The edge is clear, and it has been dressed for a join. Since the left-hand block ended with a column of Akamantis, we are still in the period of the ten tribes. Ten-tribe lists in columns are almost certainly of *bouleutai* or *diaitetai*. As representation coincides with the known representation in the Council of the Anaphlystioi and in no case conflicts with known representation, it will be safe to take this as a list of the Council.<sup>1</sup> The possibility does exist that there were more than ten Anaphlystioi, but the amount of vacant space below the last name is more in accordance with the probability that a new deme-name followed.

There is no point in reprinting the text. The only inaccuracy in the *Editio Minor* is that in Col. I of 2423 there are not two but three names ending in -κλης. The error goes back to Pittakis, who was followed by Koehler and Kirchner. Rangabe (1276) has the correct text.

If the list is of *bouleutai*, the only possibilities for the deme-affiliation of 2423. 25-33 (nine names) are Alopeke, whose quota was ten in 334-3 (II<sup>2</sup> 1750), or, much less likely, of Pallene (quota six in 335-4 (II<sup>2</sup> 1700), seven in 334-3 (II<sup>2</sup> 1750)). The names of Glaukon and Theopompos are attested for Pallene in the fourth century (*PA* 3031, 7039), but the evidence for Alopeke is much stronger, and the identification of the deme is nearly certain. For [- - -] Γλαύκωνος, compare Γλαύκιππος Γλαύκωνος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 2826, *post med. saec. IV*). For Φύσων, compare Φύσων Πυθάρχου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 5580, *saec. IV*). These are the only appearances of the name in Attica. For Πυθέας, compare Πυθέας Σωσιδήμου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, honoured in 333-2 (II<sup>2</sup> 338), and Πυθέας Ἀρχωνίδου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν (II<sup>2</sup> 5573, *saec. IV*). For Κτησικλείδης, compare Κτησικλείδης Κτήσωνος (II<sup>2</sup> 2345. 35, 2407. 36). He has always been taken to be Ἀγκυλῆθεν. I have already tried to show that [Ἀλωπ]εκῆθεν is the correct reading in 2407. 31.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence is quite insufficient to determine what were the demes of Hippothontis and Aiantis which have lost their headings, but it is improbable that any deme of Hippothontis

<sup>1</sup> Gomme (*Population of Athens* 64) had already suggested this as likely.

<sup>2</sup> See No. XXIV p. 13.

but Eleusis and Piraeus had as many as six representatives in the fourth century. That Iphistiadaei had one councillor and Kikynna two is new and valuable information.

Finally, the date. As it has only ten tribes, it cannot be later than 307-6. It is rather unlikely that name-lists of this type were set up under Demetrios of Phaleron. II<sup>2</sup> 2970, an ephebe-list, is the only list which has ever been assigned to his administration, and even its dating in 315-14 is not absolutely certain. That our inscription is from before 323 may be confirmed by our identification of Physon, for his grave-stone is not of a post-Demetrian type. Lettering would tend to forbid a date earlier than 340. We can eliminate 335-4, 334-3, 327-6 on various grounds.

### XXVIII. PROXENY FOR A CHIAN

Pritchett and Neugebauer,<sup>1</sup> in revising the text of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 339 *a* (333-2), point out that 339 *b*, part of a decree for Lykos of Pydna, cannot possibly belong to it. It has a square chequer-pattern of 0·0159 against the 0·0143 of fragment *a*, and the name at the head of fragment *a* begins, not with *lambda upsilon*, but with *alpha* and a left-hand vertical. This simplifies matters for all those who had wondered how a decree for a man from Pydna came to have on its relief an amphora and sphinx.<sup>2</sup> We can now claim with security that the subject of 339 *a* is a Chian, and that the relief stands beside *FdD* III 3, 213, and *IG* XI 4, 599, as a stone representation, the earliest yet, of the Chian *parasemon*. There is space for eight or nine letters after the first two of the name, which therefore had ten or eleven letters in the dative if it stood alone, and six or seven if it was followed by *Χίωι*.

<sup>1</sup> *Calendars of Athens* 47 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Photograph in Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* I 48.

### XXIX. THE *DIAITETAI* OF 330-29

Gomme<sup>1</sup> has suggested that *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2409 belongs to a list of *diaitetai* or cleruchs and leans to the former. The suggestion can be confirmed. There seems to me no reasonable doubt that it forms the lower half of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1924, the *diaitetai*-list of 330-29. Recutting has removed its back, but its marble, spacing, disposition, and large mannered letters, abnormal in a list of this period, make the identification certain. Lolling's tentative date<sup>2</sup> for the inscription proves exactly right.

One piece of 1924 is still missing. The notes in the *Editio Minor* are inaccurate. Fragment *c* is EM 8053, fragment *a* EM 8248. Fragment *b*, of which we have only Koehler's transcript, undoubtedly joined both pieces.

I transcribe here only the prescript and Column I, the names of Erechtheis. Since fragment *a* preserves the left edge of the inscription, the width of column I can be established.

1924. [Διαιτηταί] οἱ ἐπ' Ἀριστο[φῶ]ντος ἄρχο[ν]τος [ἀνέθεσαν - - - - -]  
 ['Ερεχθ]ίδος  
 [Θεόξ]ενος  
 [Εὐ]ωνυμεύς  
 5 [Χ]αρίνος  
 Κηφισιεύς  
 [Χ]αρικλείδης  
 [7-8]ς  
 [4-9]ῃ

<sup>1</sup> *Population of Athens* 71-2.

<sup>2</sup> *AM* V 346.

*Lacuna*

2409.	[Ἀναγυράσ]ιος
	[7-8]ς
	[8-9]ς
	[8-9]ς
5	[5-6 ε]ύς
	[7-8]ς
	[Φηγούσι]ος
	[ - 9-10 - - ]ς
	[Ἀγρυλῆθε]ν
10	[ - - - - - ]
	[ - 7-8 - - ]ν
	[ - 6-8 - - ]ας
	[ - 5-6 - ε ]ύς
	vacat

## READINGS AND RESTORATIONS

**1924**, line 1. There should, I think, be no need to re-argue the restoration διαιτηταί. It fills the space exactly, and the disposition of the list is so like that of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1925* that this, too, must be a list of *diaitetai*. The first ο of Ἀριστοφώντος is a new reading. The underlined letters are from Koehler's readings of fragment *b*. Any completion of the line must be hypothetical. Kirchner's gives an asymmetric result finishing over Column VIII of the ten-column inscription.

Ll. 8-9. These readings are new.

**2409**, line 1. A demotic is necessary to parallel the other columns. Φηγούσιος is too short.

L. 3. The possibilities are Κηφισιεύς, Λαμπτρέυς, Εύωνυμεύς, Φηγούσιος Παμβωτάδης.

L. 5. The possibilities are Κηφισιεύς, Λαμπτρέυς, Εύωνυμεύς, Θημακεύς.

L. 7. Ἀναγυράσιος is too long.

L. 9. Περγασῆθεν is too long, ἐκ Κηδῶν too short.

L. 11. Ἐκ Κηδῶν and Θημακεύς are the only possibilities.

L. 13. The possibilities are as in l. 5. This is certainly the last line in its column and in Columns II, III, and V. Column IV ends two lines higher.

## COMMENTARY

We cannot establish the size of the list to compare it with the certain 103 names of 325-4 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1926*) and the 250-odd names of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1927* which has generally been taken as a *diaitetai*-list. We can say that, from the first five tribes, there were not less than fifty-four arbitrators. To double this number would be unsafe, since individual representation of the last five tribes may have varied as sharply as it does in the complete list, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1925*, though it does happen that in that list tribes I-V and VI-X are equally represented, 51-52. Here Leontis supplies one less than the other four tribes, and any of the last five tribes may also have varied from the average. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the height of the block was halved in re-use. If this is so, the first five tribes were represented by sixty-nine arbitrators. My feeling is that the number of *diaitetai* in this year lay between 100 and 150.

There is admittedly no evidence to exclude a much larger figure, but the extravagant size of the letters is against it.

A rather clearer light on the institution is shed by the character of the new names. The majority of them are well known and important even to a more marked degree than in II<sup>2</sup> 1925-6. It now seems quite clear that the position was confined to men of hoplite-census, as Sundwall<sup>3</sup> and Gomme<sup>4</sup> had already inferred and Aristotle failed to make clear. The *ex-diaitetes* of Dem. XXI 95 was not naturally poor; he had shared all the benefits of the city until he attracted the enmity of Meidias. The anomalous nature of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1927 now stands out more clearly. It has a very low percentage of well-known names, and, though the possibility of it being a *diaitetai*-list has been slightly strengthened by the new fragment tentatively assigned to it by Meritt,<sup>5</sup> its size and character make the attribution extremely doubtful.

The greatest interest of the new fragment lies in a slightly different field. We can now establish the birth-year of twenty-five more Athenians. Thereby we not only gain a valuable check on our rather arbitrary dating by thirty- and thirty-three-year generations, but also acquire the possibility of determining the ages at which a man might come to public office or influence in public life. The known information about the people of our inscription must be reassessed in this light.

The birth-year should be taken as the archonship of Antipatros, 389-8. This follows from Aristotle's account.<sup>6</sup> An Athenian completed his eighteenth year before becoming an ephebe and passing into the first of the forty-two year-groups, but he was in the forty-second year-group and his sixtieth year when he acted as *diaitetes*. Some uncertainty may be felt as to what an Athenian meant by completing his eighteenth year. The count may be inclusive and the terminology parallel to our ages for horses; if so, the correct birth-year is 388-7. But the relation of the year as *diaitetes* to the ephebate seems secure, and our error will be limited to a year if we are consistent. In any case, Kirchner seems to have been wrong in giving in *PA* the birth-years of the *diaitetai* of 325-4 as 385-4. His commentary on IG II<sup>2</sup> 1924, where he assigns Hyperides' birth to 389-8, is a partial recantation, though I do not believe that 'sexagesimo anno exacto' is a translation of οἷς ἂν ἑξηκοστὸν ἔτος ᾗ.

The following discussion of careers rests on identifications from names and demotics only. The danger of such identifications has been pointed out by Pritchett,<sup>7</sup> and our present inscription contains one salutary shock. But no harm will be done, if the limitations are borne in mind.

#### ERECHTHEIS

[Θεόδ]εως [Εὐ]ωνυμεύς. Sundwall's restoration might not be made today, but it has a fair chance of being right. Trierarch probably at twenty-four (II<sup>2</sup> 1609. 100);<sup>8</sup> still alive at sixty-four in 325-4 when a ship of which he was trierarch was adjudged lost at sea (II<sup>2</sup> 1629. 761). That he was still alive in 323-2 is not a necessary inference from the repetition of this passage in II<sup>2</sup> 1631. 127. If the *stemma* (*PA* 2215) is correct, Arkesilas, his uncle, still alive in 325-4, was probably considerably younger than Theokles, his father. A possible descendant of the same name was councillor in 211-202 (II<sup>2</sup> 913. 23).

[Χ]άρπινος Κηφισιεύς. Otherwise unattested. An identification with *PA* 15437 suits

<sup>3</sup> *Epigraphische Beiträge* 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia* XVI 151 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 53. 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 277.

<sup>8</sup> I accept tentatively Schweigert's dating of this inscription to 365-4 (*AJP* LXI 194 ff.), but I must admit that I do not yet see how Timotheos, Theoxenos' colleague, can have been general and trierarch in the same year. In any case, the identification of Theoxenos would completely preclude the erroneous attempt made by Fränkel and Kirchner to put the inscription in the 370s. Even if there were a possible year for a trierarchy of Timotheos, Theoxenos would have been too young to act as his colleague.



the date well. I suggest that PA 15440 Χαρίνος Χαρωνίδου is a different person, the brother of Χαρίας Χαρωνίδου Εύωνυμους (PA 15343). I restore Εύωνυμους in the two passages where he appears, II<sup>2</sup> 1642, 36, 2829, 2.

Χαρικλείδης [- - 7-8 -]5. The name is attested for none of the possible demes, but it would be as satisfactory a restoration as [\*Αντ]ικ[λείδης] presumably Κηφισιεύς in II<sup>2</sup> 1697, 1.

#### AIGEIS

\*Αριστομήδης Κολλυτεύς. Unknown.

\*Υπερείδης Κολλυτεύς. This is not the place to discuss the career of Hyperides, but it may be as well to note that, unless our sources markedly misrepresent his career, he does not really come into prominence until the late forties, when he was over forty-five. His early public cases belong to his late twenties, but there is a long gap thereafter.

Χαρίδημος \*Αλαιοεύς and Νικήρατος Φιλαίδης are both unknown.

Χαίριππος \*Αλαιοεύς. Known as chairman of a κοινὸν ἐρανιστῶν in II<sup>2</sup> 1559, 28, 1568, 18, 22. I hope to discuss the dates of these elsewhere.

Θουκυδίδης \*Ικαριεύς. I suspect an identification with either PA 7265 (prominent in late forties) or FdD III 5, 47, 46 (treasurer of *naoφoioi* at Delphi in 339-8 or 338-7)<sup>9</sup> or both, although PA 7265 could be the same as 7270. He is now also known as demarch of Ikaria (*Hesperia* XVII 143).

\*Αλκίμαχος ἐκ Μυρρινούττης still active in 325-4, proposes decree as member of the Council in that year (II<sup>2</sup> 1629, 273).

Νικήρατος Κυδαντίδης. This is the most important contribution of our list. He is great-grandson of the famous Nikias, and Kirchner<sup>10</sup> placed his birth around 380 on the thirty-year-generation principle. His father Nikias was still very young in 403 (Lys. XVIII 6), young and girl-like at the end of the nineties (Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 428), and cannot have been born much, if at all, before 413. It is evident that he married extremely early in search of an heir, and I take it that this was a family practice, for it is unlikely that Nikias himself was born before 475. The thirty-three-year generation is inapplicable to a family like this, and even a thirty-year generation has been shown to be too much. When our Nikeratos went to the wars in 349 (Dem. XXI 165) at the age of forty, his childlessness was already exciting comment and compassion. Despite his bodily infirmity (*l. c.*), he lived at least to the age of sixty-six (II<sup>2</sup> 1629, 189, 555, 582), but the family died with him. His father is not mentioned after 367-6 (*Hesperia* X 14, no. 1, 41-2, 58, 64-5), and the other mining inscriptions which have provided us with valuable information about the family's continued interest in the silver-mines in the fourth century do not permit us to gauge exactly when Nikeratos succeeded to the family property. My impression is that ἀγαπητός in Demosthenes (*loc. cit.*) suggests that Nikias was still alive in 348, and that he probably died between that year and the first appearance of Nikeratos in the mining-records, Crosby 15, 46, which I take to belong to 344 or 343. Since in Dem. XIX 290 (342), Thrasyboulos II of Steiria (PA 7309) is identified as Nikeratos' uncle and not with relation to Nikias, this is another *terminus ante quem* for Nikias' death.

This last fact provides unexploited evidence for the connections of the family, for the only way in which Thrasyboulos II can have been Nikeratos' uncle is that Nikias must have married the daughter of Thrasyboulos I, the liberator. This is an interesting light on the political and matrimonial alliances of the post-liberation period, but if Nikias himself took any great part in public life, we have no evidence for it. His only attested service is as member

<sup>9</sup> All Delphic dates in this article are taken from La Coste-Messelière, *BCH* LXXIII (1949), 201 ff.  
<sup>10</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 298 n. 10.



of a board of uncertain character, probably at the beginning of the seventies.<sup>11</sup> Nikeratos, however, we know to have played his full part. Besides his numerous trierarchies, he was ταμίας στρατιωτικῶν in 345-4 or 344-3 at the age of forty-four or forty-five.<sup>12</sup> Under Lycurgus he is certainly one of the great men of the state. He goes to Delphi as one of the ten ἱεροποιοὶ τὴν πυθιάδα ἄγοντες (*FdD* III 1, 511) and is one of the ten ἱεροποιοὶ at Oropos in the late summer of 329 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 298). I discuss both these lists below, but Nikeratos' position is clear and consistent with the tradition he inherited. Faithful to the democracy and his duty throughout, popular with all parties, his closest affiliations are first with Eubulus and then with Lycurgus. He acts in no way which his great-grandfather and maternal grandfather would not have approved.

Ἀνφικτύων Διομεύς. Crowned by the *boule* and the *demos* for uncertain services (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4896). A date before 360 for this inscription is now unlikely.

Πυθόδηλος Κολλυτεύς. Otherwise unknown. Since *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 678 is now dated in 256-5,<sup>13</sup> he can no longer be identified as the father of Kallikrates (*PA* 7968), councillor in that text, but is more probably a great-grandfather. It remains likely that he is the grandson of Agyrrhios (*PA* 179) and the brother, probably the elder brother, of Kallimedon the Crab (*PA* 8032; *Hesperia* XIX 280). His own political affiliations would be of interest, but remain uncertain.

#### PANDIONIS

[Χαρ]ίδημος Παιανιεύς. If the reading and restoration are sound, he was trierarch of at least three ships at the end of the twenties (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1632, 70, 260, 311).

[Σ]ωσιγ[ένης Παιανιεύς]. This is an identification of Kirchner's and is unsound. There is no reason why this Sosigenes should be the father of Stratonides of Paiania (II<sup>2</sup> 1753. 4-5), rather than the Sosigenes of Myrrhinous of II<sup>2</sup> 1753. 44-45).

Λυ[. . .] Πρ[. . . . .]. This is a new determination in 2409. 29. A left *hasta* is clear after the *ρi*, and the possibilities for Pandionis are only Πρασιεύς and Προβαλίσσιος. Lysanias of Probalinthos (*PA* 9321) would fit the date well, but there are other possibilities.

Χα[- -] Πα[ιανιεύς]. There are several possibilities, and I make no suggestion.

Ἀρχίας Παιανιεύς. Otherwise unattested.

Φωκίδης [Σ]τρεπριεύς. This is a rare name, and it is by no means improbable that he is to be identified with *PA* 15069, winner of the wrestling-match<sup>14</sup> at Olympia in 364. He would have been twenty-five years old, which seems a reasonable age.

Κτησιφῶν Παιανιεύς. I think it likely but not certain that we have here the Ktesiphon of the 'Crown' case (*PA* 8894); if so, the fact that he, like Demosthenes, came from Paiania is significant. An identification with *PA* 8893 is impossible. As the eldest of the ambassadors to Philip in 346 (Aeschines II 42, 47, 52), he must have been born in the fifth century.

Τελεσίας Προβαλίσσιος. He was still alive as ex-trierarch in 323-2 (II<sup>2</sup> 1631. 524). The statue he set up to his daughter (II<sup>2</sup> 4914) can hardly be much earlier than 340.

Μέντιης Κυδαθηναεύς. He frees five slaves in II<sup>2</sup> 1558. 66 ff. I hope to discuss the date of this text elsewhere. He was probably, as Wilamowitz<sup>15</sup> saw, taxiarch of Pandionis in 348 (Aeschines II 169).

<sup>11</sup> *Hesperia* IV 167.

<sup>12</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1443. 13. It is now recognised that this office was annual (Busolt-Swoboda II 1055 n. 3), but the Treasurers of Athena of 344-3 could, I suppose, have received money directly from the Treasurer of the Military Fund of the previous year.

<sup>13</sup> Dow, *Prytaneis* no. 10; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology* xxi.

<sup>14</sup> I follow Africanus against Diodorus (XV 78), who calls him winner of the *stadion*. I hope to discuss the games of 364 elsewhere.

<sup>15</sup> *Hermes* XLIV 459.

## LEONTIS

Νικόλας Νι[- -] Φρεάριο[s]. The very fact that a patronymic is added should act as a warning that there are at least two men of this name and deme. Kirchner identified him with the father of the *epistates* of the *proedroi* of II<sup>2</sup> 389. 7, which he dated in 319-18. It is now certain that this man was *epistates* in 293-2 and that his name was Νικόβουλος Νικίου Φρεάριος. It appears in full in the completed version of II<sup>2</sup> 649,<sup>16</sup> and is a certain restoration in II<sup>2</sup> 389 and in *Hesperia* VII 97, no. 17. The new date does not make the identification impossible, and the fact that the supposed son's name begins with the same letters as his possible grandfather is encouraging. We know nothing else about the family. Dinsmoor's suggestion<sup>17</sup> that Nikoboulos might be the same as PA 10389 is highly improbable chronologically, and must be rejected. If the grandfather's name was Nikoboulos, he might be PA 10389, but there is little to recommend the view.

Θεοκρίνης Ὑβράδης. It seems almost certain that the generally accepted view is correct and that this is the Theokrines of Leontis attacked in about 341 in [Dem.] LVIII, an interesting and puzzling speech, which is certainly neither by Demosthenes nor by Dinarchus, the two names to which it was attached in antiquity. The age we now attribute to him suits well, since his brother was of an age to be *thesmothetes* in 344-3. The period of Theokrines' activity referred to in the speech falls in his forties, but he was still fair game for Demosthenes in 330 (XVIII 313) and was councillor in 328-7 at the age of sixty-two (*AE* 1917, 41, 14).

Ἀ[ν]τίλοχος Σκαυρωνίδης. This is the salutary lesson. He has always been identified with the *diaitetes* of the next year (II<sup>2</sup> 1925. 9-10). It is now clear that they are two men, presumably cousins, born a year apart. Their grandfather of the same name is known as the father of [... 6...]ατος who appears in the first half of the century in a list of uncertain character, perhaps also of *diaitetai* (II<sup>2</sup> 143. 7, revised by Schweigert, *Hesperia* VII 278).<sup>18</sup>

Ἐπικράτης Αἰθαλίδης. The case is precisely parallel to that of Πυθόδηλος Κολλυτεύς above. He has been taken to be the father of Σίμος Ἐπικράτους Αἰθαλίδης (II<sup>2</sup> 678. 10), but with the redating of that inscription to 256-5, he must be the great-grandfather. The name is too common to permit identifications.

Διεύχης Φρεάριος. Certainly to be identified with PA 3766, the secretary of the Council for 349-8, a position he held at the age of forty. This is the first time we have been able to give even an approximate age to a secretary, and the fact is illuminating. The latest *stemma* of the family is given by Dow.<sup>19</sup> I suspect that his revised dating of II<sup>2</sup> 4359 to c. 350 is still about twenty years too high.<sup>20</sup> He has given overmuch weight to the use of ο for ου, a spelling which would be convenient for inscribing names in the confined space of a wreath, and the style of the wreath and the letters suggests a Lycurgan date. I do not understand his dating of II<sup>2</sup> 1517. 214. A new edition of this inscription is much needed, but the position of the entry points to a date closer to 335 than to 345. The dating of II<sup>2</sup> 1744 is uncertain, but the high date is admittedly more probable. His refusal to identify the famous Dieuches with anyone of the name known epigraphically rests in part on Jaeger's dating of Diokles of Karystos. Edelstein<sup>21</sup> has shown reason to suppose Diokles to be a contemporary of Aristotle, but even so, it appears difficult to suppose that our Dieuches, a slightly older contemporary of Aristotle, can be the famous Dieuches, although I do not consider his brief incursion into political life

<sup>16</sup> Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens* 7.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 13.

<sup>18</sup> Identification in *Hesperia*, Index to Vols. I-X, s.n.

<sup>19</sup> *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* XII (1942), 26. I owe this reference to Professor L. Edelstein.

<sup>20</sup> A similar dating was reached independently by Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik* 117 n. 119 on the thinnest possible grounds. The latest bibliography of the relief is in Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilium* 173, no. 92.

<sup>21</sup> Reviewing Jaeger's *Diokles von Karystos*, *AJP* LXI 483 ff.

a bar to the identification. If the famous Dieuches is unattested epigraphically, it is quite possible to combine Edelstein's view on Diokles with Jaeger's view on Dieuches and make him the son of Epeuches, not, with Dow, the grandson.

Γλαυκῆτης ἐξ Οἴου. There are two possibilities for identification. (1) *PA* 2947, Γλαυκῆτης Γλαύκου, one of the companions of Nikeratos on the Pythais to Delphi (*FdD* III 1, 311), the son of *PA* 3004, of whose *floruit* some confirmation is now given by Meritt's tentative dating of *II*<sup>2</sup> 1742 in 370-69,<sup>22</sup> and grandson of *PA* 2956; (2) *PA* 2957, Γλαυκῆτης Γλαυκίππου, who is known only by his grave-stele (*II*<sup>2</sup> 6987-8). Kirchner considered only *PA* 2957. The argument for this identification will rest on the fact that his stele must be dated very shortly before the sumptuary law of Demetrios of Phaleron and is very suitable for a man who was in his sixtieth year in 330-29. The other identification, however, suits well the *stemma* of the family constructed from Demosthenes XLIII and Isaeus XI<sup>23</sup> and the general character of the delegation to the Pythais which I discuss below.<sup>24</sup>

Χαιρεφάνης Δειραδιώτης. Otherwise unknown.

#### AKAMANTIS

Δημόνικος Ἀγνούσιος. Otherwise unknown.

Ξενοκλῆς Χολαργεύς. Known only from *II*<sup>2</sup> 2411. 7, assigned by Gomme<sup>25</sup> with some probability to a *bouleutai*-list. Since the stone is lost we cannot tell whether our Xenokles is the father or the son.

Φῶκος Ἰφιστιάδης. Since the birth-year turns out to be 389-8, Lolling's attempt<sup>26</sup> to identify this man with the son of Phokion (*PA* 15081), and thereby to identify Phokion's deme, collapses. Phokion's birth-year is well-attested as 402, and he remains the most prominent Athenian of any age whose deme is unknown. An identification with *PA* 15082 is not impossible. The later date, 323-2, for the decree referred to by Athenaeus (171 E) then becomes necessary. Φῶκος Θεοπόμπου Ἰφιστιάδης, secretary of *prytaneis* in 280-75 (Dow, *Prytaneis*, 5. 39-41), is a grandson.

Προκλείδης ἐκ Κεραμῶν. He proposes a decree in honour of a fellow-demesman in 328-7 at the age of sixty-one (*II*<sup>2</sup> 354). His son, whose name is unknown, dedicates to Asklepios at about the same period (*II*<sup>2</sup> 4404). His grandson proposes a decree of the Mesogeioi (*II*<sup>2</sup> 1247), which on the new determination of age should not be dated after 260. An identification with *PA* 12190 is not impossible.

Φίλων Προσπάλτιος. Otherwise unknown.

Κηφισφῶν Χολαργεύς. Prominent in the Lycurgan period. Commissioner for the games at Oropos in the next year (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 298). He probably contributes to a dedication at Oropos of the Council of 328-7 (*AE* 1917, 41). He proposes a decree for a colony to the Adriatic in 325-4 at the age of sixty-four (*IG* *II*<sup>2</sup> 1629 = *GHI* 200, *passim*).

Μνησίθεος Σφήττιος. Α Εὐθύδικος Μνησίθεου Σφήττιος is active in mining operations in the forties (Crosby, 10. 5, 18. 20). Miss Crosby was uncertain whether he should be the father or the son of our Mnesitheos. Both alternatives are now unattractive. It should be noted that the medical Mnesitheoi, father and son, of *II*<sup>2</sup> 4359 are still unassigned to a deme. If our Mnesitheos is the younger of these, Euthydikos could well be his brother, possibly even

<sup>22</sup> *Hesperia* XVI 151.

<sup>23</sup> Inset in *PA* opp. p. 192.

<sup>24</sup> If Γλαυκῆτης ἐξ Οἴου is the correct restoration in *II*<sup>2</sup> 449, a number of difficult problems arise, insoluble on the present evidence. Pritchett and Meritt (*Chronology* 1; cf. Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens* 67) date the inscription between 317 and 307, which does not suit either Glauketes very well. The name Σωτρίδης Φηγαίος also suggests an earlier date, since he appears as *prytanis* in *II*<sup>2</sup> 1747, dated correctly by Raubitschek between 354 and 335 (*Hesperia* XI 306).

<sup>25</sup> *Population of Athens* 60 n. 2, 72. <sup>26</sup> *AM* V 352.



to be identified with the doctor Euthydikos (*PA* 555<sup>1</sup>).<sup>26a</sup> If the famous Mnesitheos, discussed by Dow with Dicuchus,<sup>27</sup> belongs to this family, I again take him to belong to the next generation.

The new information about ages throws a certain amount of fresh light on two well-known inscriptions, *FdD* III 1, 511 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 296), οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ τὴν πυθαίδα ἄγοντες, and *IG* VII 4254 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 298), the commissioners for the Amphiareia of late summer 329, and a third list, less well known, but related to them, *AE* 1917, 41, the ten men who contributed to the dedication set up by the Council of 328-7 at the Amphiareion.

The Delphic list is not directly dated. If we had the foot of either decree of *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 297, honours for Demades and Glauketes, we would be in a stronger position. A Pythais need not be in a Pythian year, but this one has always been taken to be associated with the dedication of the new temple, which probably was in a Pythian year. It has always been inferred from *FdD* III 5, 20 that the Delphic archonship of Charixenos, which seems to mark a fresh start in the accounts of the νεοποιοί, is the year of the dedication, though this is by no means certain. Charixenos has long been dated in 330-29, and Pomtow<sup>28</sup> and Parke<sup>29</sup> dated the Pythais in the same year, although Colin<sup>30</sup> and Bourguet<sup>31</sup> were more cautious. Charixenos has now been dated in 326-5 by La Coste-Messelière, and although Delphic chronology is dangerous ground, I think the dating is firm. There is then nothing to recommend 330-29 from the Delphic side, and we have now made it unattractive from the Athenian side, since at least one and possibly two (if the identification of Glauketes is right) of the ἱεροποιοί are now shown to have been *diaitetai* in that year, and if they were ἱεροποιοί they could have claimed exemption.<sup>32</sup> 329-8 is nearly impossible, since four of the ἱεροποιοί were *agonothetai* of the Amphiareia in the late summer, and both Delphic and Athenian evidence make a date before 330 unlikely. We are reduced to 328-7, 327-6, 326-5, and 325-4 (the year of Lycurgus' death). Of these 326-5 is the most probable for Delphi, and there is no apparent Athenian objection.

Eight of the ten can be identified with security as representing eight different tribes. The demes of the other two remain uncertain. Sundwall<sup>33</sup> suggested that Ἱπποκράτης Ἀριστοκράτους might be the Ἱπποκράτης ἐκ Κεραιέων of *II*<sup>2</sup> 204, and a little support for this suggestion now comes from the appearance of an Aristokrates in that deme in 223-2.<sup>34</sup> Since this leaves Aiantis the only tribe unrepresented, he suggested that Βόηθος Νausinίκου might be connected with Βόηθος Φαληρέως of *II*<sup>2</sup> 2423, which I now take to be a *bouleutai*-list of 340-320.<sup>35</sup> The uncertainty of the process can be shown by reversing the argument. The only Nausinikos known in Attica is the archon of 378-7 (*PA* 10584), who is Κεφαλήθεν. If Boethos is his son, Hippokrates is left for Aiantis, and there is a Hippokrates known from Aiantis (*II*<sup>2</sup> 1927. 137).

With our new information we can profitably discuss the ages of this board. Nikeratos and possibly Glauketes will have been sixty-three in 326-5, Lycurgus probably about the same. Demades seems to me to be unduly down-dated by Kirchner (*PA* 3263), who gives him a birth-year around 380. He is referred to as γέρον in 319, which suggests an earlier date, particularly since the reference is in a life of Phokion.<sup>36</sup> His son was born about 356,<sup>37</sup> and a marriage at twenty-two or twenty-three is hardly credible for what we know of his early

<sup>26a</sup> [Εὐθύ]δικος Σφήντιος is a likely restoration in *II*<sup>2</sup> 449. 8. It intensifies the difficulties pointed out in n. 24.

<sup>27</sup> See n. 19.

<sup>28</sup> *BCH* XX 676.

<sup>29</sup> *Epigraphische Beiträge* 49.

<sup>30</sup> See no. XXVII. Cf. also *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 7612.

<sup>31</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 296.

<sup>32</sup> *ad FdD* III 1, 511.

<sup>33</sup> *Hesperia* IX 117.

<sup>34</sup> *Plut. Phoc.* 1.

<sup>35</sup> *JHS* LIX 82.

<sup>36</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 53. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia* XIII 232.

life. Phanodemos the Atthidographer cannot be placed exactly. A member of the Council in 343-2 (II<sup>2</sup> 223), he must have been born in or before 373. A rather earlier date is suggested by the fact that the *Histories* of his son Diyllos stopped in 297,<sup>38</sup> but we do not know the circumstances in which Diyllos stopped writing. Klearchos is definitely much younger, since his father Nausikles was a ἡλικιώτης of Aeschines, and was therefore born about 390.<sup>39</sup> Neoptolemos is a problem. If he is referred to in Dem. XXI 215, he must have been at least about twenty-five in 348, and there is another possible datable reference in II<sup>2</sup> 1582 (of 342), but none of the references gives any very firm date. Kleochares is again uncertain, but his position as ἐγγυητής of the Chalcidian triremes in 340<sup>40</sup> suggests a date earlier than 365 for his birth.

The board for the Amphiarquia has a similar elderly tinge. Besides Phanodemos, Lycurgus, Demades, and Nikeratos, we have Kephisophon, now shown to have been born in 389-8. Thymochares (PA 7412) is younger, quite probably still in his thirties, and is active at least as late as 313. Epitcles (PA 4955, 4963), besides his ritual position here, served as ναοποιός at Delphi in three successive years, 328-325, and in 324-3 or 323-2.<sup>41</sup> In Athens in the late summer of 323, he proposed II<sup>2</sup> 365, again apparently ritual, arising out of the Nemean games. The Delphian proxeny decree for him (FdD III 1, 408) is now shown by Daux<sup>42</sup> to be from the archonship of Kaphis, i.e. 327-6. All this, however, illuminates his interests, but does not tell us his age. The other three are unattested, apart from the grave-stele of Epichares' father (II<sup>2</sup> 7020), which is not helpful.

The contributors to the dedication of 328-7 share three names with the board for the Amphiarquia, Phanodemos, Demades, and Kephisophon. Not all the remaining restorations are certain, and one identification must be abandoned, for Eukadmos, the *anagrapheus* of 319-18, is now known to be from Anakaia, not from Kollyte.<sup>43</sup> Καλλιπ[τ]ῆ[ς] Ἐροιόδ[ου], a most uncertain restoration, would have been fifty-six, since he was *diatetes* three years later (II<sup>2</sup> 1926). Καλλικ[ρ]άτης Στεριεύς is an unwarranted restoration, and Leonardos has confused his own creation Καλλικράτης Καλλικ[ρ]ατίδου, superintendent of the Mysteries in 331-0 (II<sup>2</sup> 1672. 244), with Καλλικρατίδης Καλλικράτους, *anagrapheus* after 335 (II<sup>2</sup> 413). The gap between these men and the sudden efflorescence of the family in the first century remains unfilled. Ἀριστίων [Κολλυτεύς] is another highly speculative restoration. Polyeuktos of Sphettos is well known (PA 11934, 11950). A birth-year in the 380s is most probable.

I think it fair to claim that these three lists are a fair cross-section of the governing party under Lycurgus, and that at least one striking feature of them is the high average age of those whose age is ascertainable. Experience and wealth are the chief passports to power in the period.

An equally striking fact is the absence of the two men in Athens who possessed these qualifications in full measure. Hyperides and Demosthenes are absent from all three lists, and so, with the exception of Polyeuktos, is anybody who might be claimed as an associate of theirs. Hyperides has always been recognised as a comparatively isolated figure in the Lycurgan period, but it has been the fashion to speak of the regime as a coalition between Lycurgus and Demosthenes.<sup>43</sup> There is, I think, little evidence to support this view, which is largely inference from before Chaeronea. Demosthenes was σιτώνης in 328, that is, he had the privilege of contributing a talent,<sup>44</sup> and he co-operated with Lycurgus in the attempt to crush Aristo-

<sup>38</sup> P. Oxy. 2082 (FGH 257a. 3).

<sup>39</sup> Aeschines II 184. I hope to show elsewhere that the accepted date of A's birth is suspect, but it is not wrong enough to affect the issue here.

<sup>40</sup> II<sup>2</sup> 1623. 12.

<sup>41</sup> BCH LXXVIII (1954), 375-6 with new fragment.

<sup>42</sup> CAH VI 265-6, 440 ff.

<sup>43</sup> FdD III 5, *passim*.

<sup>44</sup> Hesperia IX 345.

<sup>45</sup> [Plut.] Mor. 845 F, 851 B.



geiton,<sup>45</sup> but we have very little evidence for his having been an influence in the state in this period, and we know at least one important occasion when he opposed the official policy of sending ships to Alexander.<sup>46</sup> These three lists help to confirm this view. We understand Lycurgus better if we realise that he found it easier to co-operate with Demades and Thymochares than with Demosthenes and Hypereides. Tarn<sup>47</sup> makes an important slip when he says that the decree in honour of the board for the Amphiareia was proposed by Demosthenes. So it was, but by Demosthenes of Lamptraí, not by Demosthenes of Paiania.

Gomme's tables<sup>48</sup> of deme-representation among the *diaitetai* can now be improved.

	1924 + 2409	1926		1924 + 2409	1926
ERECHTHEIS			PANDIONIS		
Εὠνυμείς	1 (+ ?)	4	Παιανιείς	4 (? 5 +)	2
Κηφισιείς	1 (+ ?)	2	Στεριείς	1 (+ ?)	0
Ἀναγυράσιοι	1 (+ ?)	1	Προβαλίσιοι	1 (? 2 +)	1
Φηγούσιοι	1 (+ ?)	2	Πρασιείς	(? 1)	0
Λαμπτρεῖς	?	3	LEONTIS		
ἐκ Κηδῶν	(? 1)	1	Λευκονοεῖς	?	1
Θημακεῖς	(? 1)	0	Χολλεῖδαι	?	4
AIGEIS			Δειραδιῶται	1 (+ ?)	3
Κολλυτεῖς	3 (+ ?)	2	Φρεάρριοι	3 (+ ?)	2
Κυδαντίδαι	1 (+ ?)	2	Σουνιείς	?	1
Ἑρχιείς	?	2	Σκαμβωνίδαι	1 (+ ?)	1
Ἀλαιείς	2 (+ ?)	2	Υβᾶδαι	1 (+ ?)	0
Γαργήττιοι	?	1	ἐξ Οἴου	1 (+ ?)	0
Ἰκαριείς	1 (+ ?)	2	AKAMANTIS		
Διομειείς	1 (+ ?)	1	Προσπάλτιοι	1 (+ ?)	4
Ἑστιαιείς	?	1	Χολαργεῖς	2 (+ ?)	1
Πλωθεῖς	?	1	Θορίκιοι	?	2
ἐγ Μυρρινούττης	1 (+ ?)	0	Ἀγνούσιοι	1 (+ ?)	1
Φιλαίδαι	1 (+ ?)	0	Πόριοι	?	1
			ἐκ Κεραμέων	1 (+ ?)	0
			Ἰφιστιάδαι	1 (+ ?)	0
			Σφήττιοι	2 (+ ?)	0

Even with our list still incomplete, the variations are striking, and II<sup>2</sup> 1925 has two demes not represented in either list. Clearly nothing is to be inferred about the relative sizes of demes from the *diaitetai*-lists. A deme is not a big enough unit to have a constant annual birth or death rate.

DAVID M. LEWIS

<sup>45</sup> Phot. *Bibl.* 491a 35 ff; *Hyp.* to Dem. XXV.

<sup>46</sup> *CAH* VI 448.

<sup>47</sup> [Plut.] *Mor.* 847 C.

<sup>48</sup> *Population of Athens* 56 ff.

## GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM CRETE AND ITHACA

IN *BSA* XLIII (1948), 121, G4 (pl. 46), I published a fragment of gold ornament from the votive deposit at Aetos in Ithaca. I described it as a pendant, but was unable to adduce any real parallel. Comparison with a complete object illustrated in *BSA* XLIX (1954), pl. 27, 1, shows that it is a snake-head finial from one of a pair of chains (or possibly one of a pair of such finials from a single longer chain) which supported a pendant. The broken end of the hook or ring on which the pendant hung is preserved under the snake's chin, and can be seen in the illustration.

The complete piece, excavated at Khaniale Tekke (Knossos) by R. W. Hutchinson and published by him, *loc. cit.* 216 f., formed part of a sealed *cache*, buried in a small pot in the floor of a tomb. Technically the work goes closely with that of another pendant from the same *cache* (*loc. cit.*, pl. 27, 2), which on stylistic grounds appears, as Mr. Hutchinson points out, to be Cretan of the early or mid-seventh century B.C. The highly stylised snake-head from Aetos is more elaborate than those of the Khaniale Tekke chains, but extremely like them and quite unlike anything else. The treatment of the 'necks' is exceedingly similar, and is paralleled in the top bar of the pendant carried by the Khaniale Tekke snakes. The ornament from which the Ithaca piece is broken must certainly have been of the same period as the example from Khaniale Tekke, and quite possibly was also of Cretan origin. There is already a little evidence in the pottery from Aetos for contact with Crete during the earlier part of the seventh century (*BSA* XLIII 124); and the only other gold objects from the site (apart from a fragment of spiral wire) are two beads (*loc. cit.* 121, G2 and 3) of a type found also in the Idaean Cave.

MARTIN ROBERTSON

## HOMER AND ATTIC GEOMETRIC VASES

SINCE Dr. Hampe's identification of epic scenes in eighth-century art twenty years ago opinion has been divided as to how far these can be accepted. To quote two recent opinions, Mr. G. S. Kirk<sup>1</sup> ends his discussion of Hampe's identifications: 'thus there is no Geometric representation which we can confidently describe as representing a definite scene from the heroic saga, let alone from epic as we know it'. Professor Kraiker,<sup>2</sup> however, accepts the Aktorione-Molione and the Herakles fighting the Stymphalian birds.<sup>3</sup> Mr. J. M. Cook<sup>4</sup> has argued that the spread of the Homeric epic from Ionia to the mainland was responsible both for the institution of hero cults in Greece and for the appearance in post-Geometric painting (seventh century) of scenes derived from the epic.

The existence of epic representations in Attic, Corinthian, and Argive painting of the early seventh century is undoubted, and the list<sup>5</sup> has recently been increased by a very fine Argive Odysseus and Polyphemos and a superb Attic vase with Odysseus blinding Polyphemos and Perseus pursued by Gorgons. The question is whether this is really a new beginning or a development of something already existing which is difficult for us to recognise. I do not wish to argue against the supposition that seventh-century painting was influenced by the spread of the Homeric epic to the mainland, although Boeotian epic would also have to be considered, since its influence on Boeotian fibulae in the seventh century can hardly be doubted; but Boeotian epic was no doubt itself affected by Ionian epic, as certain passages in Hesiod show.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Athens was neither without poetry nor without contact with Ionia during the eighth century. If the Mycenaean Greek texts recovered by Dr. Ventris and Mr. Chadwick<sup>7</sup> have shown that in many respects Homer is more Mycenaean than we had recently imagined, they presumably also show that Ionian and mainland poetry had a common Mycenaean ancestry. If the traditions of the foundation of the Ionian cities by Neleids through Athens are true (and the attempt to explain them away as Peisistratan propaganda is unconvincing), the Mycenaean poetic heritage was not divided between Attica and Ionia until at the earliest 1000 B.C. This means that at least half of the development in poetry between the sack of Pylos and the composition of the *Iliad* had taken place before the Ionian migration. If we accept a mid-eighth century date for the *Iliad*, the two streams had not been separate for more than 250 years when the *Iliad* was composed.

It is, moreover, questionable how complete this separation was. To the archaeological evidence for contact, export of Athenian protogeometric and geometric pottery,<sup>8</sup> imitation of an Attic *prothesis* attended by two Dipylon warriors on a geometric vase in Samos,<sup>9</sup> import of metalwork and ivory from the East and its imitation in Athens,<sup>10</sup> a little literary evidence can be added. Hesiod has already been quoted; in Ithaca a hexameter with Homeric echoes occurs on a vase which 'cannot be much, if at all, later than 700 B.C.';<sup>11</sup> still farther west in

<sup>1</sup> *BSA* XLIV (1949), 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer* 46.

<sup>3</sup> Brommer, *Herakles*, pl. 18, now in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

<sup>4</sup> *Geras A. Keramopoulou* 117.

<sup>5</sup> G. S. Kirk, *loc. cit.*; D. F. Gray, *Fifty years of Classical Scholarship* 27. New: *JHS* LXXIII (1953), 116; *ILN*, 1954, 13th November, 841.

<sup>6</sup> *Op.* 157 f., 651 f. Cf. Lorimer, *HM* 461.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Antiquity*, 1954, 10 f.

<sup>8</sup> Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 215 f., 313 f.; Cook, *JHS* LXXII (1952), 104; Pfuhl, *MuZ* I 74.

<sup>9</sup> Technau, *AM* LIV (1929), 15, pl. 2; Rumpf, *MuZ* 23.

<sup>10</sup> Metalwork: *Keramikos* V 201 f.; ivories, Lorimer, *HM* 45.

<sup>11</sup> C. M. Robertson, *BSA* XLIII (1948), 82. Ischia: *Rendiconti Lincei*, 1955, 215 f.

Ischia a vase of about the same date (the knowledge of which I owe to my colleague, Professor C. M. Robertson) has an inscription in hexameters which also have Homeric echoes. Still more important is the hexameter on the well-known Attic geometric jug.<sup>12</sup> Its absolute date has been set before 750, between 750 and 725, and at 700 or later; what matters, however, is its relative date, which must be put at least a generation before the Proto-Attic vases which are supposed to reflect the spread of Ionian epic to the mainland. The inscription reads: ὁς νῦν ὀρχεσθὼν πάντων ἀταλότατα παίζει. Professor Leumann is convinced that this verse is not only inspired by Epic but directly inspired by the passage in the Shield of Achilles (*Iliad* XVIII 567-72), when girls and boys ἀτάλα φρονέοντες carry the vintage and dance to the singing of a boy with a lyre. The argument runs as follows: on an original τολάφρων 'courageous' (cf. *Iliad* XIII 300) was formed ἀταλάφρων 'cowardly', which is applied to Astyanax in *Iliad* VI 400. This came to mean not so much 'cowardly' as 'childish', and on it was moulded ἀταλαφρονέων in this sense. ἀταλαφρονέων was then divided as ἀτάλα φρονέων, and in this form appears in the Shield of Achilles with the meaning 'who have youthful thoughts' and the specific connection with dancing. Once the division has been made, ἀτάλος becomes a word on its own (cf. 'tender' *Od.* XI 39, 'skittish' *Iliad* XX 222), and on it the verbs ἀτάλλειν 'gambol' (*Iliad* XIII 27) and ἀπιτάλλειν 'bring up' (*Iliad* V 271) are formed. The chain of development is convincing; but dare we accept the further conclusion that the Shield of Achilles had already been composed and was known in Athens at the time the jug was painted? This step seems to me on this evidence alone unjustified. The composer of our *Iliad* knows the whole gamut of uses from τολάφρων to ἀπιτάλλειν and can use them as he chooses. If he uses ἀτάλλειν and ἀπιτάλλειν as verbs, he is unlikely to have himself first made the connection between 'having tender thoughts' and 'dancing' which we find in the Shield of Achilles. All that we can say with safety is that ἀταλότατα παίζει represents a late but not the latest stage in the development. Whether this stage was reached before the separation of the streams or whether it was reached later in Ionia and returned thence to Athens before the making of the jug seems to me at present impossible to decide. The general Homeric quality of the hexameters from Athens, Ithaca, Ischia, and Boeotia suggest at least a common technique in the late eighth century.

The hexameter on the Attic geometric jug proves acquaintance in Attica with hexameter poetry which stands in some relation to Homeric poetry. The relative dating, at least a generation before the Proto-Attic vases which are supposed to reflect the spread of Ionian epic to the mainland, is certain. Absolute dating is more difficult; late geometric vases are dated by Protocorinthian vases which are found with them, and Protocorinthian vases are dated by the foundation of the Western colonies. But (quite apart from disputes about the placing of individual pieces in the geometric series) the period of time needed for the development of the geometric figure style from its earliest to its latest phase has been variously estimated from a maximum of a hundred to a minimum of twenty-five years. For the purpose of this article I have used 'early' for the monumental amphorae and kraters, which I believe to have been painted about the middle of the eighth century, and 'late' for the vases which I believe to belong to the last quarter of the century and to precede Proto-Attic; the rest come between them but are more clearly separated from the late group than from the early.<sup>13</sup> The inscribed jug belongs to this middle period, as do the two vases which have the best claim to be inspired

<sup>12</sup> Athens, NM 192, Studniczka, *AM* XVIII (1893), pl. 10, 225; *AM* VI (1881), pl. 3, 106, Furtwängler; Rehm, *Handbuch d. Archäologie* I 196: dates before 750. Young, *Hesperia* Suppl. II 228; Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* 141; Lorimer, *HM* 129; L. R. Palmer, *Fifty years of Classical Scholarship* 24.

<sup>13</sup> I follow in the main J. M. Cook in *BSA* XLII (1947), 151. Kübler in *Kerameikos* V compresses the whole development between 760 and 730; the latter date seems to me too high.



by poetry, the Agora jug with the Aktorione-Molione (FIG. 1) and the jug in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen with Herakles and the Stymphalian birds.

On the Ny Carlsberg jug <sup>14</sup> a man is throttling the last of a row of birds. The identification



FIG. 1.—GEOMETRIC OENOCHOE IN THE AGORA MUSEUM.

depends on the identification of a similar scene on a seventh-century Boeotian fibula, which also shows a man fighting a lion. That the hero in each case is Herakles seems extremely likely, as another Boeotian fibula shows him slaying the Hydra with the crab in attendance.<sup>15</sup> It is reasonable to argue back from the Boeotian fibulae not only to the man throttling the bird on the Ny Carlsberg jug but also to the man fighting a lion on two contemporary Attic vases <sup>16</sup> and on a geometric fragment from Chios.<sup>17</sup> All these three labours of Herakles seem to derive from earlier oriental models, and as the stories must have been taken over by the Greeks long before the geometric period, this would seem to be no argument against the identification. The stand from the Kerameikos <sup>18</sup> has on each of its legs a man fighting a lion; the reason would seem to be that the geometric artist is not frightened of repeating figure scenes any more than of repeating patterns; similar repetitions of figure scenes occur on contemporary gold bands. One more geometric lion scene has had many interpretations—the man who is eaten by two lions on the kantharos in Copenhagen.<sup>19</sup> It is perhaps unwise to add another. That there are two lions in this and other representations may be due to desire for symmetrical grouping. Commentators assume that the man is being eaten, but Jonah survived the whale, and Jason on a cup <sup>20</sup> by Douris is issuing from the mouth of the dragon which guarded the golden fleece. It may be a myth of this kind which is illustrated on the kantharos in Copenhagen.

<sup>14</sup> Brommer, *Herakles* 25, pl. 18.

<sup>15</sup> British Museum 3204, 3205. Illustrated Brommer, *Herakles*, pll. 3 and 8; Hampe, *Sagenbilder*, pll. 1 and 2. On the dating see J. M. Cook, *BSA XXXV* (1934), 206.

<sup>16</sup> Athens, Kerameikos 407, *Kerameikos V* 177, n. 71, pl. 69, isolated find: '740 B.C.'; 2160, *Kerameikos V* 152, 169, 177, pl. 77, isolated find: 'about 745'.

<sup>17</sup> W. R. Lamb, *BSA XXXV* (1934), 158, no. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Kerameikos 407. See n. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Copenhagen, NM 727, *CV Copenhagen*, IIIh, pl. 73, 5; 74, 2-6; Hahland, *Corolla Ludwig Curtius* 121; Jeanmaire, *Mélanges Glotz* 483; Young, *Hesperia* Suppl. II 232 'late Cviii/Cvii'; *Kerameikos V* 152 'about 740'; Matz, *Gr. K.*, pl. 16a; Kraiker, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 45; Jacobsthal, *JHS LXXI* (1951), 87.

<sup>20</sup> Beazley, *ARV* 386-93.

On the Agora jug <sup>21</sup> a scene is interposed between two chariots, one driven by a naked man with a sword, the other by a man with helmet, Dipylon shield, sword, and two spears. Two men with helmet, spear, and sword attack a double figure as he steps on to a chariot; the two ends of his two crests are connected, and a square shield covers both his bodies. Hampe identified him as the Aktorione-Molione (the twins who performed as a single competitor in the chariot race, *Iliad* XXIII 638) and this scene as their battle with Nestor (*Iliad* XI 707 ff.). Mr. Cook objects that on the krater in New York <sup>22</sup> they occur three times in one frieze of twelve chariots, but this objection is not fatal if the geometric artist, as the repetition of lion-slayers suggests, does not mind repeating the same person more than once on the same vase. Mr. Kirk finds it strange that such an apparently obscure subject from the Pylos saga should be chosen, but if the kings of Athens traced their descent from Nestor, the strangeness disappears. Whether the story that the painter is thinking of is the story of *Iliad* XI or not, we cannot say, as the twins may have had other battles which are not recounted in our *Iliad*.

They have a square shield on the Agora oenochoe, and one of the drivers has a Dipylon shield. It is possible that such shields are an indication that the painter is depicting the heroes of the past. Miss Lorimer <sup>23</sup> has called the Dipylon shields that appear in heroic scenes on seventh-century Protocorinthian and later vases 'a deliberate piece of romantic archaizing', 'deliberately introduced to mark the scene as heroic'. Was this already true in the eighth century? No Dipylon shield survives, and all the representations discussed by Miss Lorimer could be explained as stylised reminiscences of the Minoan 8-shield, whether to mark a scene or figure as heroic or as a decorative motive (the bone shield <sup>24</sup> from the Dipylon cemetery seems to have decorated a chest like the ivory shields recently discovered in Mycenae <sup>25</sup>). Miss Lorimer's alternative suggestion that the Dipylon shield was derived from a shield used by the Hittites supposes an equally long memory, since this shield must have been borrowed in the Bronze Age. As a weapon, the body shield seems, at least by the end of the fourteenth century, to have gone out in favour of the single-grip round shield. In Athens itself round bosses found in the Kerameikos and dated by the excavators to the eleventh and tenth centuries imply round shields, and the iron boss from the Kynosarges cemetery seems to have been found in a geometric context and is presumably rather later.<sup>26</sup> From the other end the date of hoplite equipment is put back well into the eighth century by the discovery of a bronze breast-plate in a Late Geometric grave at Argos.<sup>27</sup> The round shields represented on Attic geometric vases cannot in fact be distinguished from hoplite shields as they are depicted on Proto-Attic, and they appear considerably before the 'late' group of Geometric. It seems unlikely that Athenian soldiers

<sup>21</sup> Athens, Agora Museum, P 4885. Young, *Hesperia* Suppl. II 69, Grave XIII, 1, 'end of Cviii; same hand as BM bowl, Athens NM 184'; Hampe, *Sagenbilder* 87-8; *Gleichnisse* 30; Nottbohm, *Jdl LVIII* (1943), 17, workshop of NM 804; Kübler, *Kerameikos V* 178, dates 750-45; Kraiker, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 46; Lorimer, *HM*, pl. 26, 3, 320 n. 5, 323 n. 4 (accepts interpretation); J. M. Cook, *BSA XXXV* (1934), 206; G. S. Kirk, *BSA XLIV* (1949), 149.

<sup>22</sup> New York, Metr. Mus., 14.130.15, early; Richter, *AJA XIX* (1915), 394, pll. 21, 22, 23, 2 and 3; *Handbook* (1927), fig. 27; *Kerameikos V* 173, 745-35 B.C.; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 50, n. 11 'on the edge of the late style'; Richter, *Handbook*, pl. 142; Hampe, *Sagenbilder* 47, fig. 21; *Gleichnisse* 30; Cook, *BSA XXXV* (1934), 206; Kirk, *BSA XLIV* (1949), 149; Zschietzschmann, *AM LIII* (1928), 18 f. no. 12.

<sup>23</sup> *HM* 156; *BSA XLII* (1947), 95.

<sup>24</sup> *AM XVIII* (1893), 123, fig. 20.

<sup>25</sup> *HM* 154-5; to Miss Lorimer's references add now *Kerameikos V* 198.

<sup>26</sup> *JHS LXXIV* (1954), 153, pl. 8. For hoplite shields on Attic geometric, see S. Benton, *BSA XLVIII* (1953), 340.



abandoned the single-grip round shield for the strange Dipylon shield some time in the ninth century and then abandoned this in turn soon after the middle of the eighth century for the new round shield but preserved it in art as 'a deliberate piece of romantic archaizing'.

If, however, from the beginning of Geometric figure painting the Dipylon shield marked the scene as heroic, we have to ask how the form of the body shield was remembered. It is possible that such shields were made for ritual or ceremonial purposes throughout the intervening period, but of this we have no evidence. The shape could also have been transmitted as an ornament in textiles; the other arts are so devoid of pictorial elements in the Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods that they need hardly be considered. It is, however, more likely that some precious Mycenaean objects survived. The bone shield from the Dipylon cemetery, like the ivory shields from Mycenae, seems to have ornamented a chest. We now have an indication that a Mycenaean throne decorated with, among other ivories, a warrior with a body shield was above ground in a place where all could see it in the eighth century. These ivories are believed by the excavators<sup>28</sup> to have been taken from the Mycenaean Artemision at Delos to form part of the foundation deposit in the new Artemision, which was built at the end of the eighth century. Delos was scarcely outside the range of Athenians in the eighth century (Athenian geometric pottery was found on the site of the Artemision and elsewhere), and similar survivals are possible in Athens itself.

It is not therefore unreasonable to look at the scenes on Athenian geometric pottery from this point of view. Dipylon shields are sometimes used purely decoratively as presumably was the bone shield on the chest.<sup>29</sup> Where, however, a pair are suspended above something which looks like an altar and between two or more seated men with rattles,<sup>30</sup> the natural interpretation is that this is a ceremony conducted at the tomb or shrine of a hero. Once two women hold rattles over the altar and on either side warriors advance wearing helmets and Dipylon shields and carrying two spears.<sup>31</sup> This, then, is a parade of heroes at the tomb or shrine of one of their number while he is being remembered. Such parades are common on vases, alone<sup>32</sup> or in connection with *prothesis* scenes. In the former parades warriors with round shields are sometimes mixed with warriors with Dipylon shields or square shields or both;<sup>33</sup> it would be perhaps fanciful to see here a mixture of heroes and contemporaries rather than a delight in the changing shapes in the shields of the painter's repertoire. The man with two horses is no doubt a hero if not a god, but he is sometimes given no shield, sometimes a Dipylon shield, and once a round shield.<sup>34</sup> When he has a round shield, he is given the equipment of the day instead of the

<sup>28</sup> H. Gallet de Santerre and J. Treheux, *BCH* LXXI/II (1946/7), 148 f., 244 f. I owe the reference to Mr. Sinclair Hood: Attic geometric in Delos: Dugas, *Delos* XV 91.

<sup>29</sup> Athens, Kerameikos 323. *Kerameikos* V, pl. 88, 250, Grave 57, about 740; replica 324, cf. cup 389, Grave 34, pl. 131. Cf. also trefoil-mouthed oenochoe, Munich 6406, *CV* III pl. 112-3 and 4 (725-700); cf. also oenochoe, English private collection, Benton, *BSA* XXXV (1934), no. 7, fig. 116.

<sup>30</sup> Athens, British School, Cook, *BCH* LXX (1946), 99, fig. 1; Cook, *BSA* XLII 154; Droop, *BSA* XII 81; Kraiker, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 41, n. 24; Hahland, *Festschr. Zucker*, pl. 7, no. 1. London 1916.1-8.2, Hahland, pl. 7 and 8, no. 2, says 'Sockelbau' for table. Boston 03.777, Fairbanks, *Catalogue*, no. 267, pl. 22; Cook, *BSA* XLII 154; *BCH* LXX 97; Kraiker, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 41, n. 24; Hahland, pl. 9-10, no. 3. The objects are 'rattles' (J. M. Cook, *BCH* LXX (1946), 97 f.), not 'sprinklers' (Hahland), because they are associated with lyres on Athens NM 17.497 (Hahland no. 8), 18.542 (Hahland no. 6), Copenhagen NM 9367 (Hahland no. 7).

<sup>31</sup> Paris, Louvre CA 1940, Hahland no. 4.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. neck of Agora P 4885 (above, n. 21); Kerameikos 812, *Kerameikos* V, Grave 88, 170, 178, pl. 117. '750/45 B.C.' Copenhagen NM 726, *CV* Copenhagen, IIIb, pl. 72, 4, 74, 1, from Dipylon cemetery; Nottbohm, *JdI* LVIII (1943), 24, workshop of Athens 990. London 1927.4-11.1, Cook, *BSA* XLII (1947), 146, 151, 154 'last quarter of Cviij'.

<sup>33</sup> Kerameikos 407 (see above n. 16); Altheim Collection, skyphos, Bielefeld, *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* II 43; Munich 6029, cup, *CV* III, pl. 124, 3-4; Paris, Louvre, fragment, *KtB* 112, 7; Lorimer, *HM* 161, fig. 14; Perrot, VII 260.

<sup>34</sup> Dipylon shield: Kerameikos neg. 3238, *Kerameikos* V 178, pl. 87, isolated find, 745-40 B.C. Athens, NM 13038, cup, Pfuhl, *Muz*, fig. 14; NM 14447, kantharos. Round shield: New York, 10.210.7, late, Richter, *Handbook*, pl. 15 c; *BullMetMus* 1911, 33, fig. 6; Cook, *BSA* XLII (1947), 150, grouped with Benaki neck amphora (below, n. 57).

imagined equipment of the past, as is the general custom in later archaic art and almost universal in the fifth century.

On the vases with burial scenes the parade of heroes is sometimes joined to the mourners,<sup>35</sup> sometimes forms a separate frieze below or on the back of the vase,<sup>36</sup> or is interposed between the chariots<sup>37</sup> or in a battle scene.<sup>38</sup> In the battle scenes heroes are shown in action, and we are therefore faced again with the question, are these heroic battles or contemporary battles? The Dipylon shield, there is reason to suppose, is heroic, and the tactics are never hoplite; and there is little evidence that Athenians in the eighth century wanted to be remembered as soldiers; in the Kerameikos graves weapons are uncommon generally, but from the eighth-century graves only a single spearhead is quoted and that early in the century, as against three swords and three spearheads in the ninth, two swords, a spearhead, an arrow head, and two shield bosses in the tenth, two swords, two daggers, one shield boss, five spearheads in the eleventh.<sup>39</sup> It is therefore arguable that in the eighth century the Athenians were more interested in poetry about heroic battles than in battles and that this poetry inspired their artists. This would explain why Homer often provides a useful commentary on geometric battle scenes; our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* belong to a parallel and not necessarily disconnected stream of heroic poetry, and were composed in the same century. Homer has in the main, as Miss Lorimer has shown, brought his tactics into line with pre-hoplite tactics. His descriptions of ships, according to Mr. Kirk, were not similarly modernised; in particular, he never mentioned the ram, although the ram was already drawn by artists in the twelfth century.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps Homer did not mention rams because he does not describe sea-fighting; the twelfth-century vase from Asine shows that geometric rams cannot be used as an argument that the scenes represented are not heroic.

Many correspondences have been noted between geometric and Homeric fighting.<sup>41</sup> I am only concerned in what follows to mention certain important examples; I include other vases with those that have burial scenes (we may assume these for all the big kraters, many of which are fragmentary). Opinion has varied whether the battles on and round ships represent the Battle for the Ships in the *Iliad* or raids such as Achilles' raid on Lyrnessos (*Od.* III 191 f.) or Odysseus' raid on the Kikones (*Od.* IX 39 f.). The landing of Protesilaos has also been suggested for one vase,<sup>42</sup> and it is fair to remember that Hesiod, not so very much later, speaks of 'war leading the heroes in ships to Troy' (*Op.* 164) and of the Assembly at Aulis (*Op.* 652). Various types of scene can be distinguished on the vases. Two Dipylon warriors above or on

<sup>35</sup> Athens, NM unnumbered, early, Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 53, pll. 5-7, 8, same hand as Brussels + Louvre fragments. Pl. 9, 1 could belong. K. dates it to 775-50. Paris, Louvre A 522, fragments, early, Chamoux, *RA* XXIII (1945), 71, fig. 5. Kunze, *AE* 1953, 163. Paris, Musée Rodin, *CV Rodin*, pl. 9, 1, 2, 4 and p. 11; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 50, n. 11, adds further fragments. Halle 58, 58a, *Jdl* LVIII (1943), fig. 3-4; cf. also the Samian fragment, above n. 9.

<sup>36</sup> Athens, NM 18062, krater (early); New York, 14.130.15, see above, n. 22; Paris, Louvre, A 520 etc., early, Villard, *RA* XXXI 2 (1949), 1065 ff.; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 50, n. 11; *AE* 1953, 164.

<sup>37</sup> New York, 14.130.14, early, Richter, *AJA* XIX (1915), 386, pl. 17, 20, 23, 1; Nottbohm, *Jdl* LVIII (1943), 29, fig. 15 (near Athens 990); Rumpf, *MuZ*, pl. 1, 5; Matz, *Gr. K.*, pl. 10; *Kerameikos* V 173, 745/35 n.c.; *Handbook*, pl. 14 b, e; Benton, *BSA* XXXV (1934), 103, no. 3, the cauldron ('775/50'); Zschietzschmann, no. 11. Leipzig T 2384, early, Nottbohm, *Jdl* LVIII (1943), 24, same hand as Athens 990; joins with Leiden VII 54 and 53 (illustrated *Gds* 28); Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 48, n. 3, adds further fragments.

<sup>38</sup> New York, 34.11.2, early, Richter, *BullMetMus* 1934, 169 'early eighth'; Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), no. 6; Richter, *Handbook*, pl. 14 d, f; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* n. 11, 39, one of the earliest monumental grave kraters; *Kerameikos* V 173, dates 745-35. Paris, Louvre A 519, early, Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer*, n. 14, n. 19 (same hand as Brussels + Louvre krater) '775/50'; Nottbohm, *Jdl* LVIII (1943), 2 (same hand as NM 804); Lorimer, *HM* 156, fig. 12; Schadewaldt, *Homers Welt u. Werke*, fig. 7; Matz, *Gr. Kunst.*, pl. 13 a; Chamoux, *RA* XXIII (1945), 71; *Kerameikos* V 189, 'mid-8th century'.

<sup>39</sup> *Kerameikos* V 198.

<sup>40</sup> Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), 140; stirrup vase from Asine, *ibid.* 117, fig. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Lorimer, *HM* 239, 300, etc.; Schadewaldt, *op. cit.* 115 f.; Chamoux, *RA* XXIII (1945), 87 f.

<sup>42</sup> Brussels + Louvre A 531 + Athens, early, Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer*, pl. 4, pl. 9, 4, 5, pp. 49 f.; *KIB* 112, 4; Matz, *Gr. K.*, pl. 13 b; Chamoux, *RA* XXIII (1945), 86 fig. 8 (School of NM 804); Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), 105, no. 21, and 27; Hampe, *Gleichnisse* 30, n. 19.

either side of a ship indicate a heroic warship and tell us nothing further.<sup>43</sup> Sometimes the ship is departing, with men lying transfixed under bow or stern and with corpses on the deck.<sup>44</sup> Geometric conventions are difficult, and it is possible that the rowers are only inserted to show that the ship can move, and that the corpses are really on land. But departure after an unsuccessful raid, like Odysseus' raid on the Kikones, seems a reasonable interpretation. In other pictures<sup>45</sup> the ship is stationary and presumably beached as in the *Iliad* (but even here the sail may only show that the ship can move); the battle may take place along the whole length of the ship, at bow and/or stern, and on shore beside the ship, and the dead are 'fallen in the dust in front of the black ship' (*Iliad* XV 423). It is impossible to say whether the ship is beached by the bow or the stern, because the geometric artist analyses his battle into attack and defence from both ends of the ship. In other battles<sup>46</sup> the ship is not indicated. One scene<sup>47</sup> is unique in that it seems to represent negotiations between Dipylon warriors for the burial of corpses, as at the end of the seventh book of the *Iliad*.

The manner of fighting is Homeric; we see sword-fights and spear-fights, and archers like Teucer, Paris, and Pandaros in the *Iliad*.<sup>48</sup> On the jug in Copenhagen (FIG. 2)<sup>49</sup> the man approaching the ship holds his single-grip shield far away from him like Deiphobos (*Iliad* XIII 162, cf. Hektor's description, *Iliad* VII 238); the warrior with the Dipylon shield is killed by a spear on the forehead like Oileus (*Iliad* XI 95); the man to his right succumbs to a low blow 'in the liver beneath his heart, and straightway his knees were loosed beneath him' (*Iliad* XIII 411); the Dipylon warrior boarding the ship collapses backwards (*ibid.* 618). On a krater in the Louvre<sup>50</sup> a warrior with a square shield has hold of another by the crest of his helmet (cf. Menelaos and Paris, *Iliad* III 369); a man is falling with an arrow through his head (*Iliad* XIII 671); a man with a low wound is 'struggling round the weapon' (*ibid.* 568 f.); another, shot through the neck, falls and clutches the ground with his hand (*ibid.* 520, cf. *Iliad* V 309). A dying man on a krater in Athens<sup>51</sup> may really be said to leap 'like a diver' (*Iliad* XVI 742).

On this krater also, as noted above, the parade of Dipylon warriors is part of the burial scene, and in the lower frieze the chariots carry Dipylon warriors.<sup>52</sup> This prompts the question whether these scenes, too, are heroic rather than contemporary. Of course, in the eighth century the dead man was mourned as he lay on his bier (*prothesis*) and then carried out to burial

<sup>43</sup> Louvre A 525; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 49, n. 9; Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), 98, no. 5 ('first half of Cviii'); Williams, *Greece and Rome* 18, pl. 2 c. Eleusis 116 (741): Schädewaldt, *Homers Welt und Werk*, fig. 8; Lorimer, *HM* pl. 20, 1; Kraiker, *Festschr. Schweitzer*, pl. 2, 41 n. 25; Kunze, *op. cit.* 57, n. 38 'streng geometrisch'; Matz, *Gr. K.*, pl. 7; Young, *Hesperia* Suppl. II 232 ('late Cviii/early Cvii'); Kübler, *Kerameikos* V 70 (second quarter of Cviii); Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), 97, no. 3 (dates late Cix). So also fragment in Athens, NM, Kirk, *op. cit.*, no. 33, pl. 40, 2.

<sup>44</sup> Louvre A 521, etc., early, Chamoux, *RA* XXIII (1945), 72, fig. 6; Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), no. 28; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 50, n. 12, n. 34. Brussels, above, n. 42. Königsberg A 18, early, *Monist* IX, pl. 40, 3; Nottbohm, *JdI* LVIII (1943), 17, workshop of Athens NM 804; Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), 98, fig. 2, no. 4; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 51, n. 15. Probably also Louvre A 517, early, *Enc. Phot.* II 258-9; Winter, *KIB* 111, 4; Nottbohm, *JdI* LVIII (1943), 2, figs. 5-6; Chamoux, *RA* XXIII (1945), 57, fig. 1; Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), pl. 38, 2, no. 18; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 55, n. 26, dates 775-50. A 532, early, Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), 108, no. 29, pl. 39, 3, second half of Cviii; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer*, n. 12. Munich 8696, Hampe, *Gleichnisse*, pl. 7 ff., shipwreck (cf. *Od.* XII 415 f.).

<sup>45</sup> Copenhagen, NM 1628, *CV Copenhagen* II, pl. 73 (74), 4 from Dipylon cemetery; Lorimer, *BSA* XLII (1947), 78, fig. 1; *HM* 157, fig. 13; Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), no. 36; Rumpf, *MuZ*, pl. 1, 7; Cook, *BSA* XLII (1947), 146, n. 1; Kraiker, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 46, n. 48. New York, 34.11.2, above, n. 38. Louvre A 527 + 535, early, Chamoux, *RA* XXIII (1945), 72, fig. 9, 'cf. A 543-4'; Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), 100, pl. 38, 1, no. 7 ('second half of Cviii'); Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 52, n. 20; *AE* 1953, Krater II. A 528 + 537, early, Chamoux, *RA* XXIII (1945), 72, fig. 7 and 4; Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), 101, nos. 9 and 10; Chamoux, 88 'cf. 388, 677'; Kunze, *AE* 1953, 166.

<sup>46</sup> Reverse of Eleusis 741, above, n. 43; Louvre A 519, above, n. 38; Athens, NM krater, above, n. 35.

<sup>47</sup> Lambros collection, Schaaf, *Gr. V. in Frankfurt*, fig. 6; *Kerameikos* V 152, 'about 745'.

<sup>48</sup> E.g. New York, 34.11.2, above, n. 38.

<sup>49</sup> A 519, above, n. 38.

<sup>50</sup> A 519, above, n. 38.

<sup>51</sup> A 519, above, n. 38.

<sup>52</sup> So also the chariot friezes even on some vases of the late group, e.g. Eleusis, neck amphora, late, Wide, *JdI* XIV (1899), 194, fig. 57; *KIB* 112, 1; Cook, *BSA* XLII 154; Young, *Hesperia* Suppl. II 147, 'first quarter Cvii'. London, Baring Collection, late, Nottbohm, *JdI* LVIII (1943), 14, fig. 7 (hand of Athens NM 804); Chamoux, *RA* XXIII (1945), 65 rightly disagrees with the attribution; Cook, *BSA* XLII (1947), 155 'last quarter of Cviii', *Kerameikos* V 176 'late second quarter, Cviii'; Benton, *JHS* LXX (1950), pl. 4 a. London, 1914.4.13.1, neck amphora.



FIG. 2.—GEOMETRIC OENOCHOE IN COPENHAGEN.  
(Reproduced from *BSA* XLIV 111.)



(*ekphora*), but a glance through Zschietzschmann's collection of later burial scenes<sup>53</sup> suggests that the geometric scenes are conceived on a much grander scale than their successors; only in the most elaborate of the later scenes, e.g. the series of *pinakes* by Exekias, do chariots appear, and there only four instead of, for instance, fifteen on one of the early kraters.<sup>54</sup> This difference in scale and the occasional presence of Dipylon warriors among the mourners justifies a comparison with the burial scenes of Homer, and the Samian fragment,<sup>55</sup> with its two Dipylon warriors on either side of the bier, which has two crouching mourners beneath it, shows that such pictures were also understood in Ionia.

The funerals of Patroklos, Hektor, and Achilles follow the same general pattern. The dead man is put on a bier (*Iliad* XVIII 233, XXIV 720, *Od.* XXIV 43); this appears on all the vases. At some stage he is anointed and dressed (*Iliad* XVIII 351, XXIV 587, *Od.* XXIV 67); on a neck amphora from the Agora<sup>56</sup> three men carry respectively a wreath, a knife, and what looks like a closed vessel; it may be an ointment pot. The knife is for a sacrifice (*Iliad* XXIII 175 f.; *Od.* XXIV 44). The wreaths (carried on the neck by a man and on the body held over the dead man's head by a woman)<sup>57</sup> perhaps suggest that the man is a hero rather than a contemporary; it seems to have no place in epic descriptions or in later pictures, and they (like the sprays which are given to the dead man on some vases)<sup>58</sup> in no way differ from the wreaths (and sprays) held by dancers on other vases. The corpse is sometimes clothed and sometimes naked; this depends on whether the painter feels that he should show both legs or not; but above him normally hangs an enormous shroud woven in a chessboard pattern (Penelope's famous weaving was a great shroud for Laertes, and Achilles was buried in the raiment of the gods).

The dead man is mourned by people of different sorts: Patroklos and Achilles are mourned by their fellow soldiers (*Iliad* XVIII 233, *Od.* XXIV 45), and similarly among the mourners on the vases, besides the fairly rare Dipylon warriors, of whom we have already spoken, men frequently appear wearing helmet and sword or sword alone.<sup>59</sup> There is a chorus of women mourners who may stand (*Od.* XXIV 58) or kneel (*Iliad* XVIII 30) or sit (*Iliad* XIX 280).<sup>60</sup> Their lamentation is led either by members of the family (Achilles and Briseis for Patroklos, Thetis for Achilles, Andromache, Hekabe, and Helen for Hektor) or by professional singers, seated men for Hektor (*Iliad* XXIV 720) and the Muses for Achilles (*Od.* XXIV 60). On the early vases it is often difficult to distinguish between male and female, as the sexes are sometimes given no distinguishing mark; the later vases show unarmed male choruses as well as female choruses,<sup>61</sup> and some of the early choruses are certainly female.<sup>62</sup> The kneeling mourners<sup>63</sup> seem to be female, as no division can be seen between their legs. The sex of the seated mourners is also difficult to distinguish; it is tempting to suppose that the eight seated mourners on an early

<sup>53</sup> *AM* LIII (1928), 18 f. Cf. also for the following, Hahland, *Corolla Curtius* 121.

<sup>54</sup> Athens, NM 990, Wide, *op. cit.*, no. 25; *Mdl* IX, pl. 39, 1; *KiB* 111, 2; Lorimer, *HM* 156, fig. 11; Buschor, *Gr. V.*, fig. 15; Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, fig. 45; Rumpf, *MuZ.*, pl. 2, 1; Nottbohm, *Jdl* LVIII (1943), 24, third quarter of Cvi; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 48, n. 3 adds further fragments; *Kerameikos* V 173 dates 745-35; Zschietzschmann, no. 20.

<sup>55</sup> See above, n. 9.

<sup>56</sup> Agora P 4990, neck amphora (late); *Hesp.* Suppl. II 55; Cook, *BSA* XXXV 168; XLII 146; *Kerameikos* V 173, 178.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Athens, Benaki Museum 559, late, Cook, *BSA* XXXV 168, n. 1; *BSA* XLII 150, pl. 19, last quarter of Cvi; *KiB* 111, 2; Lorimer, *HM* 156, fig. 11; Buschor, *Gr. V.*, fig. 12; Lane, *Gk. Pottery*.

<sup>58</sup> Athens, NM 804, early, Wide, *op. cit.*, fig. 69; Pfuhl, fig. 10; Buschor, *Gr. V.*, fig. 12; Lane, *Gk. Pottery*, fig. 56; Hampe, *Gleichnisse*, pll. 3-4; Nottbohm, *Jdl* LVIII (1943), 2, dates about 750; Kahane, *AJA* XLIV (1940), 481, dates 775-750; Young, *Hesp.* Suppl. II 231, last quarter of eighth century; Matz, *Gr. K.*, pl. 1, 2; Zschietzschmann, no. 1. 812, fragment, early, *Mdl* IX, pl. 39, 3; *KiB*, 111, 5; Matz, pl. 15 b; Zschietzschmann, no. 2. 18062, krater (early). London, 1912.5-22.1, oenochoe (late); New York, 14.130.14, above, n. 37.

<sup>59</sup> Agora P 4990, above, n. 56; *Kerameikos* 1368, oenochoe (late), *Kerameikos* V 241, pl. 138; NM 804, above, n. 58; NM 990, above, n. 54; Karlsruhe, B2674, neck amphora, *CV* I, pl. 3; Oxford 1916.55, late, Zschietzschmann, no. 13; Cook, *BSA* XLII (1947), 155.

<sup>60</sup> E.g. NM 804, above, n. 58.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. Athens, NM 990, above, n. 54.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Athens, NM 804, above, n. 58; Oxford 1916.55, above, n. 59; Louvre A 520, above, n. 36.



krater in the Louvre <sup>64</sup> are male professionals like those at Hektor's funeral and that the women standing on a dais on two vases <sup>65</sup> are female professionals like the Muses. The members of the family can be seen in the figures giving the dead man a wreath or a spray, as noted above, or touching the shroud or the bier, or standing or sitting close to the body, sometimes actually on the bier; sometimes a woman holds a child on her knee, <sup>66</sup> like Tekmessa with Eurysakes by the body of Ajax, a scene which surely goes back to an epic original.

Two vases <sup>67</sup> show the bier mounted on a wagon for the *ekphora*, and it is worth remembering that Hektor's body is placed on its bier and the bier is then placed on Priam's mule cart (*Iliad* XXIV 589). The body is followed by men in chariots and men on foot (*Iliad* XXIII 129), and they drive and march round the burning pyre (*Od.* XXIV 68). This chariot drive is represented on many vases, and sometimes, as has been noted, Dipylon warriors on foot are interspersed among the drivers. Sometimes the artist seems to be doubtful whether he is representing the chariot drive or the chariot race in the ensuing games (*Iliad* XXIII 262, *Od.* XXIV 85). One vase <sup>68</sup> has a tripod cauldron, the prize for the race, inserted among the chariots, and another <sup>69</sup> a frieze of tripods underneath the chariot frieze. The painter <sup>70</sup> who put the Aktorione-Molione among the chariots was surely thinking of the race in which they defeated Nestor by their twoness (*Iliad* XXIII 638). But on all three vases the tempo is that of the drive and not of the race, whereas on other vases <sup>71</sup> the tempo is that of the race; among these is one of the earliest kraters, but it is probably true to say that the drive is more common on the earlier vases and the race on the later. In general, chariots with both wheels shown belong to the drive, and chariots with only one wheel shown belong to the race; where the artist shows both on one vase he probably alludes both to the drive and to the race.<sup>72</sup>

The funeral games again raise the question whether the painter is not often thinking of poetic accounts rather than or as well as actual games. Homer speaks of games 'at the funeral of heroes when a king has died' (*Od.* XXIV 87), and Hesiod won his tripod at the funeral games of 'warlike Amphidamas', which had been advertised long before (*Op.* 654). These seem to be rare and great occasions which would hardly occur so often in Athens as the vases imply. Certainly the vases agree very well with Homer's account of the funeral games of Patroklos. The events are first the chariot race with an 'eared tripod' (like those on the vases) for first prize. The chariots have two horses, as in most of the races on the vases; but four-horse chariots <sup>73</sup> and three-horse chariots <sup>74</sup> occur both on the vases and in Homer (*Iliad* XI 699, *Od.* IV 590). The second event, boxing, is illustrated on the Copenhagen kantharos; <sup>75</sup> the third, wrestling, on an open krater in Athens, <sup>76</sup> which also shows two boxers and a cauldron

<sup>64</sup> Louvre A 517, above, n. 44; cf. the women, Copenhagen NM 9361, *CV Copenhagen*, IIIh, pl. 72, 2, from gasworks near Dipylon cemetery. Hahland, *Festschr. Zucker*, pl. 19-20, no. 10.

<sup>65</sup> Brussels A 1506, early, *CV Brussels*, IIIHb, pl. 1, 1 (54); Zschietzschmann, no. 6. Oxford, above, n. 59.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. Athens, NM, above, n. 35.

<sup>67</sup> Athens, NM 803, Wide, *op. cit.*, no. 23; 990, above, n. 54.

<sup>68</sup> New York, 14.130.14, above, n. 37. For a complete list of tripods on geometric vases, see S. Benton, *BSA XXXV* (1934), 103. <sup>69</sup> Paris, Musée Rodin, above, n. 35. <sup>70</sup> See above, n. 22.

<sup>71</sup> Agora P 4990, above, n. 56; Kerameikos 1371, above, n. 61. NM 806, early, Kahane, *AJA XLIV* (1940), 477, pl. 25, 'ripe-geometric 800-750'; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 50, n. 11, 32, 39, 'one of the earliest of the kraters, 775-50'; Kraiker, *op. cit.* 41, n. 25; *AM* 1893, 92 ff., 104 ff.; *Kerameikos V* 173, dated 745-35.

<sup>72</sup> Agora P 4990, above, n. 56. Louvre A 520, above, n. 36. Sydney 46.41, early, Trendall, *Handbook* 247, figs. 48 and 49.

<sup>73</sup> Athens, NM 810, late, *AM* 1892, pl. 10; *KtB* 112, 8, 13; Cook, *BSA XXXV* 167; *BSA XLII* 148, workshop of Athens 894, last quarter Cviii; Young, *Hesp. Suppl.* II 57, 232, 'late Cviii/early Cvii'. 894, late, Wide, fig. 61; Cook, *BSA XXXV* 167, 205 (last quarter of Cviii); *BSA XLII* 146; Kraiker, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 46, n. 48; Young, *Hesperia Suppl.* II 232, 'late Cviii/early Cvii'. London 1927.4-11.1, above, n. 32. Paris, Musée Rodin, above, n. 35.

<sup>74</sup> Agora P 4990, above, n. 56. Louvre A 524, early, Pottier, *Album I* pl. 20; Chamoux, *RA XXIII* (1945), 73; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 50, n. 11 (Giraudon 33859). Sydney 46.41, above, n. 72.

<sup>75</sup> NM 727, cf. above, n. 19.

<sup>76</sup> Pernice, *AM* 1892, 226, fig. 10; J. M. Cook, *BSA XXXV* (1934), 167; *BSA XLII* (1947), 149, scheme and stylisations similar to NM 810 but hand less skilled.

on a stand (drawn in section). The fourth event is the foot-race for which the prize is a silver mixing-bowl made by the Sidonians; a krater in Athens <sup>77</sup> shows the foot-race and a most elaborate griffin-handled krater (drawn in section) standing on an ornamented stand; the painter evidently knew such Oriental works in Athens and drew from his knowledge, but the coincidence with the *Iliad* is still remarkable. The same vase, besides showing a chariot race with four-horse chariots, illustrates also the fifth contest, the fight of men in armour, which also appears on the Copenhagen kantharos.<sup>78</sup> Only the contest in archery and the contest with spears cannot, as far as I know, be illustrated from Attic geometric vases.

The vase with the inscription is a prize for dancing, and it may be that the various pictures of dancers illustrate Attic dances of the eighth century, but again the correspondences with Homer are close. The vases have dances of men alone, naked holding sprays (cf. *Od.* VIII 256),<sup>79</sup> men clapping a solo-jumper to the accompaniment of a lyre-player (cf. *Iliad* XVIII 604, *Od.* VIII 370),<sup>80</sup> women alone with sprays <sup>81</sup> (cf. *Od.* VI 102), and mixed dances,<sup>82</sup> in which the men twice have swords and twice the lyre-player is shown (cf. *Iliad* XVIII 597, 569). Two scenes are processions rather than dances. On the Copenhagen kantharos two women holding sprays, with pitchers on their heads, approach a lyre-player, and on a cup in Athens <sup>83</sup> four women with sprays and a wreath approach a seated goddess. Taken together, the two pictures illustrate an eighth-century version of the Panathenaic procession; the pitcher-bearers do not appear in epic, but the procession to the seated goddess is known from the sixth book of the *Iliad*, and at least this cup shows that a procession to a seated goddess is not impossible in an eighth-century *Iliad*.

The cup with the procession has two other scenes of interest. A man with a lyre and a spray in his hand kneels on a wooden erection between two men armed with a Dipylon shield and two spears. In the Suitor-slaying (*Od.* XXII 330 f.) Phemios stood with the lyre in his hand and wondered whether he should go out of the hall to the altar of Zeus or whether he should go straight to Odysseus and clasp his knees; he decides to put down his lyre and go to Odysseus, and is then spared by Odysseus and Telemachos. The cup illustrates the other alternative, two heroes rescue a singer who has taken refuge on an altar. The story was presumably a favourite in Athens, and so the shorthand representation sufficed. The same must be true of the other story which has caused so much discussion, the departure of a hero on the krater in the British Museum.<sup>84</sup> Mr. Kirk's argument that gripping by the wrist is a sign of affectionate salutation rather than abduction is impressive, but it cannot be a scene of everyday life because it is marked as heroic by the Dipylon shield on the bow of the ship. The Athenians would know whose departure was depicted; we may guess that it was one of those who sailed to Troy after assembling at Aulis.

The cup also has a pair of curious beings who have been variously described as winged

<sup>77</sup> NM 810, above, n. 73.

<sup>78</sup> Above, n. 19; cf. also Athens, NM 17384.

<sup>79</sup> Kerameikos 812, above, n. 32. Berlin 4506, oenochoe, Neugebauer, *Führer*, pl. 2.

<sup>80</sup> Copenhagen, NM 727, above, n. 19.

<sup>81</sup> NM 810, above, n. 73. Munich 6228, hydria (late), *CV* III, pll. 109-10. Providence, 15.006, late, *CV Providence*, pl. 8, 2; Cook, *BSA* XLII (1947), 155 'third quarter of C<sup>viii</sup>'.

<sup>82</sup> Athens NM 874, *KiB* 109, 2, 112, 10; Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* 47; *Manchester Memoirs* LXXXII (1937), 10, no. 14; *Jdl* 1938, 101, fig. 6; Benton, *BSA* XXXV 103, no. 5. Copenhagen NM 727, above, n. 19. Tübingen, B 4, Matz, *Gr. K.*, pl. 12; Kunze, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 57, n. 40 apparently dates about 800.

<sup>83</sup> Athens, NM 784, Young, *Hesp. Suppl.* II 77 dates 725-700; *KiB*, 112, 9; Lorimer, *HM* 70, 445; Kraiker, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 43, pl. 3 apparently dates before 725; *Manchester Memoirs* LXXXII (1937), 10, no. 10; *Kerameikos* V 177, n. 171, 205, n. 219.

<sup>84</sup> British Museum, 1899.2-19.1, late, Herford, *Grk. Vases*, pl. 4; Cook, *BSA* XXXV (1934), 192, 207, 212 (750-700 B.C.); Kirk, *BSA* XLIV (1949), 114, 149 f.; Hampe, *Sagenbilder* 79; *Gleichnisse* 30; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 15; Buschor, *Gr. V.*, fig. 18; Matz, *Gr. K.*, pl. 14; Kraiker, *Festschr. Schweitzer* 45; *Kerameikos* V 176, n. 168, 179 'about 750'; Nottbohm, *Jdl* LVIII (1943), 17, workshop of Athens NM 804.

Centaurs and sphinxes; their tails are indubitably leonine, although their foreparts seem to have been influenced by Centaurs; something of the same stylisation appears in the Vulture Painter's sphinxes.<sup>85</sup> Miss Lorimer notes the difficulty of finding a convincing Eastern parallel. The stylisation of the head at least recalls Mycenaean sphinxes,<sup>86</sup> and the painter may have known a Mycenaean ivory. As sphinxes are attested in Mycenaean art, they may have entered poetry long before the geometric period, and it may be wrong to think of archaic sphinxes only as strong, powerful beings unconnected with legend. The Centaur on the neck of a late neck amphora in Copenhagen (FIG. 3)<sup>87</sup> certainly belongs to legend; while eleven of his



FIG. 3.—GEOMETRIC NECK AMPHORA IN COPENHAGEN.

brothers march round the body of the vase and two more are seen on the back of the neck, he, holding a branch in both hands, approaches a man apparently wearing a petasos, who also holds a branch in both hands. Mr. Cook says he is fighting the Centaur, and it is natural to see in the branches carried by the Centaurs their traditional weapons, but a man would hardly use such weapons, and the branches are identical with the sprays carried by dancers and others; this seems rather to be a peaceful meeting, such as Peleus meeting with Cheiron.

To sum up, the simple explanation that these vases illustrate the *Iliad* is impossible, because their range is wider than the *Iliad*. On the other hand, the scenes of geometric painting cannot be all explained as scenes of everyday life; apart from the certain mythical scenes and apart from the above interpretation of the Dipylon shield, the correspondences with Homer in the battle scenes and the funeral scenes are too close for the influence of poetry to be denied. If my interpretation of the Dipylon shield is right, we can say further that the artist was indicating

<sup>85</sup> London 1910.6-16.2, stemmed bowl (late), Cook, *BSA* XLII (1947), 140, fig. 1.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Wace, *BSA* XLIX (1954), 239.

<sup>87</sup> NM 7029, CV II, pl. 73, 3; Cook, *BSA* XXXV (1934), 169, 191, n. 4, 205. Centaur also Agora P 7006 (late), Young, *Hesperia* Suppl. II 173, fig. 121, and, I think, Kerameikos 1371, above, n. 61.

that his scenes belong to the heroic past, but the correspondences exist without this interpretation. The strong reasons for believing that the Dipylon shield is the painter's conception of the body-shield and indicates 'heroic warrior' are, first, the difficulty of fitting it in as a natural development between the round shield with a boss and the hoplite shield and, secondly, the established fact that Mycenaean representations of the body-shield were on view in the eighth century. The competence of Attic poets is established by the hexameter on the inscribed jug, and Miss Lorimer<sup>88</sup> has suggested that Hesiod went to Attica to learn his technique. However that may be, there is every reason to suppose that Attic poets in the eighth century knew both what was going on in Ionia and what was going on in Boeotia. With the Ionians at least they shared a common heritage which went back for more than 500, possibly more than 700 years, and the two streams had only been divided for some 250 years. If this general position is accepted, geometric painting tells us something of this early Attic poetry; they knew of Herakles and the birds, Herakles and the lion, and of a hero who was swallowed unharmed by a monster; they knew of sphinxes and centaurs and of a hero who made friends with a centaur; they were more interested in the Aktorione-Molione than Homer because they were more conscious of their Pylian ancestry. They sang of heroic naval expeditions and raids, of battles by the ships and on land, of heroic funerals, chariot drives, and games. However much they modernised, they sang of the heroic past; poetry of contemporary life starts with Hesiod's *Erga*.<sup>89</sup>

T. B. L. WEBSTER

<sup>88</sup> *HM* 461.

<sup>89</sup> I am much indebted to my colleague, Professor C. M. Robertson, for reading this in manuscript; to the authorities of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and the National Museum in Copenhagen for photographs and permission to publish; and to Dr. H. Diepolder for information about Munich 8696.



## PAINTED FUNERARY PLAQUES AND SOME REMARKS ON PROTHESIS

(PLATES 1-8)

THROUGHOUT the history of figure-decorated pottery in Attica the artists also painted flat clay plaques for use as dedications.<sup>1</sup> In addition, for a limited period of a little over a century we find from their workshops similar objects designed specifically for the decoration of tombs: it is with these that this article is concerned, and a catalogue of the surviving examples known to me is appended.<sup>2</sup> All are painted in the black-figure technique and all figure the *prothesis*, the laying-out of the dead with the accompanying dirge, and many also the assembling of guests and preparation for the procession to the tomb, the *ekphora*. The plaques themselves have been found in the cemeteries of Athens as well as in outlying villages in Attica,<sup>3</sup> though never in position on a tomb.

Zschietzschmann, in his study of *prothesis* scenes in Greek art, commented on the fact that these funerary plaques may be divided into those that form part of a series and those complete in themselves, without, however, distinguishing them in his list. We shall see that this division is not a meaningless convenience, for it reflects also their chronology, scale, and ultimate setting. For this reason I have distinguished between the *plaque series* and the *single plaques* in the catalogue below, and will deal with each class separately, detailed remarks about individual pieces being reserved for inclusion with their description in the catalogue.

The earliest of the *plaque series* are also the only examples in relief (1 and 2). They date from the last quarter of the seventh century, and on them we already find what becomes the standard arrangement, one plaque figuring the *prothesis* itself and mourning women, and one or more other plaques bearing the other mourners. They are followed in the first quarter of the sixth century by the small group, 3, 4, 5, painted in an archaising style which may be provincial Attic and which is not readily paralleled on contemporary vases.<sup>4</sup> The unhappily fragmentary plaques from the hand of the vase-painter Sophilos (6) stand at the head of a succession of examples which display some of the finest painting of the best-known Athenian artists. Both Lydos (7) and Exekias (9, 10) decorated plaques of this type, and the work of the latter's followers and imitators, most of them above-average artists, is recognisable in others (11, 12, 13). No *plaque series* was made after 530 B.C. at the latest.

I am deeply indebted to Mme J. Serpieri for permission to publish photographs of plaques from the collection made by her father M. Vlasto. Also to Mme S. Karouzou, Prof. H. A. Thompson, and Prof. E. Vanderpool of the Agora Excavations, Miss D. K. Hill of the Walters Art Gallery, Miss H. Palmer and the Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Drs. Auer and Noll of the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna, Mlle Verhoogen, Dr. H. Cahn, and Dr. D. von Bothmer of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, for photographs and permission to publish other plaques and fragments. Prof. Sir John Beazley has indicated to me several unpublished pieces, and I have greatly profited from his comments. PLATES 4, 6 and 8, 20 and 34 are museum photographs, PLATE 3, 13 by Miss Alison Frantz, and PLATE 2 from German Institute negatives.

<sup>1</sup> On votive plaques see my article in *BSA* XLIX. W. Zschietzschmann discussed and collected the references to the *prothesis* scenes which appear on plaques and vases in his article *AM* LIII (1928), 17-47 with Beil. 8-18. I refer to this work and its illustrations with the abbreviation Zsch., and to his catalogue of scenes (*ibid.* 37-47) thus—Zsch. no. 10. Further discussion, mainly of the literary evidence, is to be found in Reiner, *Die rituelle Totenklage der Griechen*. *CVA* references below are to museum fascicule and national plate numbers.

<sup>2</sup> Reference to which is made here by their number alone. If more than one plaque is involved they are distinguished further by small Roman numerals thus—11 (ii).

<sup>3</sup> The following have recorded provenances: Athenian Kerameikos 9, 10, 11, 13 (or that area), 18, 19, 26; Kalyvia 6; Cape Kolias 28; Koropi 30; Olympos 1; Spata 7.

<sup>4</sup> See 3 in the catalogue below.



The characteristics of this class are little changed throughout its history. They are all bulky objects, and most of them were prepared from coarse clay, like that used for pithoi or tiles, in which foreign matter like grit and chopped straw is to be found. The best, however, were usually prepared with a fine layer of potter's clay on the surface to carry the painting. In size <sup>5</sup> their height may vary from 37.0 to 45.0 cm., their width from 43.0 to 50.0 cm., and thickness from 2.5 to 3.5 cm., although these figures do not take into account the early-sixth-century group (3, 4, 5), whose greatest dimension seems to have been their height, not their width as with the others. The largest of these (3) may have been over half a metre tall and was rather over 4.0 cm. thick, while 5 is practically square.

On all examples the edges are plain and undecorated. The earlier painted plaques (3-7, with 14) have a plain painted band as border; only those by Sophilos (6) bear the added elaboration of a palmette and lotus frieze above the figured scene and tongues below it. The early relief plaques (1 and 2) and the Exekian group (9, 10, 12) had a plain upper border like a metope. 1 is in fact exactly like an archaic metope with its side and base ridges, but on the others the decoration on these three sides runs right to the edges, so that they could not have been far overlapped or slotted into a structure. These bear a maeander band below their plain upper border, while 11 has a maeander band at its base and a framed inscription above.

Though the decoration on these plaques may run to the edges in this way, there is no reason to think that they were ever mounted so as to touch like a frieze; <sup>6</sup> on the other hand, because it runs to the edges they cannot have been slotted into supporting triglyphs to form part of a canonic Doric entablature. None is pierced with holes for nails or thongs, as are the *single plaques*, nor have they projecting flanges or sockets for their mounting like the Thermon and Calydon clay metopes. On the assumption then, of the same method of mounting for all they must have been supported below by a projecting member, divided by slats, probably wooden, and the Exekian group at least was held above by an overhang into which they fitted: this explains their plain upper border. The rest (most have a fairly wide painted band around them) were secured by similar slotting above or perhaps at the sides, or by metal clamps at the sides (which have left no trace).

It was from the first realised that these plaques decorated one or more of the outer walls of the rectangular mud-brick tombs of the type excavated in the Kerameikos and other Attic cemeteries; <sup>7</sup> indeed, the inscription on one announces metrically to the passer-by the name of the man whose tomb it decorates (11), . . . ]νος σῆμα τόδ' ἐστὶ Ἀρείου, ' . . this is the tomb of Areios', or, ' . . of the warlike . . .'.<sup>8</sup> The overhanging eaves on one of these tombs <sup>9</sup> suggest the way the plaques may have been secured above, and a transverse wooden beam projecting slightly from the surface would suffice for their support below. The uniform height of most of the *plaque series*, so far as this is known or can be estimated, also suggests a standard number of mud-brick courses for their backing between the projecting horizontal members which supported them.<sup>10</sup> No tombs, however, have been found bearing signs of

<sup>5</sup> I do not know all dimensions of all pieces in the catalogue.

<sup>6</sup> In the longest series preserved, the Berlin Exekias plaques (9), each is an independent unit which could not have been designed to fit a frieze: see below p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> On such tombs see Kübler, *MdI* II 10 f., 13 f. I call these structures 'tombs', although 'tomb monuments' might be more accurate. There is no very clear description of the burials associated with them.

<sup>8</sup> Richter *MetMusBull* I (1942), 80 n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Kübler, *op. cit.*, pll. 2, 3.

<sup>10</sup> 7, 9, 11, 12, and 14 were all 37.0 cm. high or a fraction more and the Sophilos plaques (6) only a little taller. Being fixed by members projecting above and below them from a mud-brick wall, their height was determined by the number of whole mud-bricks behind them. The assumed depth of an Attic brick is one-quarter of an Attic foot, that is 8.2 cm. (Caskey, *AJA* XIV 303 f., Noack, *Eleusis* 70 f., Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece* 54 n. 4). At Eleusis the bricks measure about 9.0 cm., plus up to 1 cm. of mortar, as Mr. Travlos kindly informs me. The wall bricks in the

having been decorated in this manner, although their surfaces were regularly plastered, and some painted.<sup>11</sup> Of the excavated examples of these tombs none can be dated later than the middle of the sixth century, but late sixth-century vase representations, particularly two kyathoi in Paris<sup>12</sup> figuring the *ekphora*, prove that they were still being made. The white, presumably plastered, ends of the tombs on these vases bear the figures of a snake and a hedgehog among trees, more likely painted decoration than local wild life.

Only after the last of these *plaque series* do we find the *single plaques* regularly being made. A solitary example (15) of before the middle of the century can be ignored in this context: it is strangely elongated to four and a half times its height, as though the man who made it knew that it was to figure a scene which was normally developed in breadth, as the contemporary series were, though these, of course, ran over several separate plaques. This change in practice which occurred about 530 should be significant. The *prothesis* scene as it appears on the new plaques is now condensed, and all that is left is the scene by the bier itself with token mourning guests appearing usually from the left in place of the serried chariots and mourners preparing for the *ekphora* which we see on the Exekias plaques. There is no reason, however, to suspect a change in funeral ritual or a curtailing of the number of mourners. It does mean that the rectangular tombs are no longer being decorated in the grand manner which is implied by the Exekias series. We know that such tombs were still being made from the vase representations which I have cited, but they may well not have been so large or elaborate, so that we should rather suspect that restrictions on grave decoration had been enforced. Miss Richter's study of Attic grave-stones led her to suspect the same, as it is about 530 that the crowning sphinxes on the stelai disappear to give place to simpler palmette finials.<sup>13</sup> Literary evidence of a sort is afforded by Cicero (*de Legibus* II 26, 64), quoting Demetrius of Phalerum, who himself passed sumptuary laws in the late fourth century: *sed post aliquanto* (i.e. after Solon) *propter has amplitudines sepulchrorum, quas in Ceramico videmus, lege sanctum est, 'ne quis sepulchrum faceret operosius quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo'; neque id opere tectorio exornari. . . .* The *opus tectorium* could well include the plaque friezes, as Miss Richter suggests. She plausibly refers the legislation to Peisistratus rather than Cleisthenes, and it seems otherwise likely that the tyrant upheld rather than let lapse much of Solon's work.<sup>14</sup>

In striking contrast with the regularity of the *plaque series*, the size of the *single plaques* varies considerably, in height from 9.0 to 30.0 cm. and in width from 16.8 to 45.0 cm. The largest (33) measures 32.0 × 57.0, and the elongated 15, which is 42.0 wide, has been commented on above. They are uniformly thinner, too, with a range in thickness of 1.0–2.0 cm. Their usual borders are of thin single or double lines, but the *maeander* recurs at the top (33), bottom (16), and on all four sides (25: PLATE 5).<sup>15</sup> Linked dots form the top and side borders of 35 (PLATE 8), and a key pattern the bottom of 28. The most elaborate is 23 (PLATE 4) with a tooth pattern on its upper moulding, an upper *maeander* border, a linked dot band on

rectangular tomb in the Kerameikos (*Mdl* II, pl. 2, 3) measure about 8.0 cm., with little if any mortar in addition. This suggests that the plaques occupied four courses of the mortar-laid mud-brick tomb wall. The earlier relief plaque (1) would have needed five, and 3 perhaps six, allowing for mortar and the use of the same standard. There is not yet enough evidence about brick dimensions in sixth-century Attica, and the above remarks can only point out what are the limiting factors. Stone reliefs are thought to have formed part of the decoration of similar tombs (*AM* XXXII 543 ff., pl. 22, 1, Lippold, *Griechische Plastik* 84 n. 17): they are much larger.

<sup>11</sup> Kübler, *op. cit.* 14.

<sup>12</sup> *CVA Cab. Méd.* II, pl. 457, 2, 4, 6–9; 758; 459, 1–3 (Technau, *RM* LIII 126, Beazley *Raccolta Guglielmi* 53, *Development* 113).

<sup>13</sup> *Archaic Attic Gravestones* 90 ff., *AJA* XLIX 152, *Mélanges Picard* (RA 1948), 871, *JHS* LXXII 155, Young, *Hesp* XX

132.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution* 130, 305.

<sup>15</sup> At the bottom it changed direction centrally.

one side only, and a separate frieze figuring chariots below.<sup>16</sup> A debased tongue pattern runs at the top of 34 (PLATE 8), and the broad band at the sides of 24 makes it the only one on which the suspicion might (I think quite wrongly) arise that it was slotted into some structure. On eight examples (16, 20, 21, 23, 28, 33, 38, 39: PLATES 4, 7, 8) the upper edge projects to overhang the picture, a feature found on some votive plaques.<sup>17</sup> This may be a survival from the older *plaque series* in their setting below the eaves of a tomb, or a precursor of the idea inspiring the later *naiskos* reliefs and plaques with their projecting eaves and pediments.<sup>18</sup> All, so far as can be judged in their present fragmentary state, were pierced by cut holes. These may be found in each corner, or two at the top, or at centre top and bottom, and one had as many as four holes at the top (33), as may have another (22): the early 15 had three at the top. The holes are cut large to admit nails rather than thongs,<sup>19</sup> and in one (20: PLATE 8) parts of the iron nails are still preserved, which prove that these plaques, too, were fastened to flat walls, presumably of the rectangular mud-brick tombs. On 19, however, the holes are small and close together, and could only have admitted thongs: this, then, must have hung on a stele with the fillets and other offerings which we know could be thus suspended. The fundamental difference of the *single plaques* from the *plaque series* is emphasised in this and in their lack of any standard height. The plaques are no longer a major decorative element in the tomb structure, but have become of no more significance than other funeral offerings, though still no doubt costly and of decorative value. They are still for the most part the work of good artists, and the black-figure technique is retained for them into the fifth century (not being replaced by red figure), as it is also for other traditional vase shapes as *loutrophoroi*, *lebetes gamikoi*, and of course the Panathenaic amphorae.

Consideration of their painted decoration presents but few problems. The scene of *prothesis* which appears on all of them enjoyed a long history in Greek art from geometric times to the end of the fifth century, while the funerary plaques cover less than half that span, from about 600 to 480 B.C. The representations are nearly all on Attic pottery<sup>21</sup>—geometric, black- and red-figure funerary vases, the plaques, and other vases, some of which are particularly associated with funeral ritual and served as offerings to the dead.<sup>22</sup> Zschietzschmann sketched the history of the scene, but a little may profitably be added, and deductions drawn about Attic funeral practice from the scenes on the plaques, now a larger group, which bear

<sup>16</sup> The schema might suggest that BSA XLIX, pl. 16, 6 could be a funerary plaque, but its thickness and date mean that it should only then be of a *plaque series*, on which such a minor frieze, appropriate to a vase or smaller *single plaque*, would be out of place.

<sup>17</sup> BSA XLIX 191.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 192.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 192 f.

<sup>20</sup> Miss Richter suggests (*à propos* relief plaques) that two holes close together at the top are for nailing rather than suspension because they are not exactly central (*Handbook* (1953), 80), but, even assuming a 'drawing-room finesse' in picture hanging in this period, points of suspension do not entirely determine angle of suspension, as anyone disturbed by the sight of a crooked picture will agree: moreover, we know the size of some nails so employed from those preserved in 20 (PLATE 8).

<sup>21</sup> Boeotian geometric is Zsch. no. 17; Samian geometric: below n. 23; Late Corinthian Zsch. no. 90; Sparta, ivory plaque, AO pl. 102, 2; perhaps not Attic Zsch. no. 89 (compare on Chiusine *cippi* the women's gestures with their hands, e.g. SE XII, pl. 8, and the turned, not rectangular, bier legs common on those monuments, *ibid.*, pl. 21, 22, 24, 25, 2-3); the Etruscan Tomba del Morto (*Monifed* II, pl. 2, Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*, pl. 46, Messerschmidt *Beiträge* 54 ff., 60) and the Etruscan hydria London B 63 (Beazley, *EVP*, pl. 3, 1). In stone, see Benndorf *Griechische und sizilische Vasenbilder* 7 (Conze, no. 1174 is not *prothesis*: Kastriotes, *AE* 1917, 227 ff.); the Egyptianised Zsch. no. 94; the Chiusine *cippi* on which I have more to say below; the Xanthos frieze in the British Museum, Pryce, *Catalogue* I 1, 143 f. (B 310), pl. 29 (Lippold, *Griechische Plastik* 123; Tritsch, *JHS* LXII 44 f., fig. 3, where the right-hand figure is taken as male, which is unlikely in view of the subject); the metope in Paestum, *Heraion* II 266 ff. (if such it be). Compare, too, the unique fragment of an East Greek relief sarcophagus in Chios (*ADelt* I 71, fig. 5).

<sup>22</sup> On 'Toteneier' Zsch. no. 88, cf. his no. 93 and Lullies, *Jdl* LX/LXI 63 ff.; *phormiskoi* Zsch. nos. 85, 87 and Lullies *op. cit.* 65, cf. the mourners on CVA Brussels III, pl. 121, 3 (Beazley, *JHS* LXX 88); tripod pyxis Zsch. no. 84, Lullies, *op. cit.*, pl. 15, 52 (Akr 2203, Graef-Langlotz, pl. 93 is a marriage scene); amphoriskos (?) Zsch. no. 86; krater Bonn 346, *AA* 1935, 488 ff., figs. 64, 65; cup, *AM* LIX, pl. 1-3, Beil. 1; lekythoi, BSA XLVII, pl. 13, 11 and many white-ground examples (e.g. Zsch. nos. 118-137). Funeral scenes on the skyphos Akkr. 1321, *lebes gamikos*, Lullies, *op. cit.*, pl. 23, 78-9, kyathoi (above, n. 12).



both the finest and the fullest representations and which in the early sixth century are the only monuments figuring the *prothesis*. The evidence of the funerary *cippi* from Chiusi in Italy, which are the only considerable non-Attic group of objects bearing *prothesis* scenes, is not irrelevant and is reviewed briefly at the end.

The geometric scenes are truly heroic with their ranks of mourning figures.<sup>23</sup> There is nothing to suggest where the *prothesis* takes place, a question we will find of some interest, but it is probably out of doors. The patterned stuff over the body is unlikely to be a separate canopy, as it accompanied both body and bier on the cart in the *ekphora* to the grave,<sup>24</sup> but, if a shroud, it covered the body from head to foot, unlike the later practice when head and often feet are exposed.<sup>25</sup>

When Zschietzschmann wrote there were practically no seventh-century representations known, but the gap is now partially filled by Kerameikos vases,<sup>26</sup> which look forward to the sixth-century scenes and in no way reflect the earlier style.<sup>27</sup> Nor, but for this fact, do they contribute to our knowledge of funeral practice. *Prothesis* scenes are already beginning to appear on plaques by the early sixth century when Solon's legislation apparently included specific funeral regulations.<sup>28</sup> In the main they seem to have been directed to the restriction of expensive funerals, and the restriction of interest here, recorded by Demosthenes (XLIH 1071), demands τὸν ἀποθανόντα προτίθεσθαι ἔνδον, while other authors confirm that the position for the *prothesis* is normally 'within'. In apparent contradiction are only Photius (s.v. 'πρόθεσις'): προετίθεσαν δὲ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, and Schol. ad Ar. Lys. 611: τοὺς νεκροὺς γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προετίθεσαν πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν καὶ ἐκόπτοντο, whose evidence is generally discounted. The presence of columns on black-figure *prothesis* scenes is also adduced as proof that it is indoors,<sup>29</sup> but reflection on where columns are most likely to be found in a sixth-century house reconciles the texts and sites the *prothesis*. They are found in the porch or room open onto the courtyard rather than in an indoor room: in the πρόθυρον therefore, *within* the house but not *indoors*. Even the courtyard of the house was no doubt admissible as still being ἔνδον τῆς οἰκίας;<sup>30</sup> much no doubt depended on the time of year and the size of the house. On plaques 9 and 33 two columns of the porch appear, and where only one is represented (12, 28) it is always at the foot of the bier, which must be in the porch with the

<sup>23</sup> To add to Zsch. are some vases and fragments; Vlasto Collection (Cook, *BSA* XXXV 168), Benaki Museum (*BSA* XLII, pl. 19), Agora P 4990 (Young, *Hesp* Supplement II 55 ff. fig. 37, Cook, *BCH* LXX 98), New York 34.11.2 (*MetMusBull* XXIX 169 ff., fig. 3), Louvre (*CVA* XI, pl. 780, 787-8, 790, Kunze *AE* 1953/4, pl. 2, 2), Kerameikos inv. 1371 (*Kerameikos* V 1, pl. 39), Eleusis (*JHS* LXXIV 150), a Samian fragment (Technau, *AM* LIV 15 f., pl. 2), Athens NM 18062, 18474, 802 and another krater fragment, Sydney (*Nicholson Museum Handbook* 2 244-6); Zsch. no. 2 is Athens NM 812, and for his no. 5 see Kunze in *Festschrift Schweitzer*, pl. 5, 6; other new illustrations of the Dipylon vases appeared in *JdI* LVIII 9, 13, 21, 29. The additions afford no new information. See also Hahland in *Corolla Curtius* 123 ff. and Wiesner, *Grab und Jenseits* 124 f. I suspect from the gestures of the men on the Phaleron fragments (Kühler, *Allattische Malerei* 35, figs. 1-3) that the full scene may have represented an *ekphora*.

<sup>24</sup> Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* 16, fig. 15.

<sup>25</sup> And apparently the bier is not carried, cf. Zsch. Beil. 15, 92. The head is muffled on our 19, exposed on the Boeotian geometric vase Zsch. Beil. 9, 17, and on some geometric representations the shroud is entirely omitted. The best argument against the shroud interpretation is the presence of the small figures which can hardly have crept under it (cf. *JdI* LVIII 29, Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, fig. 171). The geometric manner is Homeric, cf. *Iliad* XVIII 352 f.

<sup>26</sup> Kühler, *op. cit.* 51 f., figs. 35, 36; 61 ff., figs. 53-5.

<sup>27</sup> Zschietzschmann saw the end of the geometric manner in *prothesis* in the ranks of mourners on the mid-sixth-century Oxford *loutrophoros* (his no. 71, Beil. 12, 13), which is more a product of the painter's love of massed identical figures than evidence for a well-attended funeral.

<sup>28</sup> Sondhaus, *De Solonis Legibus* 36 ff. collects the texts. The most recent full discussion on *prothesis* in general and Solon's legislation is in Reiner, *op. cit.* 31, 35-46, 54-7, which should be consulted for detailed references. The disputed date of the legislation (Hignett, *op. cit.* 316 ff.) does not affect the issue here. It is, of course, debatable how likely it is that the law quoted by Demosthenes is Solonian (*ibid.* 17-27), but it is the tradition of such semi-religious legislation which most probably did survive intact.

<sup>29</sup> Reiner, *op. cit.* 36 f.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Hesychius s.v. 'δὲκ θυρῶν': τοὺς νεκροὺς . . . ἐξω τοὺς πόδας ἔχοντας πρὸς τὰς αὐλίας θυρᾶς (ed. Latte), Eustathius 1180, 23 . . . ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ βίου γεγονότας.



dead man's feet pointing out into the street or courtyard.<sup>31</sup> Beyond and by the tree in the courtyard the cart is being prepared for the *ekphora* on 9, and on 15 the tree with hanging fillets which stands behind the bier suggests the open yard before the main rooms of the house but still within its walls. Birds fly overhead on 4 and 5, implying the open air.<sup>32</sup> Where fillets or wreaths hang from the upper border of the picture (14, 17, 19, 23, 25: PLATES 4, 5) they may be thought of as attached to the lintel or eaves.<sup>33</sup> On the late fifth-century lekythos by the Eretria Painter in New York the bier is clearly set behind the two porch columns.<sup>34</sup> What Solon sought to discourage must have been *prothesis* in a public place on the scale implicit in the geometric representations, not that such could still have been at all common, and the regulation is in agreement with his other laws restricting extravagance.<sup>35</sup> It is incidentally noteworthy that we do not find in the sixth century the immense funeral amphorae which had been made in Attica from geometric times throughout the seventh century. He confined the *prothesis* within the *oikos*, but this 'laying-out' could not be entirely removed from sight for religious reasons, whatever they may be: the word *πρόθεσις* itself implies public display.<sup>36</sup> There is no evidence that Solon's regulation on this matter ever ceased to be effective, although later there was to be call for the sumptuary legislation restricting extravagance in tomb architecture which we have seen reflected in the change from *plaque series* to *single plaques*.

Of the details of the *prothesis* scenes on plaques some are particularly noteworthy. The wealth of inscriptions on 28 (Zsch., Beil. 11) helps the identification of the figures commonly found in similar scenes. Only the closest relations stand by the bier: the father is greeting the arriving guests,<sup>37</sup> who are no doubt about to join the *ekphora* procession, for which, on 9, the cart is being prepared: and this is probably the moment shown in all of these scenes. By the bier itself stand the children of the family and the female relations singing the dirge, and we are reminded by Demosthenes (XLIH 1071) that Solon allowed only the women *ἐντὸς ἀνεψιαδῶν* or over sixty years old to enter the dead person's house. On two, 28 and 29 (PLATE 3), the mother is identified standing before the head of her dead son, and on the former his grandmother stands behind him. Behind the bier the other women of the house assemble, on 9 they sit indoors waiting, and only rarely are male figures, no doubt father or husband, found on this side.<sup>38</sup> Unusually on some the male mourners approach from the right also.<sup>39</sup> Sometimes the women are seated,<sup>40</sup> particularly the younger ones, for whom the strain of the formal dirge might well be too much. But the bier is the place for the women, and on some plaques only they appear round it.<sup>41</sup> A position of some importance is by the head of the

<sup>31</sup> A single column at the left on a white-ground lekythos Zsch. no. 127; in a neutral position under *loutrophoros*-hydria handles, e.g. Zsch. no. 47 (CVA Athens I, pl. 17, 1-2); perhaps two columns on the red-figure *loutrophoroi* Zsch. nos. 114 and 99 (Beil. 17); two on the black-figure *phormiskos*, Lullies, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, 44. Cf. the Chiusine cippus, SE XII, pl. 21. The projecting upper edge of some *single plaques*, naiskos-wise, could possibly be interpreted as eaves.

<sup>32</sup> Or possibly under-eave decoration, see 5 in the catalogue below.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the black-figure fragments in Bonn AA 1935, 458, fig. 34 and *loutrophoros* Zsch. no. 71, and white-ground lekythoi Zsch. nos. 125, 127, 128.

<sup>34</sup> Richter and Hall, pl. 143, 139. Achilles mourns Patroclus, but the architectural setting is contemporary and Athenian, not a pavilion at Troy.

<sup>35</sup> His restrictions on funerals are summarised by Pernice in Gercke-Norden II 1, 68 f.

<sup>36</sup> Zsch. 35 f., Reimer, *op. cit.* 41; the need for a formal dirge is hardly likely to be the *raison d'être* for the display of the corpse. The reasons given by Pollux (VIII 65): *ὡς ὁπῶτο δὲ νεκρὸς μὴ τι βλαβὸς πέμπεσθαι*, Photius (*op. cit.*), or Plato (Leg. XII 959a), that certainty of the man's death was desirable, may be nearer the original purpose.

<sup>37</sup> As on 20, 28, and 34 (PLATE 8).

<sup>38</sup> On 19 and 30 (PLATE 7); seated on 16 (cf. Zsch. no. 75); two men on 35 (PLATE 8); four on 21 (PLATE 7).

<sup>39</sup> *Single plaques* 21, 33, 35 (PLATES 7, 8); *plaque series* 6, 7, 11.

<sup>40</sup> Seated on 23 (PLATE 4) and 33, cf. the black-figure *loutrophoroi* Zsch. nos. 69, 74 and Benaki Museum (AA 1936, 120); unoccupied stools on 28, 35 and 36. Cf. Feytmans, *AntClass* XVII 191 f., Zsch. nos. 47, 54, *Jdl* LX/LXI, pl. 14, 45 and the Xanthos frieze (above n. 21).

<sup>41</sup> On 1, 5, 14, and 18. The kyathos Zsch. no. 89 is unusual in this as in other respects.

body,<sup>42</sup> where the women seem to occupy themselves with the pillows or holding the shoulders of the body, not usually, however, actually embracing it.<sup>43</sup> The bier itself is, as usual with *klinai*, mounted on plain rectangular supports,<sup>44</sup> and the woman behind the head on 28 stands on a footstool apparently in a mourning post of some importance<sup>45</sup> (she is the grandmother here). A surprising parallel is met on some geometric representations in which the figures to the right of the bier stand on a raised ground line,<sup>46</sup> like a formal dais, giving a theatrical atmosphere with the serried mourners and funeral games. The stool could even be a faint survival of the monumental grandeur of the heroic geometric *prothesis* which Solon took pains to discourage. The added height it affords could certainly be accounted for by the raised head of the body and the end of the bier which is usually raised higher by the ornate volute head-rest, but other women occupied at the head of the bier never seem to require it.<sup>47</sup> The head of the dead person is usually raised very high and inclined forward.<sup>48</sup> The effect of this would be to keep the mouth shut, an important consideration and a problem otherwise solved by the use of a head-band passing under the chin.<sup>49</sup>

On the unique plaque 23 (PLATE 4) the separate chariot frieze below is borrowed from the usual decoration of contemporary *loutrophoroi*, and is a survival of the chariot friezes on the great geometric funeral vases.<sup>50</sup> The processional gestures of the men are not specifically funereal, but appear regularly in such scenes, together with the conventional signs of grief evinced by the women.<sup>51</sup> Other unusual details on the plaques are noted in the course of the catalogue below, and at the end of this article some special problems in the arrangement of the scenes in *plaque series* are discussed in connection with the Exekias plaques.

I have had occasion above to mention the stone relief chests or *cippi* from Chiusi (Clusium) in central Italy, on some of which *prothesis* scenes occur.<sup>52</sup> They were made in the latter half of the sixth and earlier part of the fifth centuries,<sup>53</sup> and although the figures are closest to local 'graecising' vase painting, the scenes, particularly of *prothesis*, reflect most closely the Attic types.<sup>54</sup> Allowance must be made for local custom, and some features were not borrowed but are peculiar to them, particularly the close embrace of the dead body and the presence of a flautist.<sup>55</sup> Subsidiary scenes of mourners are not quite alike either, although the *gynaeceum* scene of our 9 (iii) is fairly closely reproduced.<sup>56</sup> Other features are more familiar and sometimes more explicit than on their Attic counterparts. The *prothesis* is set before the house, whose whole façade is once represented:<sup>57</sup> shrubs, and farmyard, or rather courtyard, animals

<sup>42</sup> Zsch. 26, Reiner, *op. cit.* 31.

<sup>43</sup> But see 19 and 24. Never as intimate as on many non-Attic *prothesis* scenes. And compare Andromache in *Iliad* XXIV 724, 'Ἐκτορος ἀνδρομάχοιο κρήνη μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα.

<sup>44</sup> Richter, *Ancient Furniture* 58 ff., figs. 158-66.

<sup>45</sup> Thus on 9; cf. 30 (PLATE 7).

<sup>46</sup> Zsch. Beil. 8, 6 (cf. *CVA Brussels* II, pl. 54, 1: the mourners on the other side are similarly raised) and 13; a single woman on a stool at the head of the bier on the Agora vase *Hesp. Supplement* II 56, fig. 37. Compare also 30 (PLATE 7).

<sup>47</sup> Except in the Tomba del Morto painting, *MonIned* II, pl. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Exaggeratedly so on the mid-seventh-century vase in the Kerameikos, Kübler, *op. cit.* 62, fig. 54.

<sup>49</sup> Wolters, *AM XXI* 367 ff., on plaque 20 (PLATE 8), New York 27.228 (*MetMusBull* XXIII 56, fig. 3), and the black-figure krater Bonn AA 1935, 490, figs. 64, 65. See Zsch. 22 f. (Zsch. no. 109 is *ARV* 122 no. 20).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Zsch. no. 44 (*CVA Athens* I, pl. 16, 1-2; 17, 3; Sappho Painter, *Haspels, ABL* 115, 229 no. 59). Possibly funeral games, see Malten, *RM XXXVIII/XXXIX* 314 ff., *RE s.v.* 'Leichenagon'.

<sup>51</sup> Zsch. 25, Reiner, *op. cit.* 44 f. An early example may be that on the Phaleron fragments of soon after 700 (Kübler, *op. cit.* 35 figs. 1-3). Reiner, *op. cit.* 42 f. (κοιμητός).

<sup>52</sup> Listed by Paribeni in *SE XII* 57-139, pls. 6-37 (referred to below by the author's name only) and discussed by him in *SE XIII* 179-202.

<sup>53</sup> Rumpf, *Katalog der etruskischen Skulpturen*, Berlin 14, Riis, *Tyrhenika* 118 f.

<sup>54</sup> It is not so easy to explain how the scenes came to be copied, as Attic representations occur on vases or plaques not found outside Attica. The *phormiskos* in Bologna (Zsch. no. 87, *CVA* II, pl. 323) is from Athens.

<sup>55</sup> Reiner, *op. cit.* 67 f. Figured in the *ekphora* (Zsch. nos. 91 and 92, above n. 12), and cf. Zsch. 26 f. On the Corinthian hydria, Zsch. no. 90, a lyre is carried by a mourner beside the bier.

<sup>56</sup> Paribeni nos. 75, 78, 76 (pls. 20, 22 and Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* pls. 143; 144, 1).

<sup>57</sup> Paribeni no. 77 (pl. 21), cf. his no. 88.

prove that the scene is set in the open air.<sup>58</sup> The stool at the head of the bier appears,<sup>59</sup> but for a child who needed the extra height. A 'baldacchino' is suspected.<sup>60</sup>

The objects carried by the women beside the bier are of particular interest. Alabastra<sup>61</sup> are common, and a fan<sup>62</sup> appears or, on another *cippus*, palm leaves clearly used as fans.<sup>63</sup> The alabastra are perfume vases, so there can be no allusion here to the oiling of the body which is otherwise attested<sup>64</sup> and perhaps suggested by the aryballoï hanging on our 17 and 25 (PLATE 5). But we need not look far for an explanation of the perfume vases and fans in a situation of this sort and in a Mediterranean climate. Divine intervention was required to keep the flies from the body of Patroclus.<sup>65</sup> The fan recurs on an Attic white-ground lekythos with a *prothesis* scene,<sup>66</sup> and much earlier on a Boeotian geometric vase.<sup>67</sup> The branches held over the body in other geometric scenes<sup>68</sup> are probably better thus prosaically interpreted than referred to ritual purification.

### CATALOGUE OF PLAQUES

The following are the only funerary plaques, published and unpublished, known to me. The most important references and illustrations are quoted, but the reader is referred to the text above for both general and particular remarks on many pieces. Only unusual variations and additions in the *prothesis* scenes are described, as well as whatever subsidiary ornament appears and the position of nail or suspension holes. Wherever possible I have recorded the complete dimensions of each plaque in centimetres, and where a complete dimension is not preserved an estimate is given in brackets, based on the proportions of the parts of the figures that remain. Height appears before width, and the thickness is added wherever I know it, but I have been able to handle only a very few of the pieces here catalogued.<sup>69</sup> Within each class only an approximate chronological order has been attempted.

#### Plaque Series

The description of each plaque is preceded by an indication of its probable position to the right or left of the central *prothesis*.

1. New York 14.146.3 a, b. Said to be from Olympos in Attica. Richter, *MetMusBull* I (1942), 80 ff., figs. 4, 5, 6; *Handbook* (1953), 31, pl. 26 d, f. 44.6 × 49.2; about 2.5 thick. Relief plaques with raised borders, broad at the top.

Left (i). Mourning women.

Right (ii). *Prothesis* of a woman.

Richter dates 630-620, which may be a little early.

2. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. Mr. R. V. Nicholls has kindly told me of this fragment bearing a man's head to the left, which he will publish.

3. Athens NM 12352. PLATE 1. Zsch. no. 24. Karouzou *AM* LXII 111 (misprint of the museum number). Richter, *MetMusBull* I (1942), 80 n. 7. (55.0) × 37.3; preserved height 31.4, thickness 4.2. Unpainted rough edges and a painted band as border. Coarse buff clay apparently containing chopped straw.

Right. Two women mourners, a small girl between them and a baby in the arms of the second woman. The inscription ΘΕΑΝ ΘΕΙΚΥΦΟΝΑ. The surface is very poorly preserved, as the photograph shows, and I place only limited confidence in my transcription. There might have been another letter in the top right-hand corner, and I first read the Θ as B. I do not think the apparent stroke below the O can be taken into account. As the inscription stands,

<sup>58</sup> Paribeni nos. 9 and 86 (pll. 8; 24, 1).

<sup>59</sup> Paribeni no. 89 (pl. 25, 1).

<sup>60</sup> Paribeni no. 82 (pl. 23).

<sup>61</sup> Paribeni nos. 11, 76, 78, 86, 182 (pll. 22; 24, 1; 32, 2 and Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pll. 143, 144, 2).

<sup>62</sup> Paribeni no. 86 (pl. 24, 1).

<sup>63</sup> Paribeni no. 80 (Pryce, *British Museum Catalogue* I 2, 178 ff., figs. 31-4); note the use of a palm leaf as a fan in the *convivium* scene on another side of the *cippus*. The 'cup' held by the woman by the bier is more probably, from its shape, a *thymiaterion*.

<sup>64</sup> Reiner, *op. cit.* 35, Mayer, *Das Öl in Kultus* 25 f., 28.

<sup>65</sup> Homer, *Iliad* XIX 24-33.

<sup>66</sup> Zsch. no. 131.

<sup>67</sup> Zsch. no. 17 Beil. 9.

<sup>68</sup> Zsch. 20 and nos. 2, 4, 8, 10, 11, *Hesp Supplement* II 56, fig. 37, cf. Cook, *BCH* LXX 100 n. 5.

<sup>69</sup> I have expressed my doubts about the funerary character of the New York lion plaque in *BSA* XLIX 200 f.



the likelihood is that we have the name or names, rather than the relationships of the two women: the dead person's name would more probably appear on the missing central plaque.<sup>70</sup> Two names then, Ἡδώνη | Κλειώ[σσ]α, for instance. The hasta punctuation, though unexpected, seems preferable to making a dative of the first name. I know no other Ἡδώνη and it makes an uneasy compound: alternative endings are possible for the second name. For the drawing compare 4. It is an old-fashioned style out of touch with the best current Attic work, and the figures derive from seventh-century vases such as Kübler, *Allattische Malerei* 67 fig. 63, 70 fig. 68. Later in the same tradition come the plaques 5, the vases of the Painter of Eleusis 767 (Beazley, *Hesp* XIII 44) and work such as that of the fragment Zsch. Beil. 9, 78 figuring mourning women. All may be products of provincial Attic workshops.<sup>71</sup> I would date this plaque about 600.

4. Tübingen 1153. Zsch. no. 38. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen* 22 D 1, pl. 4. Height (35.0).

Centre. *Prothesis*. A woman by the bier holds a baby. Two birds, probably both storks (see 5 below), fly over. Style as 3, with which it is contemporary or slightly later.

5. Boston 27.146 and 27.147. Zsch. no. 28, Beil. 10, 28. Fairbanks, *Catalogue* 194 f., no. 557, pl. 66. Chase, *Greek and Roman Antiquities: Boston* 47 f., fig. 58. Richter, *MetMusBull* I (1942), 80, 82 fig. 3. 39.0 × 38.0-40.0. A plain band as border. Fairbanks notes the use of a chalky white slip.<sup>72</sup>

Left (i). Three mourning women.

Centre (ii). *Prothesis*. Presumably a dead woman.

Three birds fly over and a siren stands with spread wings below the bier. Zschietzschmann (p. 28) notes the earlier type of *kline* as bier. The siren here is a true 'soul-bird' and its feet are human. For the birds flying overhead compare those on 4. Their long legs show that they are storks or cranes, and they are not mere filling but may suggest the open air. However, the choice of bird and the setting of the *prothesis* outside a house call to mind the flying storks painted under the raking cornice of the 'Hekatompedon' on the Athenian Acropolis, which may have been built soon afterwards.<sup>73</sup> For the drawing compare the *loutrophoros* Boston 24.151 (Fairbanks, *op. cit.* 194, no. 556, pl. 65) which Caskey (*BMFA* XXV 55) attributed to the same hand. The filling ornament of the vase and the animals connect it closely with the *kylix*-krater Munich 7409, *Dunbabin*, *BSA* XLV 198 f. (*CVA* Munich III, pl. 417), a descendant of the bowl, *Dunbabin*, *op. cit.* 193 ff., pl. 17. Compare particularly the bird frieze of the Boston vase with the bird on the Munich vase, their wings with that of the siren on our plaque, and the latter's head and forelock with those of the Munich sphinxes. The two vases and the plaques should, I think, be by the same hand. On the antecedents of the figure style see above under 3: a respectable earlier counterpart is Kübler, *op. cit.* 70, fig. 68. The plaques may be earlier than the Boston vase, which may be dated in the second decade of the sixth century.

6. Athens, Vlasto Collection. From Kalyvia. Karouzou, *AM* LXII 111 ff., pll. 48-50, 1. Beazley, *Hesp* XIII 51, *Sophilos* nos. 26-28. Height 38.5-39.5. Painted bands as borders with a frieze of tongues below and a palmette and lotus chain above the figured scenes. The minor discrepancies in size and in painting are Sophilean and *AM* LXII, pll. 48 and 49 could even be from the same plaque. Certainly all are from the same monument.

Left (i) and (ii). Procession of women.

Right (iii). Procession of men.

By *Sophilos*: 580 or soon after.

7. Athens, Vlasto Collection. From Spata. Rumpf, *Sakontides*, pl. 14, Beazley, *Development* 48, pl. 19. Height 37.0. Painted bands as borders.

Left (i) and (ii). Procession of men.

Centre (iii). Part of one mourning woman.

Right (iv). At least one man. These two fragments could go with the plaques to the left of the central scene. By *Lydos*: about 550.

8. Athens, Vlasto Collection.

Centre. Two women by the head of the bier, and a girl mourns beside it.

About 540: E Group; cf. the Northwick Park amphora *BSA* XXXII 8, fig. 2 and pl. 3, Munich 1397 (*CVA* I, pl. 125, 2) and the Bonn krater *AA* 1935, 490, figs. 64, 65, which may be by the same hand. As I have not handled this fragment I cannot be sure that it is from a plaque.

9. Berlin F. 1811-1826. Found near the Dipylon in the Outer Kerameikos. Zsch. no. 27. 37.0 × 43.0; 2.5-3.0 thick. A meander upper border set below the edge.

By *Exekias*: 540-530. See below pages 63 ff. for references and a detailed discussion of the fragments.

10. Athens NM 2414-2417. PLATE 2, a, b (NM 2416, 7) and FIG. From the Kerameikos. Wolters, *AE* 1888, 185 f., nos. 4-7. Collignon-Couve, *Catalogue*, nos. 848-51. Technau, *Exekias* 22, pl. 19 a, b (NM 2414, 5). See below p. 64. The proportions and technique as in the Berlin *Exekias* plaques (9); thickness 2.5-2.9. There is a slight concavity on the surface where it rises at the sides,<sup>74</sup> and the edges at the back are cut back slightly (FIG.). The clay is good throughout, with a finer surface added. A leftward meander as the upper border is set below the edge.

<sup>70</sup> The inscription on 11 is not over the central plaque, but it does not directly refer to the figures below it, and it may have continued on over the centre piece.

<sup>71</sup> Compare contemporary and earlier Eretrian figures, *BSA* XLVII, pl. 5-7.

<sup>72</sup> No doubt to bring out the outlines of the figures, which on this scale and on the red Attic clay might get lost in the background. It is used on some large Attic vases (Karouzou in *BCH* LXIII 287) and may have been suggested by the appearance of Corinthian vases and metopes.

<sup>73</sup> Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur* 27 ff., pl. 3.

<sup>74</sup> As on many archaic reliefs and metopes.



Left (i). NM 2415, 6, 7. Procession of men and women; probably more than one plaque.

Centre (ii). NM 2414. On the analogy of the Berlin series part of the central plaque or of the chariot scenes to the right. A bird flies over as on 9 (iv). The inscription . . . [α]ρατα[ . . . must be part of the name of a woman, or a horse.<sup>75</sup> By Exekias: 540-530.

11. Athens NM 2410, 2412, 2413. PLATE 40, c, d (NM 2412, 3) and FIG. From the Kerameikos. For this association of the fragments see below p. 63. Zsch. nos. 41-43. Walters, *op. cit.* 183 ff., nos. 1-3, pl. 11. Collignon-Couve, *op. cit.* nos. 845-7. Height (37.0): thickness 2.8-3.4. They are the same size as the Exekias plaques but thicker. Unlike these, the clay is coarse; as Walters noted, it is coated with a fairly heavy refined surface for the painting, and unlike the Exekias plaques there are side borders of a double painted line. They have a simple rectangular section. The lower border bears a leftward meander and the upper an inscription.

Left (i). NM 2410, 2413. Procession of men.

Right (ii). Procession of men. Not therefore a composition as in the Exekias plaques.

The inscription on NM 2410 was first incised . . . [νο]ς ατοδεσπιναρειο then correctly painted . . . [νο]ς ατοδεσπιναρειο. The first letter was a *mu* to judge from the incised mistake, so . . . [νο]ς ατοδεσπιναρειο, hexametric and probably continuing over the following plaques.<sup>76</sup> The plaques were therefore bespoke. Exekian in style but not quality, they are very close to Munich 1381<sup>77</sup> (CVA I, pl. 108, 2; 110 f.; in Beazley's opinion 'related to Group E', *JHS* LIX 305). 540-530.

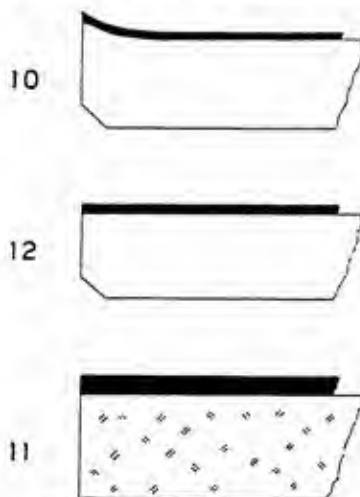


FIG.—PLAQUE SECTIONS.

12. Athens NM 12697. FIG. Zsch. no. 23, Beil. 11, 23. Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, figs. 138-40 (where falsely restored as one plaque: the upper borders are set at different heights, and the procession of men cannot move to the right away from the bier; *ibid.*, fig. 139 is a fine photographic study of the restoration which Nicole, *Catalogue* 179, no. 919 describes). 37.0 × (50.0). An upper border of leftward meander set below the edge. The rear edges of the plaques were cut back, and the clay throughout is good, with a thin finer layer applied to the surface.

Left (i). Approaching men and women.

Centre (ii). Prothesis. A little girl mourns at the foot of the bier.

About 530: a follower of Exekias, cf. 13.

13. Athens. Agora P 20754. PLATE 3 (the photograph on the right has been touched up to repair some of the black chips and indicate where there was originally red and white paint: nothing is restored of which there is not evidence on the sherd in its present condition). Preserved width 8.8: thickness 2.5.

Left. The heads and raised arms of two men to the right.

Same hand and date as 12.

14. Brussels inv. A 5, 6, 7. Zsch. no. 30. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sornzée* 65 f., no. 94 with illustration. Verhoogen, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 1937, 66 ff., figs. 27, 28. 37.5 × 44.5; thickness 3.5. A painted band as the border at top and sides only. Much repainting and restoration.

Left (i). Procession of men.

Centre (ii). Prothesis. Wreaths and fillets hang from the top of the picture. A woman lays her hands by the dead woman's head.

<sup>75</sup> Xapιτατος, the known name of a contemporary potter, has been restored (Hoppin, *Black Figured Vases* 74).

<sup>76</sup> The formula ατοδεσπιναρειο does not appear in the early funerary epigrams in Friedländer and Hoffleit, *Epigrammata*. See also above, p. 52.

<sup>77</sup> Technau, *RM* LIII 94 f. attributed them, with Munich 1381, to the Painter of London B 197, whose work is similar only.

Right (iii). Harnessing of two horses to a cart; cf. Wrede, *AM* XLI 354. They face left. 540-530.

### Single Plaques

15. Paris. Louvre. Zsch. no. 31. The left-hand fragment was once in Brussels (inv. A 1376). Zsch., Beil 10, 31. *Enc. Phot.* II 302B (the right-hand fragment). Verhoogen, *op. cit.* 64. Devambez, *Revue des Arts* 1951, 183. 9.3 × 42.0. Holes in the upper corners and centre top. A single ground line. Two women place their hands near or below the head of the dead woman. To the left a man and woman face the bier with their hands raised and outstretched respectively; behind them a tree is hung about with fillets and a woman stands. Beazley remarks that it is near the Burgon Panathenaic vase (*Development* 89 f., and see *JHS* LIV 89, *AJA* XLVII 441). About 560.

16. Amsterdam. Allard Pierson Museum 1742. Zsch. no. 34. *AA* 1922, 234. Snijder, *Algemeene Gids* 140, pl. 62, 1339. Height 20.5. A projecting upper edge. Leftward meander at the bottom of the plaque. At the head of the bier a man is seated to the right, but he looks back towards the bier. About 520: cf. 17.

17. Dresden 814. Zsch. no. 32. *AA* 1891, 168 no. 19 with drawing. Height (15.0). A small girl mourns with the women. At the top of the picture hang fillets, dotted wreaths, and apparently aryballoi. About 520: seems close to 20 (PLATE 8).

18. Kerameikos inv. 690. Found with 19, a *phormiskos* bearing a *prothesis* scene and a plate figuring a wardrobe maid; but not *in situ* (Kühler, *AA* 1935, 299 and cf. *MDI* II 11). Lullies, *JdI* LXI/LXII 56, pl. 1, 2. 16.0 × (30.0). Large holes in the two preserved corners (top and bottom). Thin double-line border. All the mourners are women: the one on the left facing the bier wears her himation over her head and holds her muffled hand before her face.<sup>78</sup> About 510 (Lullies). Not far from the *phormiskos* Ker. inv. 691, Lullies, *op. cit.* 65 no. 44, pl. 13 (muffled head and crinkled chiton), which is itself in many ways related to the Sappho Painter's treatment of the theme (see 28 below). For the simple bier and multiple crinkly edge to the chiton overfall, cf. 23 (PLATE 4).

19. Kerameikos inv. 677. On the place of finding, see 18 above. Lullies, *op. cit.* 56, pl. 1, 1. 16.5 × 24.5. Two small holes close together at the centre top. A double-line border and a separate ground line for the bier. Lullies notes that the lower right corner was broken off before firing and the join smeared with paint.<sup>79</sup> A man stands at the right, and one of the women mourners stoops to embrace and apparently to kiss the dead woman. Behind, a row of fillets and dotted wreaths hang from a single line which may represent the top of the house doorway. Lullies suggests it may be a cloth, reminiscent, then, of the geometric 'baldacchino' (Zsch., Beil. 8), but all that is unusual here is that the wreaths and fillets hang from something represented and not simply from the top of the picture. Note the raised ground line for the bier, possibly representing a step. About 510 (Lullies, who places it near the Leagros Group). Possibly later: a highly individual style, perhaps by a painter unfamiliar with work on this scale.

20. Vienna (Trau Collection). PLATE 8. Zsch. no. 39. *AA* 1893, 196 f. with illustration. *AM* XXI 367 (detail). 22.0 × 44.0. A projecting upper edge. Holes in each corner, and in three of them parts of the iron nails which held the plaque in position are preserved. A double-line border. A greybeard at the foot of the bier greets the advancing men. The dead youth wears a chin-band to keep his mouth closed. About 510. By the same hand is the *loutrophoros* New York 27.228.<sup>80</sup> This vase has points of comparison with the black-figure style of the Kleophrades Painter<sup>81</sup> (Beazley, *ARV* 120-9, 952, *AJA* XLVII 445, *Development* 94), the horsemen frieze on the New York *loutrophoros* being like that on his red-figure *loutrophoros* in the Louvre (CA 453, *CVA* VIII, pl. 512, 513).<sup>82</sup> Note too that these vases and the Vienna plaque afford three of the few<sup>83</sup> known representations of the chin-band for the dead man's head. From the same hand may be Louvre F 275 (*CVA* V, pl. 358, 1, 3: note the central wavy line on the skirt), Erlangen M 61 (Clairmont, *Das Pariser Museum*, pl. 14, K68) and London B 198 (*CVA* III, pl. 159, 1).

21. Athens, Vlasto Collection. PLATE 7. Apparently a projecting edge at both top and sides, now broken away. A double-line border. From the top right corner of the plaque: four mourning men facing left. Good work of about 510. Leagros Group, but close, too, to the Sappho Painter's plaques, cf. the heads of 28 and 29 (PLATE 3), the drapery of 30 (PLATE 7).

22. Château de la Cordelière (Ravel Market 1929). Giraudon 31815. Foto Marburg Z 19614a. 16.0 × (40.0); preserved width 21.0. Large holes in the preserved upper corner and centre top. Careless double-line border, quadruple at the side. A youth, a greybeard, and a bearded man face the bier raising their right hands; by the bier a woman in himation and chiton tears her hair, both elbows forward. 510-500.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. 9 (iii), Zsch. no. 54, and tearful departure scenes as *CVA Villa Giulia* I, pl. 8, 5, *Brit. Mus.* III, pl. 151, 1, 4; IV, pl. 212, 2, but the gesture cannot be thought one of sorrow only, cf. Würzburg 391, Langlotz, pl. 109.

<sup>79</sup> This illustrates the hard brittle state of the clay before firing. I know two votive plaques which were chipped and the broken surface painted over again before firing, North Slope A-P 1952, *Hesp* IX 233, no. 246, fig. 45 and Akr 2530. Graef-Langlotz, pl. 104.

<sup>80</sup> Richter, *MetMusBull* XXIII (1928), 54 ff., figs. 1-3, *Handbook* (1953), 61, pl. 43 b, Cook, *Zeus* III, pl. 35, Lane, *Greek Pottery*, pl. 51.

<sup>81</sup> Compare his broad figures and the drapery on his Panathenaics, e.g. *CVA Louvre* V, pl. 359, 1; 360, 2, Madrid I, pl. 45, 1.

<sup>82</sup> The head of the mattress and the top of the *kline* leg are missing on this vase, so a close comparison with the other biers which are so alike is excluded; the Louvre horsemen keep their heels back while they canter. A black-figure *loutrophoros* in the Benaki Museum is close to the painter's style in this and in other respects.

<sup>83</sup> Also on the Bonn krater *AA* 1935, 490 figs. 64, 65, fragments in Florence (*CVA* I, pl. 388, 215, Beazley, *Campana Fragments* 20), and the vase in Athens *CVA* II, pl. 80, 3; cf. the loosened band on Tübingen E 100, Watzinger pl. 29. See also note 49 and Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche* 68-72.

23. New York, Metropolitan Museum 54.11.15. PLATE 4. *Basel, Vente Publique XIV* 17 f., pl. 14. 27.0 × 37.5. A projecting upper edge decorated with a tooth pattern. Two well-spaced holes at the top. An upper border of rightward meander; to the right of the main scene a zigzag row of single-linked dots with smaller dots between. Three fillets hang from the top of the picture. A woman places her hand by the head of the dead youth, and at the right a small girl sits on a rectangular stool. In a separate frieze below three four-horse chariots gallop right. Little before 500. The figure drawing, and particularly that of the drapery, is awkward and by a painter clearly more at home with the chariots below, or possibly red-figure work. For the unusual double overfall of the chiton compare the Nikosthenes Painter's Boston 00.334 (Hoppin, *Red Figure Vases II* 227, *ARV* 100). For the parallel wavy folds compare 29 (PLATE 3) and the Bonn fragments (*AA* 1935, 458, fig. 34). The Dikaios Painter's black-figure style has much in common with this but is more confident (cf. Eleusis 1223, *Hesp V* 66, fig. 5, *ARV* 29); compare also Madrid 10930, *CVA I*, pl. 47, 3.

24. Copenhagen. Zsch. no. 35. Benndorf *Griechische und sizilische Vasenbilder* 17 f., 121, pl. 2, 1-6. Zsch., *Beil.* 12, 35 (the bottom right fragment is on its side, cf. Benndorf, *op. cit.*, pl. 2, 3: it is the hair and hand of a mourning greybeard). A woman stoops, apparently to kiss the dead man. About 500. Probably by the Kleophrades Painter (the younger Epiktetos: Rumpf, *Gnomon I* 334, Beazley, *Der Kleophrades Maler* 29, *ARV* 130, 952, Peters, *Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren* 3 n. 25, 69 n. 71). Another funerary work by the same hand may be the black-figure *loutrophoros* in the Benaki Museum; see also 20 above.

25. Athens, Vlasto Collection (52 M.V.B.) and Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1366 (Zsch. no. 33). PLATE 5. The Amsterdam fragment, Snijder, *Algemeene Gids* 140, pl. 62, 1340, completes the width of the Athens fragments, leaving only part of the upper and lower borders missing. 23.2 × 38.0. Large holes in each upper corner. A meander border running left above, and below running from either corner (the junction is missing). A woman holds the dead woman by the shoulders. A small girl mourns by the head of the bier. From the top of the picture hang two dotted wreaths and an aryballos. About 500. Cf. *loutrophoroi* in Chicago (*AJA XLVII* 389 ff., fig. 2) and Kerameikos (Lullies, *op. cit.* 73, no. 75, pl. 20).

26. Königsberg F. 156, 157. Zsch. no. 25 (not 'in Athens'). 'Found at the foot of the Acropolis in Athens'. Lullies, *Antike Kleinkunst in Königsberg Pr.* 28 f., no. 58. D. Inst. Phot. Varia 362, 1 and 363, 1. Height (20.0). A double-line border. Lullies notes that of the two fragments (b) cannot come beneath (a). Mourning men to the right. About 500 (Lullies). Close to the Eucharides Painter.

27. Boston 10.194. PLATE 6. Zsch. no. 29. Height (24.0). Actual size 13.5 × 7.0 × 1.7. A red upper edge and double-line border. A fragment from the left upper corner bearing three bearded men (one a greybeard), wearing himatia and with arms raised. Very close to 26.

28. Paris Louvre MNB 905 (L4). Zsch. no. 37. From Cape Kolias in Attica. Zsch., *Beil.* 11, 37. *Enc. Phot.* II 302A. Haspels, *ABL* 96, 115, 229 no. 58. Richter, *MetMusBull I* (1942), 82, 85 fig. 7. 13.5 × 26.5. A projecting upper edge (for the profile see Benndorf, *op. cit.*, pl. 1). A large hole at the centre top and bottom, and at the bottom a key pattern. A woman (the mother) rests her right hand by the dead youth's head. A small girl (the sister) mourns by the head of the bier, a taller girl by the foot, and a baby boy behind her beside a stool. A white column at the left stands between the approaching men. The plaque is rich with inscriptions which are worth detailing. Among the approaching men one is the brother (ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ): they are greeted by the father (ΠΑΤΕΡ), who faces them at the foot of the bier; he is not an old man, as his hair is only just turning white—it is represented by white dashes, not the customary white mass (cf. on 9, Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 18, b). The mother (ΜΕΤΕΡ) holds her dead son's head, and beside her is her second daughter (ΑΔΕΛΦΗ). At the head of the bier stands the grandmother (ΘΕΘΕ), and three other mourning women are each designated aunts (ΘΕΘΙΣ), one of them on the father's side (ΠΡΟΣΠΑΤΡ[ΟΣ]). ΟΙΜΟΙ and ΟΙΜΙΟΙ appear. ΛΟΕΥΤΟΣ and ΛΟΕΥΤ are read beneath the bier and by the column (Benndorf, *op. cit.* 4): they are nonsense. Ο.ΕΛΟΣΑ appears before the aunt on the right: there seem to be no preceding letters, and the last preserved should be an alpha and may have been followed by more. ὀφειλοῦσα, 'rendering service', is just possible, or something from the ὀνήλ-root might fit the context. ὀφειλοῦσα στόνον ἀνδρῶν in Homer, *Iliad IV* 445 is written of Eris and hardly suitable if echoed here: the letters are probably again nonsense. About 500. By the Sappho Painter (Haspels, *op. cit.*), to whose funerary work we may add the plaque 29 (PLATE 3), the *loutrophoros* fragments in Bonn, *AA* 1935, 458 fig. 34 (drapery, white-edged bier legs, favourite key pattern in cushion) and Akr. 1147 (Graef-Langlotz, pl. 66). In works of this type he exhibits a skill and finesse which his more numerous smaller works would not always lead us to suspect. He enjoys on them also a peculiar brand of nonsense (Haspels, *ABL* 96 f.) which may help the attribution of other vases to his hand. On our plaque we read λουσν, λουσντος, ο[.]ελοσα; on Louvre E 734 (Morin-Jean, *Dessin des Animaux* 138 fig. 153, Haspels, *ABL* 116, connected with his work) we read λουσντ, λος, λουσν; an Acropolis votive plaque of which little is left for comparison of the drawing, which is still quite compatible, offers with other inscriptions λολοςλος (Akr. 2569, Graef-Langlotz, pl. 106 and II 130). The Karlsruhe column-krater attributed to him (Haspels, *ABL* 228 no. 57, *CVA I*, pl. 307) strays to combinations like λωλως, etc., and on his plaque fragment 29 (PLATE 3) the inscription in the position of the λουσντος on 28 may be λο . . . The meaningfully inscribed Madrid vase (10916, *CVA I*, pl. 39, 3; 40, Haspels, *ABL* 116 'closely related' to him) has a *kline* most like the bier on 29 (PLATE 3) and on his Athens *loutrophoros* (*CVA I*, pl. 16, 1-2; 17, 3) and shows similar groups of straight-falling folds in the drapery. We might expect to find red-figure work by the same hand.

29. Athens, Vlasto Collection (M.V.B. 55). PLATE 3. Kraiker, *AM LIX* 3 n. 1 (inscription mentioned). Height (24.0). Fragment of the lower central part of the plaque. Three women stand by the bier, the one facing the head of the bier is named ΜΕΤΕΡ (retrograde) and stands in the same position as the mother on 28. At either side of the fragment stand two small boys mourning, and centrally a small girl: between the latter and the second woman on the near side of the bier is the inscription ΝΟ . . . or, if retrograde also, ΝΟ . . . with a clumsy first letter is possible, and the inscription is then nonsense<sup>24</sup> (see 28 above). About 500. By the Sappho Painter, cf. 28. For the tassel corners to the himatia compare Louvre G 41 (*ARV* 29, Hoppin, *Euthymides and his Fellows*, pl. 30).

<sup>24</sup> We may perhaps ignore the position of the long stroke of the *nu* and restore *viviviv* (Miller, *JHS LXXIII* 47), and make it a relationship, or perhaps a name. The position is one for aunts, as on 28, where the same painter writes *θηθίς*, but the longer stroke of the *nu* suggests orthograde, and *νός*, or rather *νός* referring to the small girl would make sense, albeit surprising.

30. Athens, Vlasto Collection. PLATE 7. From Koropi. Dimensions of fragment  $17.5 \times 12.5$ ; thickness 2.0. A double-line border. A small girl mourns by the head of the bier, before her the inscription  $\Sigma\text{IO}$ . Behind the bier stand a man and a woman upon a raised ground line, possibly a step, cf. 19. About 500. Very close to the Sappho Painter's plaques, see 28 above.
31. Athens. Zsch., no. 26. Present whereabouts not known. Benndorf, *op. cit.* 16, 18, pl. 2, 7. Height (16.0). A small girl tears her hair before the bier. It could be by the Sappho Painter, cf. 28 and 29 (PLATE 3).
32. Athens NM 2501. PLATE 7. Height (18.0). Actual size  $6.9 \times 12.3 \times 1.0-1.5$ . Painted edges and a roughish back. A double-line border. The lower part of three men moving right, and before them a woman. White for her feet, otherwise no colour preserved. Compare the Sappho Painter's plaques.
33. Brussels Inv. A. 3369. Zsch. no. 40 (seen on the Athens Market). Verhoogen, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 1937, 61 ff. figs. 25, 26.  $32.0 \times 57.0$ . A projecting upper edge, and below it holes in each upper corner and two at the centre top. The upper border a rightward meander. A woman sits at the foot of the bier, which is approached by male mourners from both left and right, the latter being greeted. Two white Doric columns, painted straight on to the ground of the plaque, flank the scene. Perhaps after 500; cf. the style of 26 and 27.
34. Walters Art Gallery. PLATE 8.  $9.0 \times 16.8 \times 1.0$ . Slightly warped. Two holes well spaced at the centre top. An upper border of blob tongues. A bearded man greets the male mourners at the foot of the bier: before him stands a boy who looks back and up at him. Two women stretch their hands towards the dead woman's head. Soon after 500. The style is similar to that of 36.
35. Athens, Vlasto Collection (54 M.V.B.). PLATE 8.  $15.0 \times (28.0)$ . Two large holes in each upper corner. The upper border is a linked double row of dots, the side borders of cross-linked dots. Two men stand at the right. The woman at the foot of the bier has her himation over her head. A footstool stands to the left of the bier. Soon after 500.
36. Chicago. Johnson, *AJA* XLVII 400 ff., fig. 21. Height 10.0; thickness 1.0. A woman touches the dead woman's chin. A footstool stands beneath the bier, and Johnson notes that the type with lion's paw feet is rare in black figure, but cf. our 9 (ii), Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 18, centre left. Soon after 500. Compare the Oxford *loutrophoros*, Zsch. no. 71, Beil. 12-13, and 34 (PLATE 8).
37. Munich 184. Zsch. no. 36. From Athens. *AJ* 1912, 132 no. 9 (I know the piece only from this description: it has disappeared during the war). A hole in each upper corner.
38. Athens, Vlasto Collection.
39. Athens Market. Beazley *AE* 1953/4 204. A projecting upper edge decorated with a reserved leaf pattern. Male mourners with their names inscribed  $\text{Κεῖσθε[ς]} (retr.)$ ,  $\text{Ἀντίδω, Τά...}$ . About 500 (Beazley).

## THE EXEKIAS PLAQUES IN BERLIN (9)

This important series has been well known for a long time and often illustrated, and Hirschfeld's shrewd arrangement of the fragments apparently accepted.<sup>85</sup> Since he wrote, new photographs of most of the fragments have been published by Technau,<sup>86</sup> but Hirschfeld's sketches in *Festschrift Overbeck*, pl. 1 still give the most complete illustration of all fragments, lacking only two in Berlin which he did not mention and which have since been illustrated without comment by Technau.<sup>87</sup> The latter also assigned Athens NM 2414 and 2415 to the series<sup>88</sup> and found places for them in Hirschfeld's arrangement, ignoring their reported find-place and Wolter's<sup>89</sup> careful description of NM 2416 and 2417, which must go with them and not with the Areios series (II). The dealers' reports of the find-places of all these fragments is explicit, and though the pieces may have travelled since antiquity, it cannot be so assumed.<sup>90</sup> The Berlin series are from behind the Hatzikostas Orphanage, 300 m. N.N.E. of the Dipylon Gate, NM 2414-2417 (IO) from H. Triada, nearly 200 m. W. of the Gate, and the Areios series (II: NM 2410, 2412, 2413) from Odos Elaiotribeion, which runs away from it to the

<sup>85</sup> In *Festschrift Overbeck* 1 ff. and pl. 1 after a preliminary discussion in *AD* II 4-7 with pll. 9-11. See also Rumpf, *Gnomon* I 334, *Muz* 47, Beazley, *Development* 71 f.

<sup>86</sup> *Exekias*, pll. 14-18.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 18, 9, 10, bottom left and the fragment to the right and above it.

<sup>88</sup> *Op. cit.* 22, pl. 19 a, b, following a suggestion of Rumpf in *Gnomon* I 334.

<sup>89</sup> In *AE* 1888, 183 ff., his no. 1 = NM 2410, 2 = 2412, 3 = 2413, 4 = 2414, etc. He grouped the fragments on the basis of their reported find-places and their technique. The Areios series (II) have coarse clay bodies with a heavy surface layer of refined clay. The Exekias fragments (IO) and the series 12 have a thin surface of refined clay over the uniformly good clay which forms the body of the plaques, cf. fig. Kraiker (*AM* LIX 4) cites NM 2412-2416 as all by Exekias.

<sup>90</sup> Collignon's statement that they were found in a woman's tomb (*GazArch* XII (1888), 225 ff.) seems unfounded and his discussion of the fragments is superficial.



N.W.<sup>91</sup> I have therefore treated NM 2414-2417 (10), which are also by Exekias, apart from the Berlin fragments.

Some slight inconsistencies in Hirschfeld's reconstruction, the new fragments published by Technau, and some other considerations justify a review of the material. All that can be done here must still lack finality as a detailed study of the pieces in Berlin, particularly the smoothing of the backs which, in the absence of wheel-marks, is most helpful in assigning plaque fragments, would be required to confirm my grouping; but the most this would do is to prove that perhaps an even greater number of plaques is involved.

Hirschfeld's basic division of the fragments is determined by the direction of the upper maeander border, on some to the left, on others to the right. This can be taken too far, especially as the plaques were not mounted as a frieze but independently with intervening members to interrupt the border, as Beazley stresses (*Development* 71 f.) in an appreciation of the plaques. Also, as they may have been mounted on all sides of a rectangular tomb, such an arrangement might associate plaques from opposite sides; a maeander could at any rate change direction half-way along a long side as it does on the single plaque 25 (PLATE 5). Each scene is complete in itself, the chariot scenes are, as it were, 'sealed' by facing figures, and even the walking procession by a frontal face. Only on one fragment is there the suggestion of a 'run-on'.<sup>92</sup> The maeander division does, however, seem not completely unreal once the scenes are grouped, as they are here, by content and subject, and some, though not rigid, consistency should be looked for in the subsidiary maeander ornament also.

The main group would seem to comprise at least four plaques (Group A, i-iv in the list below). They figure the *prothesis* and closely attendant scenes, and are distinguished by the extra elaboration of the drapery and detail, and the appearance of inscriptions. If they are to be grouped to illustrate the true relative positions of the scenes, the harnessing of the mule cart for the *ekphora* (i) should take place in the courtyard to the left of the *prothesis* (ii) and the seated women in the house (iii) be placed behind the bier to the right. The remaining inscribed chariot scene plaque (iv) I would place to the right without complete confidence, though it would then balance the harnessing (i) and serve to announce the chariot scenes of a contiguous group. The maeander is leftward on all.

Another group involving at least six plaques (Group B, v-x below) are all of walking processions of men and women in no particular order that I can distinguish, though I would put the near-stationary figures on (ix) and (x) at the front, that is the right. The maeander is leftward again.

The last group of at least five plaques (Group C, xi-xv) all bear rightward maeander borders. They are all mounted processions with some standing figures, three are chariot scenes, one has mounted men (xiv), and the frontal chariot (xv) may have closed the group at the right.

I can see no reason why either of the two processional groups, B or C, should represent the *ekphora*, which is figured only twice in Attic black figure, on later kyathoi.<sup>93</sup> It would rather appear that one moment is depicted, that immediately before the *ekphora*, when the household and mourners are gathered around the bier and the guests assemble. The chariots are not moving but waiting, and the men and women move up to pay their last respects to the dead woman in her home.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* Plan I D 2 (Waisenhaus), C 3 (Triada), C 2 (Odos Plataion = Elaiotribicion). This seems the safest conclusion. Sceptics may find places for NM 2415 (Technau, *op. cit.*, pl. 19 b), 2416 and 2417 (PLATE 2) on my 9 (vi)-(viii), and NM 2414 (*ibid.*, pl. 19 a) with its inscription demands another plaque beside (iv).

<sup>92</sup> Technau, *op. cit.*, pl. 17, 4; a mourning man moving right and the edge of the plaque preserved.

<sup>93</sup> See above n. 12.

In position on a rectangular tomb the main group (A) with the *prothesis* scene might face the road, and therefore most likely be set on one of the narrow ends. With Group A there, Groups B and C could run along each long side and perhaps, though not necessarily, one of them around the back, like the arrangement of the Parthenon frieze. The difficulty then arises that both processions move to the right. I would place the pedestrian scenes of Group B to the left of the main group, on the analogy of the other *prothesis* scenes in which the visiting mourners normally approach the bier on foot from the left. Thus, too, the maeander borders on each long side would balance, leading away from the main scene on the front. The impression thus given by the horses which are turned away from the bier is not a serious difficulty. They are independent scenes, there is no movement except possibly in the riders (xiv), and the chariot scene (iv) of the main group helps the transition at the corner. It would be impertinent to suggest that Exekias could not or would not paint a horse facing the other way, but the artistic convention may account for much.

The defects in this arrangement are obvious, particularly in the placing of the mule cart,<sup>94</sup> and the scenes of violent mourning (ix, x), which ought, perhaps, to be more closely associated with the central group, making it longer and better suited for the long side of the tomb. We do not know whether all the plaques are represented in the fragments; it would indeed be surprisingly fortunate if they were. For the dimensions of the tomb which they decorated, four plaques with a narrow wooden slat between them would give an approximate width for the structure of two metres, which tallies well with the size of the known rectangular tombs.

The inscriptions on the plaques repay further study. The horses' and mules' names are straightforward, both the practice and some of the names being familiar in Exekias' work.<sup>95</sup> On (i), however, Μύλιος is usually referred to the second mule. This beast is better labelled by the . . . ]ς above, as the branches to the left are not carried by a person to whom the inscription can belong but are part of the tree in the courtyard (cf. 15, Zsch. Beil. 10, 31), and no one need be standing beneath it. Μύλιος then refers to the muleteer—a deceptively plausible name meaning 'miller', the μολάριον, μολίων forms for 'muleteer' being, of course, Latin-Greek. The name can have no relation to the apparent function or identity of the man or the animal, but it suits the former better. Σίμη behind him, 'snub-nose',<sup>96</sup> bears a name given to nymphs, though in a late-sixth-century black-figure fountain scene a contemporary Athenian Σίμη καλή is honoured.<sup>97</sup> Φε[ . . . for the woman in the mule cart, . . . ιθο beneath the bier, no doubt for a small girl often in this position, and 'Αρ . . . . . for the man at the foot of the bier can be variously restored. None of the names preserved particularly suggests that they need be of real people, and the animals' names in particular lend a heroic air to the scenes, in common with that apparent in contemporary marriage scenes, which seem heroic or divine although they are commemorating a mortal occasion. This would suggest that these plaques were not bespoken with their inscriptions.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, if they had been they could hardly have been ready to put in position in time for the funeral: the rectangular mud-brick tomb would not take long to build. However, the incised inscriptions on the plaques which were added after firing (note the chipped edges), and possibly not by the painter (compare the forms of *phi*),<sup>99</sup> may well refer to the specific burial for which they were purchased. The man's name 'Αρ . . . . . apparently could retain the initial letters,

<sup>94</sup> Of 14, if there are only three plaques in all, the harnessing scene must come to the right of the *prothesis*.

<sup>95</sup> E.g. Technau, *op. cit.*, pl. 2 and on Louvre F 53 (*ibid.* 24, Neutsch, *Marburg Jb* XV 52, fig. 11).

<sup>96</sup> *RE s.v.* 'Sime'.

<sup>97</sup> London B 336, *CVA* VI, pl. 349, 4.

<sup>98</sup> Unlike, apparently, 11, unless the *αριος* is adjectival, not a name (above, n. 8).

<sup>99</sup> Technau, *op. cit.*, pl. 18 top centre and left centre. But, as Miss Jeffery points out to me, the same hand may incise and paint the same letters in different ways, as, for example, the form of *theta* on the Francois Vase.

and the following superimposed incised letters which have rendered illegible the painted letters beneath them give us 'Αρ . εσ[ . . . , 'Αρκεσίλας perhaps.<sup>100</sup> He should be the father or husband of the dead woman, and so the second most important figure in the scene and meriting the appearance of his name in the circumstances. The other incised inscriptions appear upright beside the column at the left, Φαιν[ . . . , and on the column at the right of the bier, . . ]χαρις. They could refer to the women by the columns, but I think their positions, by the columns of the porch and at either end of the bier, may be significant. Let each restore the other and we have the dead woman's name, Φαινόχαρις inscribed on and by the front columns of her home and at either end of her funeral bier.<sup>101</sup>

I give below details of the grouping I have suggested above for the fragments of this series. The reader is referred to *Festschrift Overbeck*, pl. 1 for drawings of nearly all the pieces (described below as Hirschfeld I, II, etc.). I note emendations and additions to his arrangement and record only unusual or significant details in their content or composition.

#### *Group A. Centre.*

(i) Harnessing the mule cart. Hirschfeld V. A woman is seated on the cart, which stands in the courtyard by a tree.

(ii) *Prothesis*. Hirschfeld IV: add Technau, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, 10 (top right of the bottom left fragment). Two columns at either end of the bier, at the foot of which a man mourns. The bier appears to be raised on a low dais or steps. A woman at the head of the bier lays her hands near the dead woman's head; she stands on a footstool with lion's paw feet (*cf.* the stool on 36 and the woman on 30, PLATE 7).

(iii) Assembly of women. Hirschfeld II. Some are seated, one takes from the arms of another a baby girl. The central seated woman wears her himation over her head. The gesture with her cloak of the woman standing at the left may be compared with that of the woman on 18.

(iv) Chariot scene. Hirschfeld XI, and the top right fragment from I (more appropriate here) bearing a flying bird.

#### *Group B. Left.*

(v) Procession of men and a child. Hirschfeld VI except the fragment on the left.

(vi)–(viii) Procession of mourning men, women, and boys. Hirschfeld I, omitting the two right corner fragments and moving the loose centre fragment to the right between the other pair; add Hirschfeld VI, left-hand fragment, III, right-hand fragment, VII, left-hand fragment and Technau, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, 9, bottom left.

(ix), (x) Mourning women. Hirschfeld III, except the right-hand fragment; that to the left bears the right edge of the drapery of a facing mourning woman, as does the one to the right: there seems no room for both on this one plaque.

#### *Group C. Right.*

(xi) Chariot scene. Hirschfeld IX and I, the bottom right corner.

(xii), (xiii) Chariot scenes. Hirschfeld X and XII.

(xiv) Men and boy riders. Hirschfeld VIII.

(xv) A frontal chariot. Hirschfeld VII, the right-hand fragments.

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<sup>100</sup> Hirschfeld ignores the letter lost in the break. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung* 316 f. reads I before the final break: it is not quite clear on the photograph.

<sup>101</sup> So far as I know, the name does not occur elsewhere, but this is not a serious objection to the restoration.

## FURTHER COMMENTS ON ARCHAIC GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 9-10)

IN *JHS* LXIX (1949), 25 ff., I commented on various Greek inscriptions, mainly archaic. This is a second series on the same lines. The inscriptions are listed geographically, if possible under the relevant headings of *Inscriptiones Graecae*; when the inscription discussed is not in *IG*, the heading is bracketed.

[*IG* 1<sup>2</sup>.] ATTICA. *Graffiti* on Attic 'SOS' amphorae (FIG. 1).

In *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* I (1923), 127, Pfuhl described a type of amphora of which stray examples have been found in many parts of the Mediterranean world, in contexts of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The clay and paint resembled that of Attic pottery, some of the examples had actually been found in Attica, and, though describing it as 'eine noch ungelöste Frage', he was inclined to agree with those archaeologists who called the ware Attic. This was later proved beyond doubt by the American excavators of the Athenian Agora, when they found there numerous examples of the whole series, from its start in Geometric times to its decline during the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> They are described thus by R. S. Young:<sup>2</sup> 'Their decoration is conventional and very simple; the body is glazed, with reserved bands around the shoulder, and the neck is reserved and decorated with wheels, concentric circles, or diminishing triangles between wavy lines.' A typical and often-quoted example, showing the wavy-line-and-circle ('SOS') decoration of the neck, is that carried by Dionysus on the François Vase, painted by Kleitias c. 570.<sup>3</sup>

They are big enough to carry wine or oil; after Solon's legislation they can have carried only oil to the far parts where they have been found. Their size made them useful, when empty, for urn-burials; most of our examples come from cemeteries.

Some—not all—of these amphorae bear on their shoulders *graffiti* names, usually in the genitive case, in script which is or could be Attic. The following are known to me:<sup>4</sup>

1. Amphora used for burial no. 467 in the Borgo necropolis, GELA (P. Orsi, *MA* XVII (1906), 196 ff., fig. 152, pl. 7, 2). R. to l., φλοπετιου(ο)ς (FIG. 1, 1). Neither φλοπετιων nor φλωπετιων is attested elsewhere, but I think this reading slightly preferable to Orsi's φροπετιων ('piuttosto che φιοπετιων'). From the archaic style of the lettering (large, straggling letters, small *omikron*) this *graffito* might well belong to the seventh century. The only object found inside with the ashes was a small plain jug, which could not be closely dated.

2. Sherd found at TELL DEFENNEH in Egypt with other Greek material, including the neck of an Attic 'SOS' amphora (Petric, *Tanis* II (1888), 61, pl. 24, 11). R. to l., part of a name (?), —ΠΕΤ— (FIG. 1, 2). Furtwängler pointed out that the sherd came from one of these amphorae.<sup>5</sup> It might possibly have borne the same name as no. 1, which would suggest that

<sup>1</sup> R. S. Young, *Hesperia* Suppl. II (1939), 178 ff., 210 f.; *AJA* XLVI (1942), 50 f. (pottery from Phaleron).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 210.

<sup>3</sup> Pfuhl, *op. cit.* III, pl. 52, 217.

<sup>4</sup> I have not included here the amphora found in the necropolis at Thera (*Thera* II 64 and 189; *IG* XII 3, 984); it bears on the shoulder, r. to l., the letters αγγλ, but neither *gamma* nor *lambda* is Attic. They are the normal Ionic forms, used also in Thera.

<sup>5</sup> *PhW* 1890, 918.



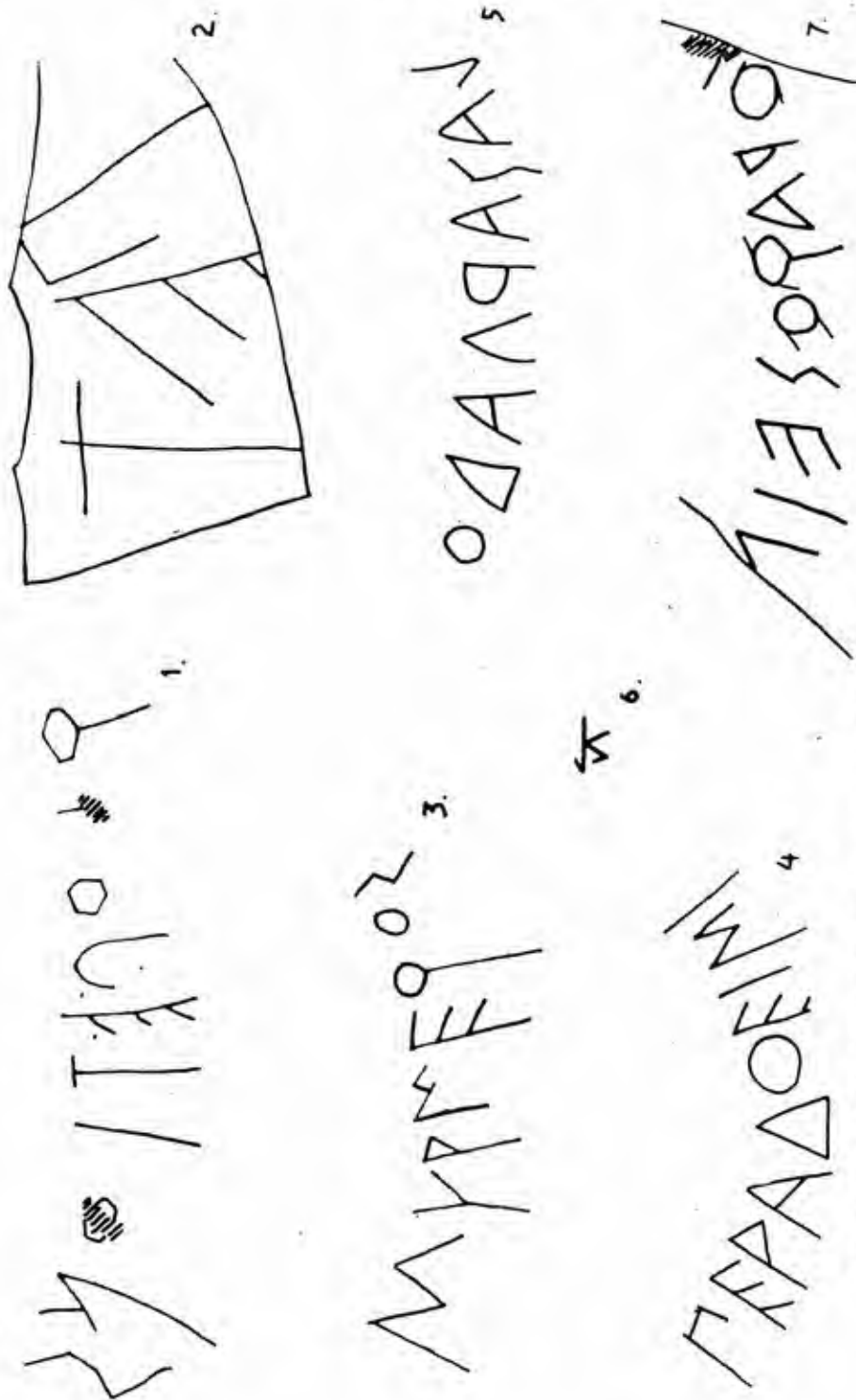


FIG. 1.—*Graffiti* ON ATTIC 'SOS' AMPHORAE (1-5 TRACED FROM FACSIMILES, 7 FROM PHOTOGRAPH).

1. No. 1 (Gela). 2. No. 2 (Tell Defenneh). 3. No. 5 (Caere). 4. No. 6 (Caere). 5. No. 7 (Caere). 6. No. 9 (Syracuse). 7. No. 11 (Caere).

the name was that of the merchant who exported the jars; but obviously several other names could be restored here.

3. Amphora from NAUKRATIS, unpublished (B.M. 48.6.19.9).<sup>6</sup> The name here is l. to r., ΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΡΙΟΥΣ, with ΑΡΙ— repeated r. to l. on the other side; both ΑΡΙ— and ΑΡΙΟΣ were presumably false attempts for ΑΡΙΟΥΣ.

4. Amphora from the ATHENIAN KERAMEIKOS, unpublished.<sup>7</sup> The name is l. to r., ΧΑΡΟΠΙΟ.

5. Amphora from CAERE (Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre* I 36, no. D33). L. to r., ΜΥΡΜΕΦΟΣ (FIG. 1, 3).

6. Amphora from CAERE (Pottier, *op. cit.* D34). L. to r., ΠΕΡΑΔΟ ΕΙΜΙ (FIG. 1, 4).

7. Amphora from CAERE (Pottier, *op. cit.* D35). R. to l., ΛΑΣΑΡΓΑΔΟ (FIG. 1, 5). The correct reading of this name was made by Professor Guarducci (see below, no. 11).

8. Amphora from the seventh-century necropolis at PHALERON (Pelekides, *AD* II (1916), 28 f., T4); used as urn-burial. R. to l. (?), ΦΙ—.

9. Amphora-neck from Grave 194 in the necropolis at SYRACUSE (Orsi, *NS* 1895, 130 f., fig. 9). It bears a monogram graffito (FIG. 1, 6).

10. Several sherds from SMYRNA, unpublished, bearing fragmentary letters.<sup>8</sup>

11. Sherd found in the *dromos* of a tomb at CAERE (Guarducci, *Archeologia Classica* IV (1952), 241 ff.). R. to l., ΚΟΡΑΦΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ[Ι] (FIG. 1, 7). Professor Guarducci, comparing this sherd with the three amphorae in the Louvre (5–7 above), demonstrated clearly that the script of all four must be Attic. She was inclined to think that the new sherd was of local Caeretan fabric, as Pottier and others had held the Louvre jars to be; in which case, as she says, we should have to envisage a band of Attic potters working for Etruscan clients at Caere. But she was careful to point out also that the sherd and the Louvre vases could conceivably be Attic imports; and in view of the other Attic examples listed above there is no doubt, I think, that this is the case. The new sherd bears fresh witness to the trade-connexion between Attica and Etruria, but not necessarily to an Attic settlement there.

Are these the names of exporters? Were K(l)opetion, Arion, Charopios, Myrmex, Perades, Lasargades, Phi— and Korax the Attic merchants who marked the produce with their names, as later merchants stamped signs on the handles of their amphorae? The chief argument against this is in the phrase τοῦ δεῖνα εἶμι, which should, of course, mean 'I am the property of . . .'. In that case, were these men Athenians who emigrated to Gela, Naukratis, and other places, and marked their property thus against theft? Or were they, perhaps, Athenian ship-captains and travellers, from whose hands these useful jars, full or empty, came into the possession of the local inhabitants?

IG IV 496 and 357. MYCENAE. *Defixiones* of the fifth century B.C. (PLATE 10, b; FIG. 2).

IG IV 496 was found built into a small church not far from Phychtia, the modern village on the highway from Corinth to Argos where the bus drops passengers for Mycenae. It is a drum-shaped stone, broken at the top; it might be a round altar (so Fraenkel in *IG*), or possibly part of an unfluted column-shaft. A long band was carved in relief round the stone in spirals; only the lower part of this now remains, ending in a ram's head in profile to the left, also in relief (PLATE 10, b). On the band are (mainly unintelligible) traces of letters, and on the

<sup>6</sup> Cited here by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>7</sup> Cited here by kind permission of Dr. K. Kübler.

<sup>8</sup> Cited here by kind permission of J. M. Cook, co-Director of the Anglo-Turkish excavations at Smyrna.



shaft below the band are several lines of letters running, like the band, spirally round the shaft. Baumgarten, the first editor, published it as a tombstone, doubtfully.<sup>9</sup> Fraenkel, rejecting this, rightly interpreted it as a monument devoted to the infernal deities. The ram (usually a black one) was the animal offered to the heroic dead, if one wished to call them in the underworld.<sup>10</sup> Fraenkel further observed that, judged by the first line 'Εφεσίη κάθητο μήνυσ[ις], the inscription probably consisted of spells of the kind called 'Εφέσια γράμματα (see below, p. 72). He dated the inscription c. 470, on the following grounds: if found near Phychtia, the stone presumably came from the site of Mycenae; Mycenae was destroyed c. 468, and nothing was found there which could be dated between that time and the third century B.C.; since this inscription could not be as late as the third century, it must be earlier than 468, though hardly by more than a few years; it is in Ionic because it is an 'Ephesian' curse, and therefore was drafted by an Ionian.

This lettering can hardly be as early as c. 470. It may well belong to the fifth century, but hardly to the first half (cf. the tailed *phi* and slightly flattened *omega*, both characteristic of the second half of the century, or later). If that is so, it cannot be from Mycenae. A stone built into a church near Phychtia might be from any place in the flat plain through which the road runs south towards Argos. It must be from some precinct devoted to the infernal deities; and Pausanias in fact describes a spot which would suit it very well (II 18, 1 ff.): 'Εκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἡρώων . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώου τούτου Θυέστου τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ· λίθου δὲ ἐπεστὶν αὐτῷ κριός, ὅτι τὴν ἄρνα ὁ Θυέστης ἔσχε τὴν χρυσὴν . . . Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Κριῶν—οὕτω γὰρ τοῦ Θυέστου τὸ μῆμα ὀνομάζουσι—προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίον Μυσία καὶ Δήμητρος Μυσίας ἱερὸν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυσίου τὸ ὄνομα, γενομένου καὶ τούτου, καθάπερ λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι, ξένου τῇ Δήμητρι. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπεστὶν ὄροφος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ νάος ἐστὶν ἄλλος ὁπτιῆς πλίνθου, ξόανα δὲ Κόρης καὶ Πλούτωνος καὶ Δήμητρος ἐστὶ. προελθοῦσι δὲ ποταμός ἐστιν Ἰναχος . . . The crossing of the Inachos is not more than 7 km. south of Phychtia, so that 'near Phychtia' would be a legitimate description of any stone found in the area between.

Baumgarten observed concerning the use of rams as funeral monuments: '*Der Widder auf Thyestes Grab in der Nähe vom Fundort unseres Steines wird freilich von Pausanias (II 18, 2) als "Atridenwidder" gedeutet, ob mit Recht, bleibt fraglich*'.<sup>11</sup> Frazer in his commentary on the text here<sup>12</sup> drew attention to the fact that this monument with its rams' heads (*sic*) was found not far from the area where this Tomb of Thyestes must have been; but as he followed Baumgarten's view that this stone was a funeral monument, the rest of his note was concerned with the ram in funeral art. But, thanks to Fraenkel's identification of the nature of the stone, we can carry the commentary farther. Pausanias describes an archaic precinct, in a spot which could truly be called 'not far from Phychtia', with a temple in it to the chthonic triad Demeter, Persephone, and Pluto, and, just north of this precinct, a mound or monument of some kind, which the local people called Thyestes' Tomb, presumably because it (a) was fairly near Mycenae, (b) looked like a hero's tomb, and (c) carried a ram on it, which signified clearly that it must belong to Thyestes; for, as everyone knew, the saga about the kings of Mycenae

<sup>9</sup> *AM* VIII (1883), 141 ff. The photograph PLATE 10, b is by courtesy of M. Mitsos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum, Athens.

<sup>10</sup> Rams were sacrificed to Amphiaraus (Pausanias I 34, 5), to Trophonius (Pausanias IX 39, 6) and to Calchas (Strabo 284) by those wishing to consult the oracles of these heroes; also to Pelops at Olympia (Pausanias V 13, 2). Odysseus offered a black ram and ewe to Erebus before calling up the dead (Od. X 527, 572; Pausanias X 29, 1). Cf. Baumgarten, *op. cit.* 144 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* 145, n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Pausanias III 187.



said that he had once stolen a golden lamb. We do not know if the monument was in fact a Mycenaean tomb, or a later tomb, or no tomb at all; whatever it was, it carried a stone ram in Pausanias' day, and must once have had more such figures on or round it, for the place was called 'The Rams'. If the local account did in fact preserve the relics of a continuous tradition about this place from the Mycenaean period, as being a Mycenaean hero's grave, then the precinct of the three chthonic deities may have been established near it later for that reason. If, on the other hand, the monument was not Mycenaean, nor, perhaps, a grave at all, the precinct may have been set there for some other reason, and the unknown object near it brought into association with it, and called a tomb, because it was so near the chthonic precinct. Whichever way round we take it, it seems to me probable that the two places were in fact closely connected, though by Pausanias' time the connexion was apparently forgotten. It may be suggested, then, that this ram's-head stone was erected either in the precinct or on the monument near, which was thought to be a tomb of hallowed antiquity, and which undoubtedly at one time held several representations of rams, in relief or in the round; these will have been dedications like *IG* IV 496, made to the infernal deities by those depositing curses there.

It will be recalled that those curses which we call *defixiones*<sup>13</sup> have all been found either in the precincts of chthonic deities or in tombs. The curse was written on lead; sometimes it consisted of the name only, sometimes of a formula: καταδῶ τὸν δαίμονα, or the like. The name or names of the deity to whom it was addressed might be added, and sometimes the parts to be afflicted were specified (e.g., τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐπ' ἀτελείᾳ). The lead was usually a narrow strip, which was then rolled up like a papyrus message, and spiked through with an iron nail; it might also be rectangular like a *pinax*, or circular. The words might be written backwards for additional mystery, though the letters themselves were not always reversed. The lead was then, with prayers and ritual, either deposited in a chthonic precinct or inserted somehow into a tomb, so that the dead man could carry this message with him to the gods below.

At the time when Wuensch and Audollent wrote their works on *defixiones* none certainly earlier than the fourth century had been found, unless the famous 'Styra tablets' could be thus interpreted.<sup>14</sup> Since then, however, a number of fifth-century examples have been found, especially in the Sicilian colonies. A list is given here of all those known to me which are either certainly or probably of the fifth century:

#### SELINUS (I-11).

Eleven lead *defixiones* were found in the adjacent precincts of (Demeter) Malophoros and Zeus Meilichios at Selinus (E. Gábrici (= G), *MA* XXXII (1927), 384 ff., nos. 12-21). One of them, omitted here, is in Ionic script, and might be of the early fourth century (G no. 14). Two are circular, the rest are rectangular or ragged scraps of indeterminate shape. Two were found in the precinct of Zeus (7, 8), the rest in or just outside that of Malophoros.

1. (G 12; *SEG* IV 37-8). Round disc, opisthographic, now lost. L. to r., early fifth century. It was directed against the witnesses Timaso, Tyrrhana, Selinountios, and the 'ξένοι συνδικοί' in a lawsuit, the formula being: Τιμασὶ καὶ ἁ Τιμασὸς γλῶσσαι ἀπειστραμέναν ἐπ' ἀτελείᾳ τῷ τένον ἐ(ν)γράφω.

<sup>13</sup> The most detailed treatises are those of R. Wuensch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, *IG* III 3, Appendix (1897), and A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (1904).

<sup>14</sup> *IG* XII 9, 56; Audollent, no. 80. These tablets are certainly of the fifth century, but the circumstances of their discovery do not warrant the conclusion that they are *defixiones*; see *IG ad loc.* Otherwise Audollent gives only his no. 45 (from the Piraeus), which, by appearance, could equally well be of the fourth century. No certain fifth-century examples from Attica were known to Wilhelm in *ÖJh* VII (1904), 105 ff., where he established the dates of various fourth-century examples; but he described (p. 120) Wuensch, *op. cit.*, no. 38 as being equally possibly of the fifth century. In *Beiträge* (1909), 211, 307 he referred to the fifth-century examples from Gela and Camarina (here nos. 13-18).

2. (G 13). Fragment of a similar disc, also opisthographic. L. to r., first half of the fifth century. The same type of formula, directed against one Damarchos and probably others.

3. (G 15). *Pinakion*, the first phrase l. to r., the following list of names backwards; about the middle of the fifth century or slightly later. I give here a text which differs in some details from that of Olivieri (G, *loc. cit.*):

ΕΙΕΝ ΕΞΟΛΕΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΕΑΣ· ΝΙΚΥΛΛΟΣ |<sup>2</sup> ΚΑΠΟΣΟ, ΔΕΝΔΙΛΟΣ Μ(Ν)ΑΜΟΝΟΣ, ΑΙΝΟΝ, ΝΕΑΠΟΝΟΣ (ΝΑΕΠΟΝΟΣ, *sic*), |<sup>3</sup> ΖΕΝΙΟΣ, ΑΠΟΝΤΙΟΣ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ, ΣΑΥΡΙ(Α?)Σ, ΑΘ<sup>4</sup>ΑΝΙΣ ΤΑΜΜΑΡΟ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ, ΡΑΦΣΑΡΜΑΔΑ(Σ?), ΔΙΟ<sup>5</sup>Ν ΠΙΑΚΙ(Ν?)ΟΣ, ΠΙΘΘΙΑΣ, ΙΧΑΙΟΝ ΜΑΜΜΑΡΕΙΟ, ΙΟΣ<sup>6</sup>ΤΑ (=ΙΟΤΑΣ?), ΑΓΑΘΥΛΛΟΣ, ΖΕΝΙΟΣ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ, ΣΥΝΕ<sup>7</sup>ΤΟΣ ΖΕΝΟΝΟΣ.

Olivieri: Line 1: 'Εσθήετε ολνείαι και αυτών και Αλνέας. 2: Καπόσο[ς], Μάμονος. 3-4: 'Υρις 'Αθάνισσα, Φάρμαυκα 'Ρᾶς. 5: Χαίον Μαμμάρειοι 'Ιόστα.

Three men on this list are apparently called Heraclidae: Apontios, Athanis son of Tammaros (Τ), Xenios. Presumably they will have been the colonial offshoots of a Heraclid clan in mainland Megara; there is ample evidence of how such clans were regarded as the rightful leaders of any emigration to the West, since their heroic founder had opened that region to the Greeks.<sup>15</sup>

4. (G 16). Roughly oval piece of lead. L. to r., first half of fifth century. Names only.

5. (G 17). *Pinakion*. List of names, professedly written backwards, but by an unskilled hand which tended to write the initial syllable (and once at least the medial) forwards. I think that this interpretation makes better sense than that of Olivieri, and give a new text here:

ΠΙΘΟΝ ('Ιπθον), ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (Γορίγας), ΠΥΘΟΔ(Ο)ΡΟΣ ('Υπθοδρος), ΔΕΤΑΣ, ΧΙΜ(Α)ΡΟΣ, ΦΙΛΟΛΕΟΣ(?)<sup>2</sup> ΑΚΡΙΟΚΟΙ, ΣΕΛΙΝΟΙ.

Olivieri: Σίπθον(?), Γόριγα, Σύπθοδρος, Δειλ, Χίμρος (= Κίμβρος?), Φιλολέος, Σελινδοί (dat.), 'Ακαϊο Κοι. Δειλ, Κοι = abbreviated tribal names?

For Χίμρος, cf. IG XIV 227: [. . .]υσις το Χιμάρον, and Suidas s.v. 'Επίχαρμος'.

6. (G 18). *Pinakion*. L. to r., mid-fifth century? List of names, abbreviated.

7. (G 19). Fragment. L. to r., mid-fifth century or slightly earlier? Names, perhaps with an added formula.

8. (G 20). Fragment of a *pinakion*, traces only of letters. R. to l.?, fifth century.

9. (G 21). *Pinakion*, doubled over like a diptych. Traces of letters, l. to r., fifth century. Apparently a list of names.

10. (S. Ferri, NS 1944-5, 168 ff.). *Pinakion* found outside the precinct of Malophoros. L. to r., c. 475-450? This, consisting of names with a formula, is the largest complete *defixio* of the fifth century yet found. I suggest alternative readings for a few of the names:

L. 6: και 'Ρῶμιν τὸν ἱαλίον (κνιό)ν. (Ferri: και Ρομιν τὸν Αἴλιον).

L. 8: και Πῦρον τὸν Πύρο (κνιό)ν . . . και τὸς 'Ροτύλο κνιὸς τὸ Πύρο (Ferri: και Πῦρον τὸν Πῦρον . . . και τὸς 'Ροτύλο κνιός τὸ Πύρο, κτλ).

L. 10: και γλόσας Πλακίταν τὸν Ναννελαίο. Plakitas here is perhaps a proper name, rather than one of the parts cursed ('*palette della lingua*', Ferri).

11. (Ferri, *op. cit.* 174). Fragment of a *pinakion* from the precinct of Malophoros. L. to r., c. 475-450? The formula seems to be like that in no. 1, against the opposing parties in a lawsuit:

[ - - ] τῶι Σοπάτροι *vacat* | [Σόπατρ]ος και ἡ Σοπάτρο γλῶ[σα ἀνεστραμμένα ἐπ' ἀτελείαι] Φρῦνις Νοαβαρίλο (= το 'Αβάριδος(?) και ἡ [Φρύνιδος - - γ]λῶσα {γλῶσα}: ἀνε[στραμμένα ἐπ' ἀτελείαι - - ] μεκολυ(?) συνδικε[- - ] | τὰς γ[. . .]λο λ[- - ].

<sup>15</sup> Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* 330.

## Kyme.

12. *Pinakion* found in the necropolis (Comparetti, *RendLinc* XXVII (1919), 202 ff.; *SEG* IV 93). L. to r., middle or second half of fifth century. Curse against Odoris and As(t)ron.

## Gela.

13. Fragmentary *pinakion*, found under the skeleton in Grave 19 in the necropolis of Gela (Orsi, *MA* XVII (1906), 472 ff., fig. 336). The grave contained also a cremation in an amphora, put in above the inhumation. The latter burial included a number of vases, some of them Attic red-figure; nothing which could be dated was later than c. 470. It is therefore a question whether the curse was put in at the time of the first burial, and belongs to the first half of the fifth century, or inserted into the earlier grave when the cremation was laid above it—how much later than the first burial it is impossible to say. The excavator was convinced that the body itself had not been disturbed, and so the *pinakion* must belong to the first burial. The lead was in a very bad state, and the letters too faint to be copied properly. From the available drawing in *MA* they might belong to the first quarter of the fifth century; but, equally, they might be ranged anywhere within that century. It seems to be a list of names only, possibly written backwards, though the letters are not reversed. *Alpha* with a dot instead of cross-bar, shown in the copy, occurs also on no. 10 (Selinus), and in the Geloan inscription in *Epigraphica* VIII (1946), 11 ff., pl. 2, consisting of names scratched on the pediment of a little *naiskos*, also of the fifth century.

## Kamarina (14-18).

Five *defixiones* were found in graves in the necropolis of Passo Marinaro (Pace (= P), *Camarina* (1927), 161 ff., nos. 9-13).

14. (P 9). Fragment of a lead scroll. L. to r., mid-fifth century? Traces of women's names, perhaps in a list.

15. (P 10). Similar fragment, with the iron nail still piercing it. R. to l., mid-fifth century? List of names?

16. (P 11). Leaf-shaped lead. L. to r., late fifth century? List of names, fragmentary.

17. (P 12). Lead roughly in the shape of the sole of a foot. L. to r., mid-fifth century? Heading *Μένον Δαμέα ἐν[γράφει]*, followed by a list of names.

18. (P 13 = *SEG* IV 30). Large *pinax*, broken away all down one side. The extent of the lost piece is unknown; P inferred that it was a few letters only in each line. The text begins with the bottom line, l. to r.: [- - - τοί]δε γεγράφται | ἐπὶ δυσπραγί[αι]; then follow two lines (3-4) discussed below, and then a long list of names. All is written l. to r. in 'false *boustrophedon*'—i.e., one line continues by a hairpin bend into the next, so that the letters continue to run l. to r., and the alternate lines are upside-down, if the document is held horizontally. Middle or third quarter of the fifth century?

For lines 1-4 the editors suggest: [τοί]δε γεγράφται | ἐπὶ δυσπραγί[αι] | κερδὼν ἐλάσ[10|5?] ἐξ ὅτο περ κό | Πύθον Διοκλ[. . .]πιτα, κτλ.

*SEG* notes: 'An Κέρδων *nom. propr.*?' and I read both lines 3 and 4 as the start of the list of names: Κέρδων Ἐλαχ[- - -]ξεο τῷ Πέρκο, Πύθον Διόκλ[εος τῷ] Τίτα(?), κτλ.

## Athens (19-25).

In *Kerameikos* III (1941), 89 ff., W. Peek (= Pk) published a number of *defixiones* found in graves in the Kerameikos. He pointed out that his nos. 3, 6 (here nos. 19, 20) were certainly

of the fifth century from their contexts, and his nos. 1, 2 (here nos. 21, 22) might well be, by their scripts. I have added here tentatively three of the others (Pk 4, 5, 7 (undated)), whose lettering as there recorded seems to me to suggest the late fifth century rather than the fourth.

19. (Pk 3). Lead scroll, found in a grave dated by its contents to the middle of the fifth century or a little later. L. to r., Ionic alphabet. Formula: Καταδῶ τὸν δαίνα καὶ ψυχὴν τὴν τοῦ δαίνα καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα παρὰ Περσεφόνῃ καὶ Ἑρμῇ.

20. (Pk 6). Similar scroll. L. to r., Ionic alphabet. List of names followed by demotic(?) Παι (= Ποιανεύς, Ποιονίδης, Pk).

21-22. (Pk 1-2). Two *pinakia* found in later fill of the fourth century. Both are written backwards; they curse the same man, Lysanias, ἐκ τοῦ ἀργυροκοπίου φουετῆς, and his wife, in body and deed. Attic script, but for Ionic *lambda*. Mid-fifth century?

23. (Pk 4). Oval-shaped lead. Carefully written, l. to r., Ionic alphabet, late fifth century? List of the names of four people Pytheas, Pythippos, Hegestratos, Smi(n?)dyrides, 'ὁπόσοι ἰσὶν ἀντίδικοι Εὐόπῃ μετὰ Πυθέο'. Pk tentatively sets both this and 24 in the fourth century, since certain of the names appear also in trierarchs' lists of that period.

24. (Pk 5). Scroll. L. to r., Ionic alphabet? Late fifth century? List of names only.

25. (Pk 7). *Pinakion*(?). Late fifth century? List of names, written backwards.

It is obvious that IG IV 496 is not a *defixio* in the proper sense. It is one thing to curse an enemy secretly by means of a leaden letter addressed to the infernal deities and deposited in one of the above places; it is quite another to have a curse inscribed on a marble monument, even if that monument is erected in some spot to which only the priest and the suppliant had access. Perhaps in this case the suppliant, whose *defixio* had been entirely successful, offered the stone in gratitude; on it he had a representation made of the leaden scroll bearing the original curse, and below came the details of the fulfilment. The stone is badly battered, and the sequence of the lines round the shaft is by no means clear. The text as given in IG reads the few decipherable fragments on the scroll as:

[- - - κα]τέχ[ο]ι Πλοῦτ[ος - - -] and [- - -] Μεγά[ρας]· π[α]ῖδα Φερ[σε]φ[ό]νῃ [- - -], and the lines below (FIG. 2):

Ἐφεσίη καθήτο μήνυσ[ις]· πρῶτον Ἑκάτη ἄτας Μεγάρας | πᾶσιν, εἴτα δὲ Περσεφόνῃ ἀγγέλλει θεοῖς. ἤδη τάδε πάντα.

For the latter I would suggest the following slight alteration: Ἐφεσίη καθήτο μήνυσ[ις]· | πρῶτον Ἑκάτη ἄτά[ει τὰ ??] | Μεγάρας πᾶσιν· εἴτα δὲ Περσεφόνῃ | ἤδη τάδε πάντα ἀγγέλλει θεοῖς.

That is, line 1 starts immediately to the right of the ram's head: (1) Ἐφεσίη καθήτο μήνυσ[ις]; line 2 follows immediately below line 1, (2) πρῶτον Ἑκάτη ἄτα[. . .]; line 3, again, is under line 2, but here the start is edged to the left, so that the name Μεγάρας may be near the ram's mouth: (3) Μεγάρας πᾶσιν. Here the sentence ends, with punctuation; and a new sentence starts, still in line 3: εἴτα δὲ Περσεφόνῃ—ram's head—(4) ἤδη τάδε πάντα (5) ἀγγέλλει θεοῖς. Line 4, as the second line of the new sentence, starts immediately below the start of that sentence. This slight change in the order seems to me to be permissible as far as the line-sequence is concerned, and to make rather better sense, so far as sense can be made out at all: 'The Ephesian vengeance was sent down(?); first Hecate injures(?) the possessions(?) of Megara in all things; then Persephone already is reporting all these (prayers?) to the gods'.

The collected examples of Ἐφεσία γράμματα are all later in date than IG IV 496.<sup>16</sup> The

<sup>16</sup> For a good discussion of the subject, see Audollent, *op. cit.* lxxv ff. and 499 ff.



earliest reference to them is of the fourth century, from the Middle Comedy poet Anaxilas (F. 18 Kock): . . . Χίον πίνων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις | ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φορῶν | Ἐφέσια γράμματα καλὰ, and in the New Comedy Menander also mentioned them (F. 371 Kock): Ἐφέσια τοῖς γαμοῦσιν οὗτος περιπατεῖ | λέγων ἀλεξιφάρμακα. It appears that originally they were counter-spells, carried round like amulets to ward off any spells which might be directed against one by an evil-wisher; but they seem to have been extended to include reprisals as well as defence. They consisted of strings of mysterious-sounding words; according to Hesychius (s.v. 'Ἐφέσια γράμματα') the original number was six: ἄσκιον, κοτάσκιον, λίξ, τετράξ, δαμναμενὺς, αἴσιον; but later generations added to them continually. Eustathius records (1864) some of the traditional accounts of how these spells got their name: from one Eurybates of Ephesus, a famous trickster; or from an Ephesian wrestler at Olympia, who could not be thrown by his Milesian antagonist until the spells which he bore on his person were unloosed; or because they were written all over the great statue of Artemis at Ephesus. Wuensch suspected that the derivation from Ephesus might be popular etymology, and that the word was perhaps to be derived from ἐφήμι.<sup>17</sup> The words themselves were intended to be the names or epithets of the gods or demons called on to aid the spell-speaker. Innumerable examples have been found in papyri or on lead tablets, and collected in the corpora of *defixiones*. Wuensch noted<sup>18</sup> that, while a great many are plain gibberish, others have echoes of real words, sometimes Greek or Latin, sometimes from the languages of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Africa—in whichever country the spell was found. Δαμναμενὺς, for example, shows a Greek root; while as an example of gibberish a few words may be quoted from a 'marvellous binding spell' (φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός) given in a papyrus.<sup>19</sup> On the puppet made by the spell-binder from potter's clay must be written οὐερμηχαν on the right ear, λιβαβαωιμαθοο on the left, elsewhere αμωναβρεω, and so on.

It is impossible to say whether such words were included in the indecipherable parts of the inscription on the scroll of IG IV 496. We have seen from the poet Anaxilas that these spells were already in use by the middle of the fourth century, and it is possible that their origin may lie a good deal farther back. I suspect that we have another specimen of about the same date (second half of the fifth century?) in IG IV 357. This is the inscription on a bronze frog, said to have been found somewhere in the Peloponnese and now in the Berlin Antiquarium (No. 7917; Neugebauer, *Katalog* II (1951), 2, pl. 5). It bears the legend ΑΠΟΝ-ΣΟΝΟΥ cut down one side, and ΒΑΣΩΝΙ up the other. This is usually translated as a dedication to Apollo Boason (*sic*): \*Αμων Σωνόου Βοάσωνι, but it sounds more like jargon of the kind used in the Ἐφέσια γράμματα; for we know that frogs, like certain other animals, were believed by the ancients to have apotropaic powers.<sup>20</sup>

[IG vii.] BOEOTIA. Fragment of sculpture, from a grave-monument (?) (PLATE 9, b, d).

This small fragment (no. illegible) has evidently lain for many years in the epigraphical section of Thebes Museum. It is, as far as I know, unpublished.<sup>21</sup> The stone is a yellowish

<sup>17</sup> *Neue Fluchtäfelchen* (RhM IV (1900)), 84.

<sup>18</sup> *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, xx. In *Die Ilias und Homer* (1916), 450 ff., Wilamowitz suggested that the τέτοια γράμματα were in fact uncomprehended and mangled relics of the original ritual words used in the pre-Greek cult of Artemis at Ephesus; it was possible, he argued, to see a similar survival of Carian in the ritual of Apollo at Didyma (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* V 8, 48, 4) and of Lycian in the song of the Delian maidens (*Hymn to Apollo*, 157 ff.). I owe this reference to Sir John Beazley.

<sup>19</sup> Wessely, *Griech. Zauberpapyrus v. Paris u. London* (1888), 52 ff. = *Audolent* lxxxiv ff.

<sup>20</sup> The first letter of ΒΑΣΩΝΙ has been taken for Corinthian beta, and a nick in the bronze after the final nu for iota, which is not certain; hence the reconstructed epithet Βοάσων, the Helper. See IG IV, *ad loc.*; Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (1902), 232, n. 12; Neugebauer, *loc. cit.* For the apotropaic power of the frog, cf. Fraenkel, *Jdl* I (1886), 52.

<sup>21</sup> Published here by kind permission of A. Chrestou, Ephor of the Museum.

limestone (like that of the monument of Dermys and Kit(t)ylos), broken on all faces except the top; L. 0.22 m. × W. 0.15 m. × H. 0.13 m. On top is part of a sculptured foot, with two toes only. An inscription ran round the foot, on top of the plinth, r. to l., LH 0.015–0.035 m. (PLATE 9, d). The tails of two lost letters are just in front of the foot; the inscription must thence have curled round the rim of the plinth, and continued with the eight surviving letters, which appear to be part of a name in the uncontracted form of the genitive, presumably in verse: [φ]υγαιδοιο(?), with part of a vertical stroke following. To try to date so scanty a piece may be lost labour; but it should certainly be no later than the monument of Dermys and Kit(t)ylos (c. 590–575?). I take the two clumsy toes to be those of an animal, a sphinx, or a lion perhaps, rather than those of a kouros. They might be meant to represent a whole paw; but, as there is a *vacat* on each side (PLATE 9, d), it is impossible to reconstruct the foot of a kouros unless the toes were shown separated, which is most unlikely.<sup>22</sup> The use of animal sculpture would suggest that this was a grave-monument rather than a dedication. It is even conceivable that, if the animal was a sphinx, some sort of rebus on the name Κύναιδος(?) was intended, since the sphinx was the Αἰδοῦ κύνων (cf. the Thessalian epitaph restored by Peek, *Gnomon* XIV (1938), 476).

[IG viii.] PHOCIS. Delphic law concerning sales.

In *BCH* LXXIII (1949), 255 f., pl. 6 Professor Daux drew attention to a brief text found in 1896 at Delphi under the Roman Agora near the modern Delphi–Arachova road. It is on a small stele of the local stone, re-cut later at the top. The surface of the stone is very bad; after a scrupulously careful description of the surviving letters Daux suggested the reading:

[ - - - ] | <sup>1</sup> τὰρ | (2–3) | <sup>2</sup> . ακολα (2–3) | <sup>3</sup> τὰθνα (3) | <sup>4</sup> τεδεπολε . | <sup>5</sup> Ζαμία οδελ | <sup>6</sup> ος *vac.*

He observed that in line 3 the *nu* might possibly be an error for another letter, as *lambda*, or a preceding *alpha* might have been omitted (αθ(α)να?); and in line 4, though an earlier copy read τεδεπολε, he would not now be certain of the third and fifth letters. As he points out, the key-phrase is in lines 5–6: 'Fine, one obol.' We are reminded of the larger fine in the Corinthian sacred law of about the same date (c. 475?: *Corinth* VIII 1, no. 22).

The following reconstruction may be suggested for the Delphic law:

[οὐ θέμις τὰ] | [.] . τὰρ . [ . . . ] | τὰ κῶλα [οὐδὲ] | τὰ θνα[σ]α[ῖα] | τεδε πολ[ε]ν . | Ζαμία  
οδελ | <sup>6</sup> ος *vac.*

'It is not lawful to sell here the - - - nor the limbs nor the carcasses: fine, one obol'. In line 3 after the second *alpha* is an illegible letter and then the lower half of a stroke sloping up to the right, as for *alpha*. In line 4 *delta*, as read by Daux in the earlier copy, is, I think, certain; when I was able through his courtesy to examine both the stone itself and a photograph, the traces did not suggest the lunate *gamma* nor the isosceles *lambda* of fifth-century Delphic, but Λ, the main part of Delphic *delta* δ.

The stele must have stood in some part of the great precinct at Delphi to bar the entry of hucksters. It was normal at Greek festivals for people to buy and sell various things in an agora, especially *ἱερεῖα* for those who wished to offer sacrifice. The best accounts of this are those in the sacred laws of Andania in Messenia (Prott-Ziehen II, no. 58; c. 94–91 B.C.) and of Eretria (Prott-Ziehen II, no. 88; c. 341/0 B.C.). The Andanian law, which prescribes the regulations for holding the Mysteries, gives the details about commerce under the rubric Ἀγορᾶς (lines 99 ff.): οἱ ἱεροὶ τόπον ἀποδείξαντω ἐν ᾧ πρᾶθήσεται πάντα· ὁ δὲ ἀγοράνομος

<sup>22</sup> The big toe may be shown separated from the rest on statues made about the middle of the sixth century and after (e.g. Richter, *Kouros*, pl. 57, figs. 205–6); but it is not possible to reconstruct the Boeotian fragment in such a position.

ὁ ἐπὶ πόλεος [ἐ]πιμέλειαν ἔχέτω, ὅπως οἱ πωλοῦντες ἄδολα καὶ καθαρὰ πωλοῦντι καὶ χρῶνται σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις συμφώνοις ποτὶ τὰ δαμόσια· καὶ [μ]ὴ τασσέτω [μ]ὴ[τε] πρόσου δεῖ πωλεῖν, μηδὲ καιρὸν τασσέτω, μηδὲ πρᾶσσέτω μηθεὶς τοὺς πωλοῦντας τοῦ τόπου μηθέν· τοὺς δὲ μὴ πωλοῦντας καθὼς γέγραπται, τοὺς μὲν δούλους μαστιγούτω, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ζαμιούτω εἴκοσι δραχμαῖς, καὶ τὸ κρίμα ἔστω ἐπὶ τῶν ἱε[ρῶν]. Provided that merchants sold only in the agora marked out by the priests, and used the standard local weights and measures, they could sell at their own prices and in their own time, and without paying any tax as rent (?). The wrongdoer was fined twenty drachmas—an interesting illustration of the depreciation of the drachma between the fifth and the first century B.C. In the Eretrian law, which prescribes the regulations for the celebration of the Artemisia, more freedom was allowed (lines 31 ff.): πωλεῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερωὶ τὸμ βολόμενον ὅτι ἄμ βόληται ἀτελέα, μὴ τιθέντα τέλος μηδὲν, μηδὲ πρήττεσθαι τοὺς ἱεροποιούς μηδὲν τοὺς πωλέοντας· τὴν δὲ πομπὴν καθιστᾶν τοὺς δημάρχους ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ὅποιοι τὰ ἱερεῖα πωλεῖται . . . Nothing is said about inspection of the produce sold, nor about the weights and measures to be used.

[IG xiv.] MAGNA GRAECIA. Non-Greek inscriptions in the Achaean alphabet (FIG. 4).

1. A valuable addition to the archaic inscriptions of Poseidonia was recently published by Professor Guarducci (*Archeologia Classica* IV (1952), 145 ff., pl. 29). The text is on a silver disc (exact purpose unknown) found in a votive deposit from one of the temples there (FIG. 4, 1). The inscription says that the disc is sacred to Hera, and Professor Guarducci gives strong reasons for believing that one of the temples was in fact a Heraeum, perhaps an offshoot from the great Heraeum at the mouth of the Silaris, not far to the north. Her admirable commentary on the letter-forms of the archaic Poseidoniote (Achaean) script leaves nothing further to be said, except that I would venture to date the inscription rather later than she does—in the second rather than the first half of the sixth century, since *heta* here is already open. The full text reads: τασερασσιαρωνφρονθ(φ?)ιτοξαμιν. There is no doubt about the first part: τᾶς ἑρας ἱερὸν. For the rest she suggests tentatively: φρονθι τόξ' ἄμιν: 'Fortifica a noi gli archi (o, in generale, le armi)'. She notes instances of an armed Hera elsewhere in Greek cult, and draws attention to a model clay shield found at the site on the Silaris, and two statuettes of an armed female deity from the latest excavations at Poseidonia.

In view of the difficulties in the second phrase, I would suggest as an alternative that this dedication was made not by a Greek but by one of the natives of the Italic peninsula; on his offering he had inscribed first the standard Greek formula, and then, in his own language, φρονθ(φ?)ιτοξαμιν, which one would expect then to mean either 'sacred to Hera', a repetition of the Greek, or else 'X dedicated me'. But what is this language? A native of the area round Poseidonia might be expected to use Oscan; but I have found nothing comparable among the Oscan inscriptions published by Vetter, *Handbuch d. italischen Dialekt* (1953), nor in Pisani, *Le Lingue dell' Italia Antica oltre il Latino* (1953). But there are four (possibly five) other non-Greek inscriptions of the late sixth or early fifth century, all in the script of the Achaean colonies, all found in southern Italy, and none in the Oscan language. They are as follows:

2. ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΦΟΣ)ΑΛΟΦΕ)ΤΥΧΑΙΟΣ)ΒΟΦΕΟΝ)ΒΛΑΜΙΝΙ)ΤΑΣΠΛΕΡΑΣΚΑΙΘΟΙΝΑΡ(Λ?)Υ(Ξ?)ΙΣ(Μ?) (FIG. 4, 2).

This is scratched r. to l. on a small closed vase now in the Classical Collection of the University of Chicago (F. P. Johnson, *The Farwell Collection (Monographs on Archaeology and the Fine Arts* VI (1953)), App. iii, 73 ff., figs. 88-90). Its provenance is uncertain: it was first seen, in private hands, by Hiller von Gaertringen, who sent a copy of the inscription to Kretschmer for publication, stating that it had allegedly been found in a plundered grave some-





where along the route Taranto-Bari.<sup>23</sup> Johnson describes it as probably from central or southern Apulia, resembling a type of vase described by Mayer<sup>24</sup> as beginning perhaps c. 500 B.C. and occurring in Peucetian graves of the fifth century. The first word is generally agreed to be a name, the Greek Arkesilaos. The rest has no close parallel elsewhere; it is agreed that, if the vase came from Apulia, the text ought to be Messapic;<sup>25</sup> but all other Messapic inscriptions which are as early as the fifth century show a local script which bears no likeness to the Achaean, but has plainly been derived from the script of Laconian Taras, the nearest Greek neighbour of the Messapians.<sup>26</sup>

3. ΔΙΣΠΕΤΥΓΙΔΟΣΤΟΙΟΥΝΥΕΠΑΜΑΤΟΞΕΕΝ (FIG. 4, 3).

This inscription was scratched l. to r. on a Greek late black-figure lekythos now lost, which was once in the Hamilton Collection, and was said to have come from Magna Graecia (Tischbein, *Coll. Engravings* I, pl. 23; *IGA* 550; *SGDI* 1657). According to the late eighteenth-century drawing of the vase and graffito, the script was clearly Achaean of the early fifth century, which makes it unlikely to be an eighteenth-century forgery. It is not cited in Whatmough, Pisani or Vetter. We may pass over attempts to read it as Greek<sup>27</sup> and note only that the final *toxeen* recalls the *toxamin* of the disc from Poseidonia.

4. ΤΟΥΤΙΚΕΜΑΙΠΟΞΕΡΕΜΤΙΤ(?)

This is scratched r. to l. on a vase now in Berlin Antikenmuseum; the vase was found certainly in Oscan country, by Castelluccio east of Sapri, half-way between the ancient Laus and Pyxus (Conway, *Italic Dialects* II 530, 41\*). Vetter says: 'Sicher nicht oskisch';<sup>28</sup> Conway, listing it among his Oscan examples, calls it 'doubtful or spurious'—as far as I can see, only because the words cannot be Oscan.

5. ΟΥΛΣΟΙΑΛΤΙΠΙΜΕΣΕΣΤ (FIG. 4, 4).

This is inscribed on a stone block of uncertain provenance, which was in the Fazzari Collection at Staletti, and is now in Reggio Museum (Orsi, *Neapolis* I (1913), 165 ff.; Ribezzo, *RIGI* VII (1923), 224). It is made of the local Calabrian stone. Ribezzo calls it 'opico-auronica', reading 'Oulsoia Altipiimes est'. Vetter holds that it is probably Greek, for the names are certainly not Oscan.<sup>29</sup> Whatmough and Pisani do not cite it. The lettering, from the copy, should be Achaean of the early fifth century; it is not certain that the text is complete.

6. Grave no. 288 in a native cemetery at Torre Galli on the promontory of Capo Vaticano some way north of Reggio contained an Ionic krateriskos of early sixth-century type, with a *graffito* written l. to r. (?) round the body (*MA XXXI* (1926), 127 ff., fig. 123; Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* 165). The excavator suggested a tentative reading: Μιμαλίσ[- -]λι, but stressed that the whole *graffito* is almost illegible. There is nothing in the traces of letters as drawn by him to identify them specifically with the Achaean script; they might also be the Locrian of Locri Epizephyrii and her colonies Hipponium and Medma, for these are the nearest Greek places. I give the inscription here for completeness' sake only.

Of the other four inscriptions one is certainly from the district of Poseidonia and the Achaean colonies Laus and Pyxus (4); one is probably from further south, the area inland

<sup>23</sup> Kretschmer, *Glotta* IV (1913), 200 ff., fig. 5, whence the facsimile here FIG. 4, 2. The latter part of the text is given here from Johnson's careful commentary, which gives photographs of details, but not a revised facsimile.

<sup>24</sup> *Apulien* (1914), 268 ff., pl. 31, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Ribezzo, *RIGI* 1920, 237 ff.; Whatmough, *Præ-Italic Dialects* II (1933), 292, n. xxviii, and p. 565. Kretschmer's attempt to translate the whole as Greek is not generally accepted, though it is thought that the first word may well be the Greek name.

<sup>26</sup> Whatmough, *op. cit.* 537 f.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* no. 186. Cf. Ribezzo, *RIGI*, 1936, 222 and 1937, 54.

<sup>28</sup> *IGA* 550, *SGDI* 1657.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* no. 195a.

behind Croton (5); one is probably from Apulia (2); one is of unknown provenance (3). All were written by people who used the script of the Achaean colonies, and in their company I should set the silver disc found at Poseidonia (1). It is not surprising that a non-Greek should have been allowed to make a dedication in the Heraeum; for Poseidonia was herself a colony of Sybaris, and it is in the colonies of colonies that the clearest traces of intermixture are found. Selinus, colony of Megara Hyblaea, had (intermittently) rights of *ἐπιγούλα* with the Elymi of Egesta,<sup>30</sup> and the *defixiones* from the precinct of Malophoros show a great many native names among the Greek: Tamaros, Hailios, Rotulos, Nannelaios, for example. Barke, colony of Cyrene, numbered among her royal family a ruler with the Libyan name of Alazir.<sup>31</sup>

PROPONTIS. Funeral relief from Calchedon (PLATE 10, a).

Upper part of a stele, no. 1136 in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul<sup>32</sup> (G. Mendel, *Catalogue* II (1914), no. 524). W. 0.57 m. × H. (incomplete) 0.385 m. × Th. 0.065 m.<sup>33</sup> Yellowish marble, whiter in the breaks, with traces of a red paint edging, 0.005 m. wide, still remaining on the left side and adjacent narrow face. The stone projects very slightly at the top in a shallow band, 0.05 m. high, carrying a single line of letters l. to r.: LH 0.01–0.02 m.

It was found, apparently by chance, on the east coast of the Bosphorus, somewhere between Haydar Paşar and Kadi-Keui (the site of Calchedon); the precise place and details of the discovery were not recorded, except that at the time of the discovery it was inadvertently damaged by a workman's pick. It was first fully published by S. Reinach in 1901,<sup>34</sup> and interpreted as the opening stages in the birth of Athena, before the goddess herself appeared: Zeus, a bearded figure, sits between two Eilithyiae, with two smaller attendants on either side, one registering astonishment and adoration. He dated it c. 580 B.C., and suggested that it had been dedicated in a sanctuary of the Eilithyiae like that at Calchedon's mother-city Megara, described by Pausanias (I 44, 2). His interpretation has been accepted in the few other references to this stele which I have been able to find.<sup>35</sup>

Battered though the inscription is, it retains the key-word which, even apart from the general appearance of the group, makes it clear that this is a grave-relief. *κατατίθημι* is one of the stock verbs used in funeral inscriptions, and would be most abnormal in an ordinary dedication. The line contained c. thirty-four letters, and the restoration, based on a squeeze (PLATE 10, a) may be something like the following:

[?ΕΛ]ικὸς [ἐμὶ σῆμα· ὁ δεῖνα (c. 11)] ἐμε κατέθηκ[εν].

\*Εμε (or με) κατέθηκ[εν] will not fit a hexametric ending, and the epitaph may quite well have been in prose, as were the epitaph of Mandron from Halone off Cyzicus and the dedications of about this period from Samos and Didyma.<sup>36</sup> The date of the inscription should be about the middle of the sixth century B.C., or perhaps slightly earlier, but hardly as early as c. 580. *Theta* is in the later, dotted form, *eta* is open, and *koppa* is no longer in use.

The relief shows a farewell scene not unlike that in the *Alcestis*. The dying person, whom I take to be a woman (Reinach's interpretation of the figure as bearded was coloured, I think, by his desire to see in it a Zeus), sits in a plain arm-chair with a curved top, such as is often

<sup>30</sup> Thucydides VI 6.

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus IV 164.

<sup>32</sup> I have to thank the staff of the Museum, especially Mme Seniha Morali, for much kindness in helping me to examine the stone, and for the photograph given here, PLATE 10.

<sup>33</sup> The thickness is as given in previous publications; the stele is now encased in plaster, so that I could not check it.

<sup>34</sup> *REG* XIV (1901), 127 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Lechat, *REG* XIV (1901), 417; Mendel, *loc. cit.*; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III (1940), 667 f.

<sup>36</sup> Wilamowitz and Jacobsthal, *Nordionische Steine* (1909), 63 f. (Mandron); *DGE* 714–5 (Samos); 723–4 (Miletus and Didyma).

shown on sixth-century vases.<sup>37</sup> Two women support her, the one on the left holding her by the arms, the other keeping her upright with one hand at her left shoulder and the other at her head. Two smaller figures may be young members of the family or attendants; one on the left holds out some unidentifiable object, the other tears her hair in the familiar gesture of mourning. Behind this last figure is what looks like the outer wall of the house; Mendel held it to be a raised band like that at the top of the relief, but there is no corresponding raised edge on the left side, but only an incised line above the left-hand small figure's head, which looked to me on examination like a casual scratch. I assume that the scene is taking place indoors, for above the dying woman's head are faint traces (barely visible in the photograph, PLATE 10, *a*) of a round object which was perhaps a hand-mirror hanging on the wall. The women wear their hair combed back behind their ears and thence falling in a mass down the back of the neck. Their dress is uncertain; it might be the Doric chiton (belted, unpleated, with or without an overfold from the shoulder), but the absence here of the pleats which are characteristic of the Ionic chiton might be due only to the poor quality of the work. The Ionic chiton is worn by an early sixth-century statuette of a kore from Calchedon.<sup>38</sup> There is no denying that the work is poor; even when the relief was fresh and undamaged it can hardly have deserved much praise. Clearly the craftsman was unskilled. The whole relief is cut in a single very shallow plane, and incision is used clumsily for the major lines within the blocks in relief (*e.g.*, for the hair and the arm of the right-hand supporting woman), while much of the detail which might more justly have been shown by incision is not shown at all (*e.g.*, the fingers and locks of hair). It is a slight advance on the technique of the Cretan incised grave-stelae of the seventh century, but a long way behind the relief-work of its period from elsewhere in the Greek world. Perhaps some of the detail was added in paint, though the only traces of colour now remaining are in the red rim at the edge of the stele. In general terms the work may be compared with the relief of the Horai—another East Greek work usually dated *c.* 550—which was found, according to one account, in Chios.<sup>39</sup>

Its chief interest lies in two points. In the first place it is, as far as I know, our only archaic inscription from Calchedon, and it shows that the colony did not use the script of her mother-city Megara, but the Ionic alphabet of the neighbouring Milesian colonies. Yet it seems unlikely that Calchedon's partner Byzantium also used the Ionic script, for her coinage of the late fifth century and after shows the peculiar Megarian *beta*.<sup>40</sup> In the second place the subject of the relief is unique among archaic funeral stelae. In the many Attic examples the deceased were shown only in life, though scenes of the *πρόθεσις* and *ἐκφορά* after death might often be depicted on funeral vases, or clay *pinakes* affixed to the sides of tombs. The actual death-scene first appears on Attic gravestones about the middle of the fourth century;<sup>41</sup> in all instances the dying are women, and it is generally concluded that the monuments are to those who died in childbirth. Probably therefore the woman on the stele from Calchedon is shown thus dying. It has also been said<sup>42</sup> that in East Greek art the representation of figures on grave-stelae does not occur before the end of the sixth century, except for the strange double-relief stela from Dorylaion in Phrygia, which was perhaps made to order for a Phrygian client *c.* 525. The Calchedon relief is another exception of this kind. The motif—the idea of showing an actual contemporary person suffering in death—was alien to the mainland Greeks in general until the sophisticated fourth century, when the current sculptural modes of

<sup>37</sup> Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (1926), fig. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Bluemel, *Kat. Skulpt. Berlin Mus.* II 1 (1940), 20 f., no. A19, pl. 44.

<sup>39</sup> Langlotz, *FGB* 137, pl. 86B.

<sup>40</sup> Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 266 f.

<sup>41</sup> Riemann, *Kerameikos* II (1940), 24 ff., no. 25, with full bibliography; Johansen, *The Attic Grave Reliefs of the Classical Period* (1951), 50 ff. Cf. also the Thasian stela (*c.* 300 B.C.) published by P. Devambez, *BCH* LXXIX (1955), 121 ff., pl. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Johansen, *op. cit.* 75 ff.



πάθος and πόθος were naturally reflected in grave-stelae of the time. But it would seem that in the sixth century the Greeks of Calchedon were sufficiently influenced by their Anatolian environment to break away from the archaic Greek convention concerning the subjects of their grave-reliefs, although their treatment of a more realistic subject was still characteristically Greek in its restraint.

IONIA. Fragments of the sixth and fifth century (PLATES 9, *a*, *c*; 10, *c*; FIG. 3).

The Archaeological Museum at Izmir contains a number of fragmentary inscriptions, of which all records were lost with the Museum Catalogue in the disastrous fire of 1922. I publish here some fragments belonging to the sixth and fifth centuries, small though they are, because, while we have as yet so little early material from Ionia, even these waifs can offer useful specimens of Ionic lettering.<sup>43</sup>

1. Izmir Museum, no number (PLATE 9, *a*). Part of a block of coarse-grained marble, greyish with blue streaks; left side only preserved. Max. L. 0.31 m. × W. 0.185 m. × H. 0.22 m. LH 0.019-0.024 m., interlinear space 0.042 m. Parts of four lines, cut *boustrophedon* and *stoichedon* between guide-lines. The last line of letters has a *vacat* below.

[ - - - | - - - φ ] ἐρέτ[ω δέ] | ὅσον ἄν θ[έλη] ἐκάστη? - - - | - - - ἄ]ν θέλη[ι ἐ] [κ]άστη; τ[ - - - | - - - ].

This is evidently a block from a wall on which was inscribed a calendar of offerings, like the well-known example at Miletus of the last years of the sixth century.<sup>44</sup> This fragment cannot belong to the Milesian calendar; the lettering differs, and the Milesian inscription is not *stoichedon*. But it may well be from the same inscription as the *boustrophedon* fragment from Miletus which was reported, without illustration, in the second preliminary report of the excavations under Wiegand.<sup>45</sup> This last fragment was found near the later Bouleuterion, in an archaic stratum which contained also traces of house-walls, and some terracotta figurines of a female deity (not further described, but conjectured to be perhaps Demeter). The text was read by Kirchhoff:

[ - - - θ ] ἐλη[ι] | πλακ[οῦντα? - - - | - - - ] ν; βδν | φερ[ε - - - | - - - ] . ρα . | . λα . [ - - - ].

From this it seems that the piece was, like ours, a fragment of the edge of a block, and that it was, like ours, *stoichedon*, with the first four letters of each line surviving. The ἐκάστη in line 4 of our fragment shows that this part at least deals with offerings to be brought by women; the quantities are to be left to their discretion.

The lettering of this fragment is excellent, as fine as that of the Milesian calendar mentioned above; but here the shapes of *epsilon*, *lambda*, *mu* are distinctly later than those of the calendar. The fragment could hardly be earlier than 500; it might even belong to the years shortly after 479. Legal texts, especially religious ones, could still be written *boustrophedon* in the first half of the fifth century, as may be seen from the examples found at Athens and Thasos.<sup>46</sup>

2. Izmir Museum no. 2940 (PLATE 10, *c*). Fragment of a base, greyish marble; top surface only preserved. Traces of a large curved cutting, possibly for a column-shaft or for the oval plinth of a statue in marble. Max. L. 0.33 m. × W. 0.14 m. × H. 0.10 m. LH 0.015 m.-0.02 m.; interlinear space 0.034 m. Guide-lines separate the three surviving lines:

[ - - - ] Θεοκύδρης [ - - - | - - - ] εος· Μόλπις δ' αὐτα[ - - - | - - - Π?] ασσαλίδο χαρίεσ[σαν ἀμοιβήν].

<sup>43</sup> My thanks for permission to publish are due to the General Direction of Turkish Museums; I wish also to express my gratitude to Professor Ekrem Akurgal and Mr. J. M. Cook, who drew my attention to these fragments.

<sup>44</sup> *Milet* I 3, no. 31; Kern, *Imagines* 8.

<sup>45</sup> *SBAK Berlin* 1901, 909 f.

<sup>46</sup> Athens: *Hesperia* XVII (1948), 86 ff.; Thasos: J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* I (1954), no. 7.



The date should be somewhere c. 500. Neither Theokudres nor Leokudres is attested elsewhere; Theokudes and Leokudes are not uncommon. Molpis occurs at Miletus (*Milet* I 3, no. 122, I, lines 15, 50; Molpis son of Hierex was *stephanephoros* for the year 512/11, and Molpis son of Theoges for the year 477/6). Passalides is also unattested.

If αὐτᾶ- in line 2 stands for the neuter plural or for αὐτ' ἀ[νέθηκε], the dedication may have been of several statues (ἀγάλματα) like the groups of sculpture offered at Didyma and in the Heraeum at Samos.<sup>47</sup> Theokudres and Molpis may have been the sculptor and the dedicator. For the stock ending χαρίεσσιν ἀμοιβήν, cf. *DGE ad* 538 (Boeotia) and 122, 13 (Corinth).

3. Izmir Museum no. 1369 (PLATE 10, c). White marble base, broken at back; sides, top, and bottom preserved, top smooth. H. 0.265 m. × L. 0.30 m. × W. 0.18 m. LH 0.025-0.028 m. Traces of four lines remain, *boustrophedon*:

[ -<sup>-9</sup> | -<sup>-8</sup> ] ε | θ[ . . . ] λο[ . . . ] | μένος : τῆι | Μητρί.

Late archaic, probably of about the same date as 2. Here, as in 1, the *boustrophedon* style persists on a religious monument beyond its normal span.

4. In 1803 Lord Aberdeen, during a visit to Asia Minor, saw and copied a dedication on the thigh of an archaic statue on the Sacred Way near Didyma. His copy was reproduced in facsimile from his journal<sup>48</sup> by Roehl, *IGA* 487 (FIG. 3), with the suggested reading: ' -τος αν(δ)ριαντ[ας - - - Λά]τριοι αν[έθε]σαν νεας τρεις Κερ[αμιας Δω[ρι]εων σ[υλησαντ]ε[ς], *vel simile quid*'.

In the expedition of Pontremoli and Haussoullier to Didyma in 1897 the shoulders and lower body of a kouros were found in a house and taken to their depot.<sup>49</sup> There was the start of a three-line inscription on the left thigh of the kouros, and Haussoullier realised that this must be part of the statue seen by Lord Aberdeen. Joining the two texts together, he then read: <sup>50</sup>

τός[δε] τός ανδριάντ[ας | Λά]τριοι? αν[έθε]σαν | πα[λα]ί[ας Δωριέων σ[ - - - ]ε[ς].

Lord Aberdeen's copy was inaccurate in several details; he drew the thigh the wrong way round, missed the first letter of each line (though they appear to be quite clear in Haussoullier's photograph), and copied *nu* as from l. to r. throughout, though it is most unlikely that it was not reversed in the *boustrophedon*. It is possible therefore that he misread some of the other letters, and that the restoration should rather be something on these lines:

τόσ[δε] τός ανδριάντ[ας τόπόλ]ωνι τῶι Διδ[υμ]ίῳ αν[έθε]σαν | πάντας Δωμέων, Σ[ -<sup>-2</sup> | -<sup>-5</sup> ]ης.

The kouros seems to have been about life size or a little under; Haussoullier gave the breadth but not the height of the two parts found in 1897, that of the shoulders being 0.43 m., and that of the waist 0.30 m. (thickness 0.265 m.). The long hair is trimmed at the ends in a horizontal line, the ends of the nineteen locks neatly pointed in tags, like those of the kouros dedicated by Leukios at Samos.<sup>51</sup> The latter kouros is dated in the second quarter of the sixth century; but too little remains of the Milesian kouros and its inscription for us to be certain that it is exactly contemporary with Leukios' dedication.

L. H. JEFFERY

<sup>47</sup> Didyma: *SGDI* 5504-5, 5508, and no. 4 below; Samos: Buschor, *Alt-samische Standbilder* 26 ff.

<sup>48</sup> P. 120 verso. The journal is now in the Departmental Library of the British Museum; see Pryce, *BMC Sculpt.* I 103.

<sup>49</sup> Pontremoli and Haussoullier, *Didymes* 202 f., fig. in text.

<sup>50</sup> *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* VIII (1905), 163 f.

<sup>51</sup> Buschor, *op. cit.*, fig. 60; Richter, *Kouroi* no. 63.

# THE HALICARNASSUS PENINSULA

(PLATES 11-17)

THE base of the peninsula, from the Karaova to Halicarnassus and the Karadağ, is of limestone and singularly devoid of water. It rises to heights of five and six hundred metres in the Kaplan Dağı (Mt. Lide) and Karadağ, with steep slopes on the north side and little valleys opening southwards. The western part of the peninsula is said to be of volcanic formation with fundamental gneiss;<sup>1</sup> the hills here are fearfully denuded and sometimes fantastically gnarled, but there are pockets of fertile land in the central valleys and a number of distinct little coastal plains. The peninsula from Halicarnassus westward belongs to the Aegean world and is capable of supporting a normal Aegean economy. The present population of the *kaza* of Bodrum, which extends on the east beyond Mumcular, is 24,000, of whom about 11,000 live in Bodrum itself on the site of the ancient Halicarnassus.

The sketch map FIG. 1 is based on the Turkish 1 : 200,000 survey, but with some modifications.<sup>2</sup> The field exploration which forms the basis of this article occupied about six weeks. We were throughout guided by the map and description of the peninsula published by Paton and Myres after their joint exploration sixty years ago,<sup>3</sup> which laid secure foundations for the study of the geography of Western Caria and the antiquities of the Lelegian country; no subsequent work in this region can compare with theirs in thoroughness or acuteness of observation.<sup>4</sup> We have at points been able to supplement or correct their descriptions, and in places we have judged differently of the evidence on the ground (particularly the chronological testimonies offered by the ancient potsherds), but always with a sense of our own fallibility in work of such a sort where the majority of observations are in fact unverified assumptions. For the plans that we give we have attempted to define the range of error. Our principal aim in the field has been the distinction of the characteristic features of the Lelegian town sites, and we have taken the greatest pains to achieve accuracy in this direction.

## HALICARNASSUS

### THE POST-MAUSOLAN CITY.

It appears from the collation of several ancient testimonies<sup>5</sup> that Halicarnassus had a closed harbour and an 'island' called Zephyria or Zephyrion; the 'island' was connected to

<sup>1</sup> Paton and Myres, *Geogr. Journal* 1897, 44; Philippson, *Reisen u. Forschungen* V 51, map, denies the presence of gneiss and marks andesite in this area.

<sup>2</sup> For the plotting of positions in the interior of the Myndos peninsula we have in general regarded Paton and Myres' map (*JHS* XVI, pl. 11) as the most accurate; for the 200-metre contour we have attempted to combine Philippson's indications with those on the Turkish map, but refer the reader to Paton and Myres' map for a truer impression of the relief. Paton and Myres did not undertake an accurate survey to the east of the Myndos peninsula, and we have therefore followed the Turkish map in this part of our sketch map.

<sup>3</sup> W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres, 'Carian Sites and Inscriptions', *JHS* XVI (1896), 188-271, pls. 9-11.

<sup>4</sup> By the generosity of Sir John Myres we were enabled to carry a copy of 'Carian Sites and Inscriptions' with us in the field, and subsequently had his notes and correspondence with Paton at our disposal. We take this opportunity of mentioning also with gratitude those who have helped us in the field, notably Osman Bilgin and Ahmet Davas, and Mrs. J. M. Cook, Miss M. Bean, Mr. R. V. Nicholls, and Mr. W. C. Brice, who accompanied us on some of the shorter journeys and have helped with the illustrations in this article; also, in addition to those named below, Dr. M. Mitsos and Mr. D. M. Lewis for assistance with inscriptions in Athens, Mr. I. Kondis, who gave us access to Biliotti's field notebook of 1865, and Mr. B. Ashmole for allowing us to refer to unpublished objects from Halicarnassus in the British Museum.

<sup>5</sup> Ps.-Scylax 98a; Strabo XIV 656 f.; Pliny *NH* II 204; Arrian *Anab.* I 23, 3; Vitruvius II 8, 10-14; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ἀλικαρνασσός.'

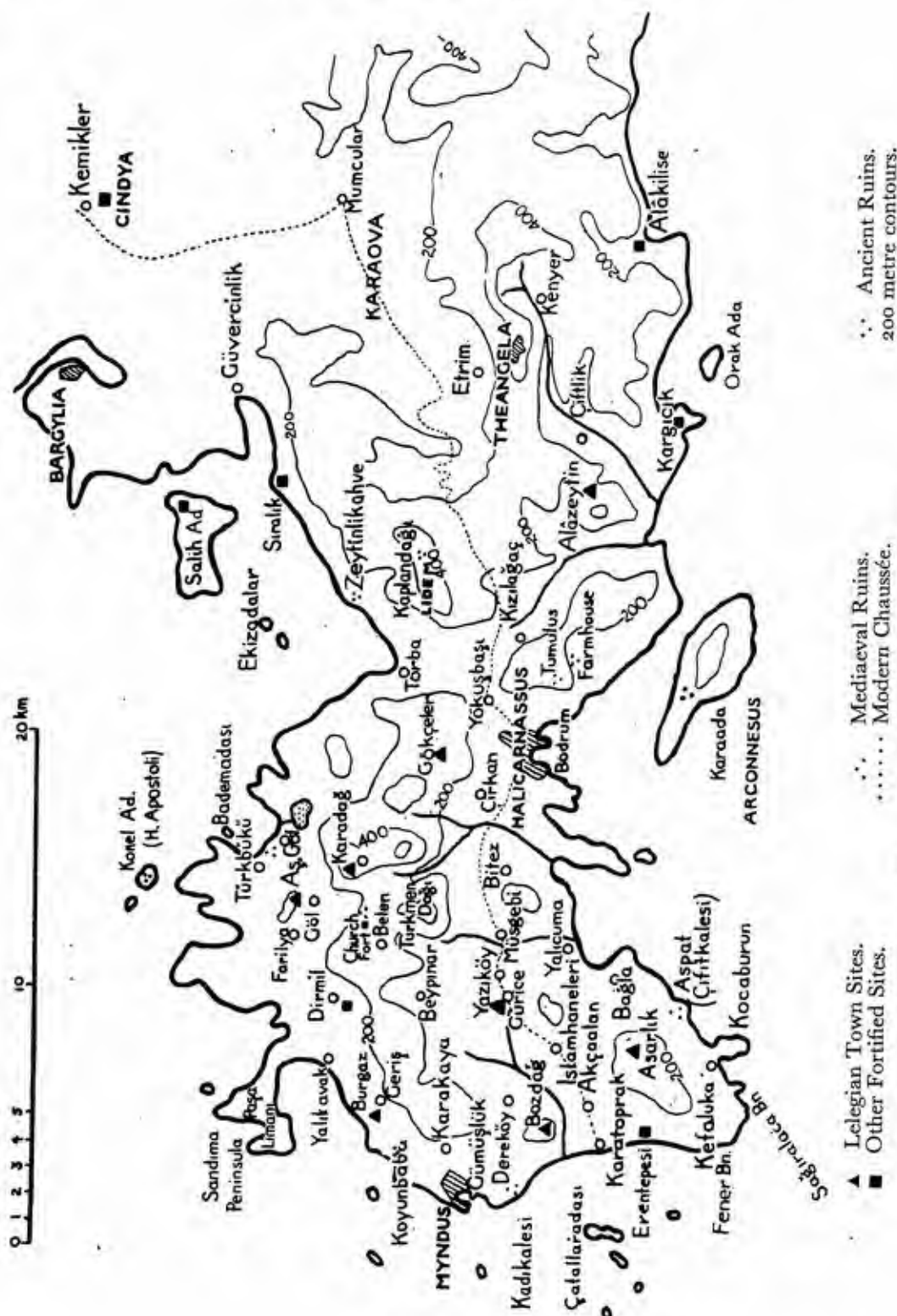


FIG. 1.—THE HALICARNASSUS PENINSULA.

the land by an isthmus, but it seems to have been artificially sundered from it at different times.<sup>6</sup> The wall circuit terminated in two 'horns',<sup>7</sup> of which one was named Salmacis, while the other is necessarily the 'island'; the situation of the ancient Halicarnassus at Bodrum is not in doubt, and since the 'island' can only be the rocky peninsula on the east of the harbour, which is now crowned by the ruined castle of St. Peter (FIG. 2), it follows that the name Salmacis belonged to the promontory on the west of the harbour.<sup>8</sup>

*Vitruvius' Locations.* While the notices in the ancient geographers and historians are too slight or incidental to give any consistent picture of the topography of Halicarnassus, Vitruvius in the passage cited above gives a graphic description of the place which must depend directly on visual memory.<sup>9</sup> He compares Halicarnassus to the curvature of a theatre. At the bottom, next to the harbour, is the agora (*forum*). Half-way up is a broad boulevard (*platea*), resembling the *praecinctio* of a theatre, on the middle of which stands the Mausoleum. On the summit of the citadel in the middle (*in summa arce media*) is a shrine (*fanum*) of Mars with a colossal acrolithic statue attributed to Leochares or Timotheus. On the top of the right horn is a shrine of Venus and Mercury at the fountain of Salmacis, and on the left horn the brick and marble palace which Mausolus built; from the palace the view to the right covers the agora and harbour and the whole wall circuit, while underneath on the left was the secret harbour *sub montibus latens*, which could not be overlooked, so that from his house the king could transmit commands to his oarsmen and troops without anyone knowing. Vitruvius then goes on to relate the stratagem by which after her husband's death Artemisia captured a Rhodian fleet in the harbour.

The position of the Mausoleum was fixed by Newton, who discovered substantial remains of its substructures and of its architectural and sculptural members.<sup>10</sup> It stood on a raised platform over 100 m. square; and though it was only 150 m. from the harbour and the ground here was scarcely raised above sea-level, the broad elevated podium and 140-ft.-high monument could well have given an impression of superior height. Behind the position of the Mausoleum is the broad conical hill of Göktepe, which occupies an almost central position in the wall circuit. Ross located the shrine of Ares on its summit;<sup>11</sup> and on the highest point, inside the city fortification and apparently detached from it, there is an oblong foundation or platform 8.75 m. broad (N-S) and at least 12.5 m. long. At the east foot of Göktepe there is an enormous platform, which Hamilton<sup>12</sup> and Ross<sup>13</sup> assumed to be that of the Mausoleum, but which Spratt marked as the Temple of Mars. Newton investigated the site and discovered the traces of a fair-sized building, in an Ionic order similar to that of the Mausoleum, in the centre of the platform.<sup>14</sup> Observing the approximate coincidence in date of the Ionic order here with the sculptors named by Vitruvius, the size and central position of the monument, and Vitruvius' mention of the shrine among the 'principal features of the ancient city', he had no hesitation in locating the Temple of Ares on this platform. The position in the valley bottom, however, does not fit well with Vitruvius' *in summa arce media*, and the word *fanum* does not necessarily

<sup>6</sup> By Artemisia's canal (Vitruvius *loc. cit.*), Alexander's τάφος ἀξιόλογος (Diod. XVII 27, 6), the fosse of the knights in A.D. 1476 (cf. *Ann.* IV-V 317); cf. also the ποταμός of Ps.-Scylax *loc. cit.* (p. 89).

<sup>7</sup> Vitruvius *loc. cit.* Cf. also the distinction of the ἀκρὰν τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ and Salmacis in Arrian, *loc. cit.*, where the Persians withdrew to these two forts.

<sup>8</sup> For the castle see Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 73 f., I, pls. 32-38; *AA* 1919, 59 ff.; *Ann.* IV-V 290 ff., pl. 5.

<sup>9</sup> The enthusiasm which he displays in his description and the singular irrelevance to the matter in hand (crude brick construction) are signs of an extraordinary personal interest, and almost suggest that the memory is his own.

<sup>10</sup> The plan FIG. 2 is based on Admiralty Chart no. 1606 and Newton, *Halicarnassus* I, pl. 1; some towers and jogs have been added in the wall circuit, the modern habitational network has been omitted, and legends have been altered to fit with our views.

<sup>11</sup> *Reisen* IV 36 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Travels in Asia Minor* II 32.

<sup>13</sup> *Reisen* IV 33.

<sup>14</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 312 ff. Cf. Ross, *Reisen* IV 33.



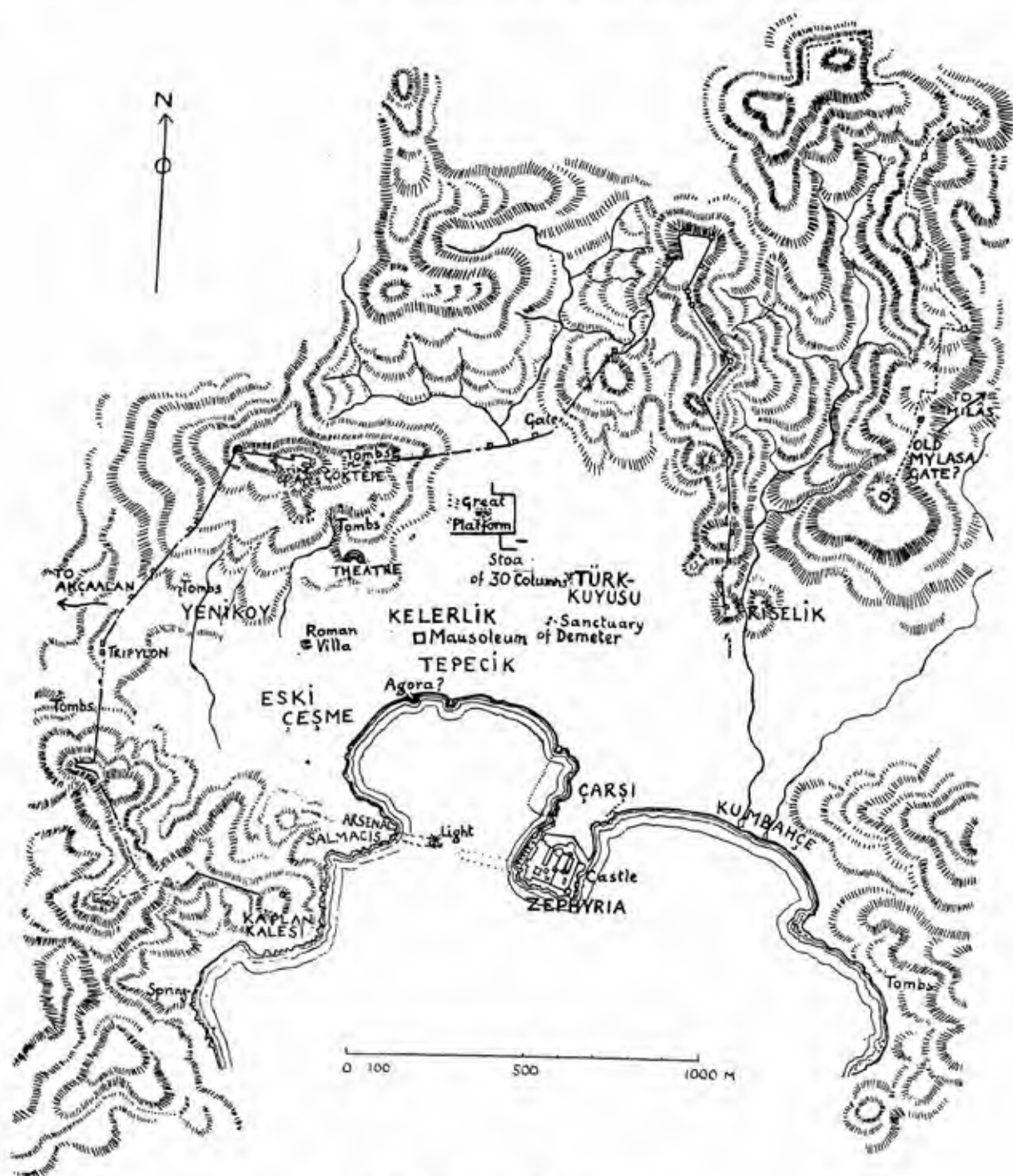


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF HALICARNASSUS.

imply a roofed temple; a colossal statue on the summit of Göktepe would in fact have been an equally conspicuous feature of the ancient city. The position of the agora cannot be determined precisely; a considerable number of marble architectural pieces and public inscriptions have been noted by Newton<sup>15</sup> and others in the vicinity of the old *konak* on the waterfront south of the Mausoleum, but there is no certainty that they were found on this spot.

With Salmacis fixed by a combination of ancient testimonies on the west side of the harbour, the shrine of Aphrodite and Hermes (or of Hermaphroditus)<sup>16</sup> must be located either on the summit of Kaplankalesi or on the flatter promontory of the Turkish arsenal which closes the harbour on the west. Neither position shows any trace of an ancient building, though the peak of Kaplankalesi must have been crowned by a tower of the ancient circuit, of which one block seems to remain *in situ*.<sup>17</sup> The fountain of Salmacis was identified by Newton with the only visible spring in this area, which discharges by the sea at the south end of a little bay some hundreds of metres SW of Kaplankalesi; but this is too far distant to tally with Vitruvius' description (as also is the Eski Çeşme to the north). On our last visit to Bodrum we were told that there is a copious head of fresh water in the harbour off the arsenal point, and the local tradition that this spring once issued above sea-level is confirmed by a notice of Sir Wm. Gell, who visited Bodrum in the summer of 1812.<sup>18</sup> There is some evidence for locating the pre-Mausolan town quarter of Salmacis on the arsenal promontory (p. 93), and this position best fits Vitruvius' word *cornu*.<sup>19</sup>

Vitruvius' reference to the other horn would naturally suggest that Mausolus' palace was erected on the 'island'. But, as Newton and others have realised, the description that follows makes this assumption difficult. The secret harbour evidently lay at the isthmus, since it was by means of a dug canal that Artemisia transferred her fleet thence to the open sea on the occasion of the Rhodian attack; the castle rock stands in deep water, and no such walled harbour and canal is thinkable to the south of the isthmus. The presence of a canal at the isthmus is perhaps to be deduced from the description of Ps.-Scylax, who remarks at Halicarnassus: λιμὴν κλειστός καὶ ἄλλος λιμὴν περὶ τὴν νῆσον καὶ ποταμός,<sup>20</sup> and it is in keeping with the subsequent circumvallations.<sup>21</sup> Spratt attributed to the secret port a line of walling in the main harbour on the NW of the isthmus (FIG. 2), and Newton (271) remarked the foundations of its mole as visible there;<sup>22</sup> Newton also located the palace of Mausolus on a 'rocky eminence' just north of the isthmus, where he noted beds of Hellenic foundations. But these exact locations of the secret port and palace are incompatible; and it is questionable whether either can be reconciled with Vitruvius' description of the panorama, which suggests that the secret harbour should have lain approximately to the south or even SE of the palace.<sup>23</sup>

*The City Wall.* The wall circuit is extensive and carried out in salients at the SW and NE to take advantage of natural ridges. It rises to 520 ft. on the crest of Göktepe and to approximately the same altitude at the tip of the NE salient. Between these two elevated points it

<sup>15</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 270.

<sup>16</sup> For the connection of Hermaphroditus with the nymph Salmacis see Ovid, *Met.* IV 285 ff.

<sup>17</sup> The ruined tower now standing there is not ancient.

<sup>18</sup> In one of Gell's field notebooks now in the possession of the British School at Athens (*BSA* XXVIII 115): 'at Budrum Bey's gate (inscription *ibid.* 126, no. 16) gave the Bey 3 oaks of coffee, 2 loaves of Sugar. The fount Salmacis lost to the people being under water at the old decayed mole. L. of entrance. It boils up.' The loss of the spring can perhaps be accounted for by the general subsidence of the west coast of Asia Minor which is manifest in many places and can be calculated at 1½ m. since classical times.

<sup>19</sup> A good view of the arsenal promontory is given *Ann.* IV-V 291, fig. 9.

<sup>20</sup> 98a. We interpret this sequence as referring to the main harbour, the bay off Kumbahçe, and a canal connecting the two. For ποταμός in this sense cf. *LS*<sup>9</sup>; there is no stream worth mention near Halicarnassus.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. p. 87, n. 6.

<sup>22</sup> See also Admiralty Chart 1606.

<sup>23</sup> As Ross, *Reisen* IV, plan opp. p. 39. The *sub montibus latens* of Vitruvius is unintelligible; it is normally emended to *sub moenibus latens*. The now submerged walling might rather be the west boundary of Mausolus' palace.

traverses a valley bottom, where it is now ill preserved; and on the SE side the wall has completely disappeared in the flat ground, so that it is not clear whether the line continued straight to the beach at Kumbahçe or swung round in the direction of the isthmus.<sup>24</sup> On the west side, around the low saddle by which the Myndus road left the city (and where the Akçaalan road now breaches the circuit), the wall curtain is 2.60 m. thick and constructed throughout of squared blocks of soft tufa, which appears to be the natural stone of Göktepe; the towers are faced with squared blocks of bluish limestone. Farther south the curtain has a polygonal or rubble face. At the NE salient the wall is 1.90–2.00 m. thick; it is built of the hard bluish limestone of the hillside, and has a rough polygonal or rubble face (PLATE 15 (b)), which in places resembles that of the so-called Lelegian Wall at Myndus. Newton (268) mentions trachyte as a third material in the construction, and this stone also appears to be local.<sup>25</sup> A crest of high ground outside the circuit on the NE seems to have borne a fortification commanding the approach down the valley from Yokuşbaşı. Newton marked this as an exterior wall, and though Krischen is considered to have refuted Newton's assumption in a lecture<sup>26</sup> the existence of a defence work here is not to be denied. Its southernmost existing tower is larger in plan than the ordinary curtain towers of the main circuit,<sup>27</sup> and constructed of big limestone blocks with an irregular trapezoidal face tending towards polygonal and vertical drafting at the corners; and around its walls we picked up a fair crop of black-glazed pottery of early-middle fourth-century date, including a bell-krater handle with a R.F. ovolo pattern (PLATE 14 (a) 1).<sup>28</sup> On the crests to the north there are traces of walling of inferior quality which for lack of time we did not pursue farther. It seems quite possible that this line of fortification belonged to a system laid down by Mausolus but subsequently abandoned.

Some further light can be thrown on the wall circuit by closer inspection of the literary sources for Alexander's siege of Halicarnassus in 334 B.C.<sup>29</sup> The city was strongly fortified, and resolutely defended by the satrap Orontobates<sup>30</sup> and the Persian commander, Memnon of Rhodes. Alexander pitched his camp near the city (at a distance of five stades according to Arrian), and approached the Mylasa Gate, where he repulsed a sally: but his assaults, as yet without siege engines, were ineffective, and some days later (according to Arrian) he led a task force to the west of Halicarnassus in an attempt to take Myndus by surprise. Returning from this unsuccessful raid, he filled in the ditch outside the city wall and began to batter the fortifications; in spite of the defenders' sorties, he succeeded in overthrowing two adjacent towers and a stretch of curtain, but the defenders closed the breach with an interior brick wall. At about this time a drunken attempt by some of Perdikkas' men to scale the wall κατὰ τὴν ἄκρην τὴν πρὸς Μύλασσαν μάλιστα τετραμμένην led to a general engagement, after which (according to Diodorus) Alexander recovered the bodies of his dead under a truce. Subsequently, the defenders sallied from the gates in force and defeated Alexander, but were stopped by Philip's veterans in reserve<sup>31</sup> and were eventually repelled; on the other front at the Tripylon, where Ptolemy was in command, they were also defeated, and many of them were lost when their temporary bridge over the ditch was overturned. Soon after this the Persians

<sup>24</sup> Newton, 269, noted some large blocks a little distance inland from the middle of Kumbahçe bay, and therefore assumed that the circuit continued on the same axis to the sea.

<sup>25</sup> Spratt *apud* Newton (279); *ÖJh* VI 101.

<sup>26</sup> Reported in *AA* 1913, 476.

<sup>27</sup> 15 × 12.30 m. as against a norm of c. 8 m.

<sup>28</sup> Mr. P. E. Corbett, who has examined these fragments, kindly informs us that such krater handles are usually to be dated in the first quarter of the fourth century, but that they continue, with carelessly drawn decoration (as here), into the second quarter. The trapezoidal work of the tower also seems a pre-Hellenistic mode (*cf.* Scranton, *Greek Walls* 167 ff.).

<sup>29</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* I 20–23; Diod. XVII 24–27.

<sup>30</sup> The proper form of this name is in doubt, *cf.* Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 630; *RE* s.v.

<sup>31</sup> *Cf.* also Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* VIII 1, 36, V 2, 5.



evacuated the town, and, leaving garrisons in the ἄκρα on the 'island' and in Salmacis, they sailed away to Cos. Alexander razed the city to the ground—after a fashion<sup>32</sup>—and departed, leaving a force under Ptolemy to besiege the Persian strongholds.

From the mention of the Mylasa Gate it is clear that Alexander's camp was on the east side of the city, and there can be no doubt that it was on this flank that he delivered his main attack with siege engines. Arrian, who evidently had at his disposal a circumstantial account of the siege from a Macedonian source, seems to have understood that the breach was made in the wall during the engagement near the ἄκρα ἢ πρὸς Μύλασσα μάλιστα τετραμμένη; this phrase, supported by the mention of the χαλεπότης of the terrain and Alexander's evident inability to provide covering fire for the recovery of the bodies, indicates the NE corner as the position referred to, and it is clear that if the wall circuit that confronted Alexander was that which we recognise as the main circuit of Hellenistic times, Arrian has not accurately represented the situation; the ridge on which the existing east wall runs is far too steep and rocky for the operation of siege engines, and Alexander must have attacked the circuit in the lower ground towards the sea. If, on the other hand, Arrian's account is correct, the east circuit must have followed a different course, and this could only be that of Newton's 'exterior wall'. This line, in the southern part of its plotted course, seems to have run along a broad crest with a deep valley on the west but little advantage over the ground to the east; and the old carriage road from Mylasa (which in all probability follows the line of the ancient road)<sup>33</sup> actually descends from the NE to cross the line of the 'exterior wall' on a saddle between the two southernmost towers. If this defence line was part of the original circuit (as our observations at its most southerly point suggest), the Mylasa Gate, which Alexander first approached, will have been on this saddle and not towards the low ground (where it must later have been situated); and Alexander's main onslaught with his engines may have been delivered in this sector; Alexander's camp, at five stades distance from the city, will then have been at the pass at Yokuşbaşı (which is just 800 m. distant by road), and not in the flat ground on the east of the city towards the sea.<sup>34</sup> This explanation of the problem of the 'exterior wall' and of the apparent confusion in Arrian can only be regarded as tentative, pending a more systematic study of the whole circuit than we at the time of our visits saw reason to make.

For the position of the Tripylon the clues are that Ptolemy's sector there was a separate one from Alexander's, and that it had a defensive ditch which was not filled in. The existence of this ditch implies that engines could have been used and therefore that the ground was fairly level, and the fact that the ditch was not filled in indicates that Ptolemy was not in fact using engines. Alexander did not have command of the sea<sup>35</sup> and must take to the steep mountain-side to circumvent the NE salient, so that the transportation of engines to the north and west flanks of the city would present serious difficulties. It is therefore almost certain that Alexander's sector was throughout on the east, as was his camp, and that Ptolemy's lay west of the NE salient. A triple gate on the north flank facing the trackless mountain-side is out

<sup>32</sup> Cf. also Strabo XIV 656, 635. The Mausoleum, however, remained undamaged, as also, apparently, the brick and marble palace of Mausolus (Vitruvius, *loc. cit.*, Pliny *NH* XXXV 172).

<sup>33</sup> The modern motor road keeps to the east side of this crest to avoid the steep descent into the valley.

<sup>34</sup> It is perhaps worth remark, though not in any way decisive, that in Arrian's account (I 23, 5) Alexander, on entering the city after the Persians' withdrawal, looked down on the 'island' fort and Salmacis (*cf.* p. 87). This is one of the passages which disproves the recurring misconception that the 'island' to which the Persians withdrew was Arconnesus (the modern Karaada).

<sup>35</sup> Diod. XVII 24, 1 implies that Alexander sent his engines and corn by sea to Halicarnassus. But Arrian (I 20, 1) states that Alexander at this point dismissed his fleet; the Persian triremes ἐφάρμουν τῷ λιμένι, the Persians were able to send reinforcements by sea from Halicarnassus to Myndus, and at the end of the siege their fleet effected the withdrawal to Cos (Diod. XVII 27, 5). The supplies from Miletus may in fact have been shipped to Torba Bay and thence brought overland to Yokuşbaşı by the Mausolan road (p. 131).



of the question,<sup>36</sup> and the Tripylon can therefore be located with confidence on the Myndus road in the middle of the west flank, where two widely spaced massive ashlar gate-towers still stand to a height of eighteen courses or more.<sup>37</sup>

*Other Remains.* The position of the ancient theatre on the slope of Göktepe is unmistakable, and some of the stone bench blocks are still in position in the cavea.<sup>38</sup> Newton (276) cleared to the bottom a row of thirty Doric columns, preserved with part of their entablature, from which a number of stumps are still visible to the SE of the great platform; and he recognised them as belonging to a stoa. But his identification of this construction as the Stoa of Apollo and King Ptolemy, whose dedication is attested by inscriptions,<sup>39</sup> is hardly tenable; the column shafts are of late date and were accompanied by a Roman mosaic pavement, with rubble and concrete vaults adjacent; and the dedicatory inscriptions of the Stoa of Apollo were found near the east wall of the Mausoleum enclosure three or four hundred metres away. To the east or SE of the stoa of the thirty columns is a complex of ancient remains at the group of houses called Türküyusu, where Newton recorded a Byzantine monastery of H. Marina. Newton ascertained the limits of a large platform,<sup>40</sup> c. 50 × 38 m., parts of whose eastern wall are still visible. He conjectured that this was the site of a gymnasium, and our discovery of gymnasiarchal inscriptions in the vicinity confirms his conjecture. In a yard just north of the platform are various carved stones (cf. PLATE 13 (d))<sup>41</sup> and the inscribed Doric column drums noted by all travellers (pp. 101 f., under no. 12), and the circular foundation of a limestone construction of 13 m. diameter. To the south of this Newton (325 ff.) excavated the remains of a sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, with a votive deposit of classical date (p. 94), in the 'Field of Chiaoux'. In the west part of the town, in the 'Field of Hadji Captan', he brought to light a Roman villa with mosaics and sculptures.<sup>42</sup> In Eski Çeşme, between Newton's Roman Villa and the harbour, some pieces of sculpture (PLATE 12 (c-e), cf. p. 99) have recently come to light;<sup>43</sup> they may indicate the position of another villa. Remains of Roman construction were also noted by Biliotti along the edges of the Mausoleum *peribolos*. A sculptured head of a barbarian, 0.25 m. high, was seen in a house on the quay (PLATE 13 (b)), 'perhaps from Gümüşlük' (Myndus); Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee points out that in the photograph there seems to be a Phrygian cap with the peak broken off stretched tight across the brow,<sup>43</sup> and that the head might come from a trophy. Hamilton noted remains of houses and other buildings

<sup>36</sup> Newton marks a small gate here, from which a narrow mountain path leads up the glen to Gökçeler (p. 123, ancient Pedasa); the easier, though longer, route by Çirkan branches from the Myndus road.

<sup>37</sup> See the plan, Newton I, pl. 73, where the walling in the pylon may be partly conjectural.

<sup>38</sup> Turner in 1815 counted thirty-two rows of seats (*Journal of a Tour in the Levant* III 55).

<sup>39</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 276 f.

<sup>40</sup> *Halicarnassus* 319 ff., pl. 48.

<sup>41</sup> The pedestal PLATE 13 (d) is one of a pair, mirror twins, in blue limestone, dug up by Newton (324 f.) and now built into the walls of a house. H. 1.24, width 0.48, front to back on moulding 0.44; plain on top. A fragment with a fillet ornamented with rosettes, perhaps from another such pedestal, is built into a neighbouring house. Newton (270 note e) reported another limestone block, with a shield in relief and a triglyph, at the *konak* on the waterfront.

<sup>42</sup> For the mosaics see Hinks, *BMC Paintings* 125 ff.

<sup>43</sup> At house no. 10 in Eski Çeşme: a headless statue of a draped female figure; white marble; pres. H. 0.70 m. In the cellar of the primary school at Bodrum, from a house in Eski Çeşme: (a) the inscribed relief, p. 99, no. 4 (PLATE 12 (c)), (b) statue of Marsyas in the round engaged against a tree-trunk (PLATE 12 (d-e)); white marble, in one piece; socket in top of trunk near front edge (0.045 m. diam., 0.05 m. deep); overall H. 0.92 m., H. of figure 0.67 m.; fingers of right hand missing, slight damage to feet and pubes. Traces of red paint on the body. The thong is slung over a fork in the bole of the tree. The eyelids are heavy and the right one droops; and the modelling of the torso is shallow. The figure is slightly dwarfish and, despite its presumed descent from the Pergamene tradition, mild and undramatic in aspect. For the types of the Hanging Marsyas, cf. Stuart Jones, *Cat. Conservatori* 165 ff. The counterfeit red paint (which is also found on another white marble example in Kos Museum) seems to blur the sharp distinction between 'red' and 'white' types of the Hanging Marsyas.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Vatican Cat., Braccio nuovo I, pl. 21 no. 127. A cross-legged seated barbarian from Halicarnassus *AM* XLV, pl. 4, 1; *Ann.* IV-V 273 fig. 1; Möbius, *AM* L 45, takes it to be a slave from the Mausoleum statues (cf. Lippold, *Die griech. Plastik* 256 n. 10 and Buschor, *Mausollos* 39).

in the extremity of the NE salient,<sup>44</sup> but his account is rather confused at this point; there is now no trace of any building in the rock and scrub on this high point.

The urban population of Bodrum, numbering 11,000 souls, is today distributed *κωμηδόν* into eight or nine *mahalles* or clusters of habitations, of which six lie within the limits of the ancient city. The ancient city could have held a vastly greater population, and in fact at no time in antiquity was it fully inhabited. The west part from Göktepe to the SW salient was a cemetery in Roman times; the south and east slopes of Göktepe as far as the great platform were honeycombed with tombs and complexes of cubicles cut in the soft rock and superimposed in tiers on the southern cliffs (p. 167), and many funerary inscriptions and blocks have come to light round Yeniköy. There are also groups of tombs outside the city along the whole western half of the circuit, on the east at Kislelik (*cf.* p. 94, n. 57), and to the SE beyond Kumbahçe bay.

### THE PRE-MAUSOLAN CITY.

*Zephyria.* Although Mausolus' strategical dispositions, as unfolded by Vitruvius (p. 87), seem to require the isolation of the 'island' of Zephyria as a military reserve, there can be little doubt that it was the position of the original Greek settlement, and of the citadel or πόλις<sup>45</sup> of Halicarnassus before the time of Mausolus. The peninsula, with its low narrow isthmus affording a sheltered anchorage and the shortest possible land frontier, is an ideal colonisation site. We picked up a few early Greek and classical sherds on the rocky sides of the 'island', among them PLATE 14 (a) 5-7, and PLATE 13 (c) 2;<sup>46</sup> and on the surface of the counterscarp outside the fosse there is much classical pottery (*e.g.* PLATE 14 (a) 8), especially black glaze of the late fifth century and the first half of the fourth.<sup>47</sup> The tremendous pile of the castle of the Knights has obliterated the pre-existing remains, and we failed to see any trace of ancient construction there; but Newton (275) and Karo<sup>48</sup> have noted beddings cut for the ancient walls, and Maiuri reported the discovery of an ancient wall of good isodomic masonry in the lower yard under the keep.<sup>49</sup> Maiuri has shown reason to believe that the Temple of Apollo, in which decrees of the city were kept, was situated on the 'island'; an inscription found there records the improvement of the altar of Apollo, apparently through the construction of a stone court, by Panamyes, son of Kasbollis, who was registrar towards the middle of the fifth century B.C.<sup>50</sup>

*Salmacis.* On the west side of the harbour there are no sure traces of ancient construction. The ground is denuded, with rock frequently cropping out; but in places on the arsenal promontory and at its base there is a thin streak of ancient deposit on the rock, and we were able to collect a considerable number of scraps of black-glazed pottery of the late fifth century and the early fourth (*cf.* PLATE 13 (c) 4)<sup>51</sup> and a sprinkling of archaic sherds (*e.g.* PLATES 14 (a) 2-3, 13 (e) 7, 9).<sup>52</sup> These relatively abundant traces of classical occupation suggest that the arsenal promontory was the site of the quarter called Salmacis. That Salmacis towards the

<sup>44</sup> *Travels in Asia Minor* II 34.

<sup>45</sup> As in the fifth-century inscription SIG<sup>3</sup> 46.

<sup>46</sup> PLATE 14 (a) 5, fragment with glaze bands on a pale slipped surface, near Geometric; 7, lip of cup or kantharos in soft pale ware with red glaze stripe and running circle and tangent (?) decoration; 6, black-glazed kotyle foot of Attic type; PLATE 13 (c) 2, interior of bowl with stamped ovolo and palmette of first half of fourth century. A few other bits of archaic striped ware were found.

<sup>47</sup> PLATE 14 (a) 8, rim of Attic-type bell-krater with R.F. laurel spray. The spoil of the counterscarp of the castle is likely to have come from an already disturbed area, since both Artemisia the Younger and Alexander are said to have dug through the isthmus (*cf.* p. 87, n. 6).

<sup>48</sup> *AA* 1919, 61.

<sup>49</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 328, marked on pl. 5.

<sup>50</sup> SEG IV, no. 191 (assuming *αὐλή* to be correctly read by Maiuri); a photograph *AM* XLV, pl. 4, 2.

<sup>51</sup> Fragment of cup with impressed ovolo and palmette, early fourth century.

<sup>52</sup> Striped fragments, including an upright rim of an open bowl with decoration on a white slip outside and a white band on glaze inside (PLATE 14 (a) 3); fragments of a small relief pithos (PLATE 13 (e) 9) and plain crock with incised handle (PLATE 13 (e) 7). The fifth-century lamp rim (PLATE 14 (a) 2) was found on the peak at Kaplankalesi.

middle of the fifth century enjoyed a certain municipal autonomy, with its own registrars, is evident from the inscribed stele<sup>53</sup> which records a joint decision of the σύλλογος ὁ Ἀλικαρνα-Τέ[ω]ν καὶ Σαλμακί[τ]έων and Lygdamis, the second successor of the elder Artemisia in the tyranny; and it has therefore been incautiously proposed that before Mausolus Salmacis was a Carian township independent of Halicarnassus. But the stele itself shows that there was only one *prytanis*, and the whole community is referred to as the Halicarnassians; further, unlike Halicarnassus, Salmacis never issued its own coinage, and it was not detached from Halicarnassus by the Athenians in the collection of tribute or mentioned among the Lelegian towns given to Halicarnassus in the fourth century. It therefore seems impossible that Salmacis can normally have been independent of Halicarnassus; and such limited municipal autonomy as is attested by the fifth-century stele may have been granted by the tyrants as a political manoeuvre. The fountain of Salmacis is mentioned as the scene of the first fraternisation of Greek immigrants and natives, after one of the Greek settlers had set up a tavern at this spot.<sup>54</sup> Fifth-century Salmacis does in fact seem to have had a high proportion of Carians in its population, if it is legitimate to argue from the twenty recorded names of householders in this quarter.

*Other Remains.* The evidences of prehistoric settlement found by us at Halicarnassus are exiguous. On the SW slope of the Kaplankalesi hill, where lines of terraces were once retained by boulders, we picked up chips and two scraps of blades of obsidian; no prehellene pottery could be segregated at this point, though a few sherds from thick, rough vessels from the arsenal promontory and the castle counterscarp may be prehistoric.<sup>55</sup>

The central area of Halicarnassus around the head of the harbour is flat ground overlaid with later deposits; and while Roman and later Hellenistic pottery is abundant and Newton's excavations have brought early Hellenistic glazed sherds to the surface at the Mausoleum site, there is nothing of the pre-Mausolan periods to be seen, though the terracottas from a votive deposit unearthed by Newton at the sanctuary of Demeter<sup>56</sup> cover (as Mr. Higgins of the British Museum informs us) the fifth and most of the fourth centuries B.C. In the vicinity of the Mausoleum Newton excavated tombs which may have been of classical date<sup>57</sup> and a sepulchral chamber which contained archaic terracotta figurines.<sup>58</sup> An archaic marble head in the British Museum, dated c. 530 B.C., was unearthed by Biliotti at the east edge of the Mausoleum platform, and fragments of archaic stone statuettes and terracotta animals and a decayed clay sarcophagus were found along the edges of the *peribolos*; the head is thought to come from a

<sup>53</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup> 45 = Tod, *GHI*<sup>2</sup> no. 23.

<sup>54</sup> Vitruvius II 8, 12.

<sup>55</sup> A fragment from the neck and handle of a jar found at the counterscarp resembles in fabric and form the prehistoric ware from Erenmezarlík (p. 118).

<sup>56</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 325 ff., I, pls. 46-7.

<sup>57</sup> II 124 f., 154 f. Mr. R. A. Higgins dates the head *ibid.* 124 to the late fifth century. At Kislelik also on the east of the town Newton opened sarcophagi (334 ff.) containing vases about which Mr. P. E. Corbett of the British Museum has kindly informed us as follows: 'The vase mentioned by Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 335, is the late Attic pelike E 428; the two vases on p. 336 are a second pelike F 14, and a light cup-kotyle, 57. 12-20, 226. The two pelikai are pretty well contemporary, to judge by their shape; E 428 must be of much the same date as Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, nos. 474 and 514, which are shown to be earlier than 350 B.C. by comparison with *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 64-65, 50. Though F 14 is much corroded the main scene can be recognised as a fight between a mounted Oriental and a Greek: the mounted figure may be compared with *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 45. The two figures on the reverse of F 14 seem contemporary with the cloaked youths of *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 38, no. 28. Thus the date of both figured vases is about 360 B.C. or perhaps a little after. The form and decoration of the cup-kotyle suggest a date in the third quarter of the century, rather than the second, though not too long after the middle of the century.' The pelike E 428 was found in a sarcophagus, together with a fifth-century silver tetrobol of Chios. The pelike F 14 and the cup-kotyle were found in another sarcophagus. These burials seem therefore to date from the first decades of the Mausolan city; they appear to lie outside the main east circuit, but it is not clear in Newton's description whether or not they would lie outside an assumed course of the 'exterior wall' in this sector (see above, p. 90).

<sup>58</sup> Mr. Higgins kindly informs us that the rude horseman *BMC Terracottas* 92 (B 118) and a number of other similar pieces found by Newton in the sepulchral chamber of the Mausoleum site (*Halicarnassus* II 147) are to be dated somewhere in the sixth century B.C. For the Halicarnassus terracottas see now Higgins, *BMC Terracottas* I (1954), 102.



sphinx, and may have belonged to a funerary monument.<sup>59</sup> If it could be shown definitely that this area near the head of the harbour was a cemetery in pre-Mausolan times, there would be grounds for supposing that the town quarters were then centred on the 'island' and Salmacis. An archaic marble lion is built into the wall of the English Tower at the SE corner of the castle.<sup>60</sup> We observed a white marble Ionic capital of unusual form at the bus terminus in the Carsi as we were leaving Bodrum in 1952 (FIG. 15, PLATE 12 (a-b)); it is of an early date, and its interest justifies a brief note kindly sent us by Mr. W. H. Plommer, which is printed below (pp. 169 ff.).<sup>61</sup> Some archaic relief pithoi or fragments are reported from Halicarnassus and neighbouring sites,<sup>62</sup> as also a handful of other archaic figurines.<sup>63</sup> The earliest known Hellenic object from the site is the sherd PLATE 14 (a) 4, from a glazed skyphos with a reserved panel on the shoulder, of probably Late Geometric form; we did not find it ourselves, and could not ascertain the exact position where it was picked up.

Halicarnassus was the principal city of the coast between Miletus and Cnidus in ancient times.<sup>64</sup> The Greek settlement was attributed to emigrants from Troezen; <sup>65</sup> Herodotus (VII 99) calls them Dorians, and Stephanus records that Anthes, the oecist, brought the *φυλὴ Δύμωνα* with him to Halicarnassus. The date, c. 1175 B.C., claimed for the foundation by the Halicarnassian ambassadors in Rome <sup>66</sup> is not supported by any archaeological evidence, and it is doubtful whether the settlements at Halicarnassus and Cnidus, in contrast to those in Rhodes and Cos, can be assigned to an earlier date than the colonisation of Ionia.<sup>67</sup> According to Herodotus (I 144) Halicarnassus was at one time a member of the Dorian *hexapolis*, which included Cnidus, Cos, and the three cities of Rhodes, but was expelled on account of an incident at the Triopian festival. It shared in the Hellenion at Naucratis, but took no part in colonial enterprises. After the Pedasian resistance at Mt. Lide was overcome, Halicarnassus was annexed to the Persian Empire by Harpagus. From some time before 480 B.C. until at least the fifties of the fifth century it was ruled by a dynasty, of which the most famous member was Artemisia the Elder, the daughter of a Halicarnassian named Lygdamis and a Cretan mother; <sup>68</sup> at this time it seems to have been the seat of a rule which included the islands of Cos, Nisyrus, and Calymna. It joined the Athenian Confederacy, presumably at the time of Cimon's expedition to Caria (c. 468 B.C.), if not earlier; and continued a member until the

<sup>59</sup> Ashmole, *Festschrift A. Rumpf* 5 ff., pls. 1-2.

<sup>60</sup> *AA* 1919, 70, fig. 6; its position appears in Newton, *Halicarnassus* I, pl. 35, 1; see also A. H. Markham, *Bodrum Castle* (1904), pl. 6. For archaic sculptures from Halicarnassus, cf. Lippold, *Die griech. Plastik* 66.

<sup>61</sup> The capital has since been moved into the adjacent municipal garden.

<sup>62</sup> PLATE 13 (c) 9 (p. 93, n. 52), and Louvre, Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs* 85, pl. 3a, Feytmans, *BCH* LXXIV 162 (Halicarnassus); *JHS* VIII 71, fig. 10 (Asarlik, together with fragments of sarcophagi with relief decoration, *BMC Vases* I, 213 ff., figs. 300-3); *JHS* VIII 79, fig. 26 (Mandrais); PLATE 13 (c) 8 (Gökbek, p. 135). To judge by the meagre remains that we have seen the Halicarnassian relief pithoi seem to be smaller and thinner-walled than those of Rhodes and Cnidus (*BCH* LXXIV 135 ff.) and to be devoid of figured decoration.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. the early fifth century female figurine, Louvre CA 235, found in the digging of a well at Bodrum, now Mollard-Besques, *Cat. raisonné des figurines*, B 338, pl. 36, and *ibid.* B 339.

<sup>64</sup> For a more detailed account of its history see Newton, *Halicarnassus* II, chapters I-II.

<sup>65</sup> Strabo XIV 656; Paus. II 30, 9; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ἀλικαρνασσός'. Cf. *CIG* 2655; Michel no. 452. Also Argives, Vit. I 8, 12; Mela I 16, 3; cf. also Paus. II 30, 10, where with the descent of the Heraclidae Dorians from Argos were received into citizenship at Troezen.

<sup>66</sup> Tacitus *A.* IV 55. The claim, put forward in A.D. 26, was that the city had stood for 1200 years and never suffered from an earthquake. It is likely that the age of the city was computed on a chronological system linked to the Troica and that a high dating was adopted to impress the Senate; it does not therefore follow that the foundation was regarded as anterior to the descent of the Heraclidae.

<sup>67</sup> Strabo XIV 653, (after the death of Codrus) Κνίδος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσός οὐδ' ἦν πῶα, 'Ρόδος δ' ἦν καὶ Κῶς. This admittedly conflicts with the tradition that Anthes left Troezen when the sons of Pelops came from Pisatis (cf. Strabo VIII 374), but is supported by Pausanias' πολλοὶς ἔτιον ὕστερον (II 30, 9). It is notable that Halicarnassus is not mentioned in Diodorus' account of the Dorian foundations in the Southern Sporades and Caria (V 53 ff.).

<sup>68</sup> *Hdt* VII 99; cf. also Suidas s.v. 'Ἡρόδοτος', 'Πανόσις'.



last years of the Peloponnesian War. In the early years of the fourth century<sup>69</sup> it came under the control of the satrap of Caria, Hecatomnos, and on his death (c. 377 B.C.) of his eldest son, Mausolus, who transferred his residence from Mylasa to Halicarnassus. It has been supposed that Hecatomnos had first set up his residence at Halicarnassus and from there moved to Mylasa;<sup>70</sup> but this assumption seems to rest on no more serious evidence than a statement of Diodorus (XV 90, 3) that the βασιλεια of Caria were at Halicarnassus at the time of the Satraps' Revolt of 362 B.C. The date of the removal to Halicarnassus and the synoecism of the neighbouring towns in it is discussed below (p. 169). Halicarnassus remained in the hands of the progeny of Hecatomnos until 334 B.C. as the centre of a realm that comprised Caria, and for a time Rhodes and other islands, Lycia, and parts of Ionia and Lydia. Alexander restored the town to Ada, widow of Idrieus and last survivor of the children of Hecatomnos, in 334. Halicarnassus subsequently passed through the hands of Asander, Antigonos,<sup>71</sup> and Lysimachus, after whose defeat in 281 it became Ptolemaic; from 197 B.C. it seems to have remained independent until Roman times. It was the seat of a bishopric in early Christian times, and has remained one of the most important towns of the coast to the present day.

Despite its share in the trade at Naucratis, Halicarnassus does not seem to have been one of the great commercial cities in early Greek times; and during the second half of the fifth century, in the interval when it was not the seat of a despotism, it paid to Athens a tribute of one and two-third talents only. At this time the neighbouring Lelegian towns were taxed independently, and some of them paid a tribute comparable to (and in one instance actually exceeding) that of Halicarnassus itself. Halicarnassus may, of course, have exercised some sort of leadership on the peninsula in early Greek times, and its economic strength, if one may use the term, was no doubt broader than the limits of its territory; in an inscription of the fifth century Halicarnassians are found owning property on the peninsula at Termera and Lide.<sup>72</sup> The names of the citizens are an index to the absorption of native elements in the Greek community. Among some 265 names (including patronymics) of Halicarnassians in the two generations following the Battle of Salamis the Greek ones are in a majority of only about sixteen. Seven bearers of Greek names had sons with barbarian names, whereas about thirty-one bearers of Greek names had barbarian patronymics; thus among the fathers the barbarian names seem actually to outnumber the Greek. The great majority of the barbarian names have Carian forms. There can be no doubt that many of them, here as at Miletus, were current in Hellenic or fully hellenised families: three of the four bearers of the Carian name Panyasis whose father's names are known had Greek patronymics; and one of them was the celebrated epic poet, whose father, Polyarchus, is said by Suidas to have been a brother of Lyxes, the father of Theodorus and the historian Herodotus. There can be no doubt of the complete Hellenism of this family, or of Panamyas, son of Kasbollis, who was registrar of Halicarnassus together with the son of the tyrant Lygdamis,<sup>73</sup> and who recorded in good Ionic verse his improvement of the altar court of Apollo (p. 93).

The speech and culture of Halicarnassus seem to have been almost pure Ionic in the fifth century. This could amply explain its withdrawal or expulsion from the Dorian union which celebrated the festival of Triopian Apollo.<sup>74</sup> Grote's view that the expulsion may in part have

<sup>69</sup> Perhaps with the King's Peace in 386 B.C.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Tarn, *Alexander II* 218, where three ancient authors are incorrectly cited as adhering to his view.

<sup>71</sup> Ptolemy attacked Halicarnassus in 309 B.C., but was compelled to raise the siege by Demetrius Poliorcetes (Plut. *Demetr.* 7).

<sup>72</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup> 46.

<sup>73</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup> 45.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos* p. xvii. The reputed Argive settlement at Iasus is said by Polybius (XVI 12, 2 f.) to have taken reinforcements under the son of Neileus from Miletus to make good its losses in war with the Carians; and it is not unlikely that Halicarnassus also received Ionic immigrants; a legend (Parthenius XIV) shows a Halicarnassian youth of the royal family held as a hostage by the ruling house at Miletus.

been prompted by the increasing predominance of the Carian element<sup>75</sup> is hardly tenable in view of the epigraphical evidence now available. It has, nevertheless, given rise to some curious speculation. Paton and Myres spoke of Halicarnassus as not being 'a thoroughly Hellenic foundation';<sup>76</sup> and Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor even numbered it among the eight Lelegian towns.<sup>77</sup> Tarn has carried the attack yet further.<sup>78</sup> He is, of course, concerned to defend Alexander from the charge of having destroyed a Greek city. He therefore seeks to disqualify the testimony of Diodorus and Strabo (and even Arrian) that Alexander wrecked the city,<sup>79</sup> and secondly, to show that in any case Halicarnassus was not a Greek city. Tarn contends that by the fifth century, though the Greeks may have retained a Hellenic organisation in their own community at Halicarnassus, the town was really in the hands of a family of Carian dynasts whom he seems to regard as forebears of Hecatomnos; and that after the synoecism Halicarnassus was 'essentially a Carian town'. This judgment hardly fits the facts. The wonder is rather that Halicarnassus was capable of assimilating the greater part of the Lelegian *octapolis* without, so far as its literature, epigraphy, art, architecture, and coinage show, suffering a diminution of its Hellenism; this is the clearest indication of the contribution that Halicarnassus had long been making, along with Miletus, to the hellenisation of the Carians. In the fifth century the language and literature of Halicarnassus were pure Greek and distinguished by the Ionic writings of Herodotus, Pigres, and Panyasis; cults,<sup>80</sup> votive custom,<sup>81</sup> and coinage<sup>82</sup> were fully Greek; the city had normal Greek magistrates, time-reckoning, institutions and legislation, and public records published on stelae and kept in the sanctuary of Apollo; and the Greek political institutions governed the whole, and not just a section, of the community.<sup>83</sup> Finally, there is nothing to suggest that Hecatomnos was a descendant of the elder Artemisia. There is no reason to suppose that the earlier dynasty adhered to the barbarous practice of adelphic marriage, and Artemisia at least was of Greek origin. While the seat of Hecatomnos' power was at Mylasa in the interior<sup>84</sup> and dependent on his satrapy, Artemisia's rule was established on the coast and in the adjacent Greek islands; and by a fortunate chance we are able with some confidence to locate the forebears of Hecatomnos at Cindya to the SW of Mylasa at the time when Artemisia was living at Halicarnassus.<sup>85</sup>

#### INSCRIPTIONS (HALICARNASSUS).

1. Türküyusu Mahallesi, in front of the house of Mehmet Keleş, upper part of a stele 0.35 m. high, 0.42 m. wide, 0.075 m. thick. Letters 10 mm. high, much worn and illegible in the lower part. Squeeze.

ἐπὶ Μενε[ . . ]ου τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου, μη-  
νὸς Ἀν[θεστηρι]ῶνος, ἐπὶ πρυτανείας

<sup>75</sup> *History of Greece* III 275.

<sup>76</sup> *JHS* XVI 204.

<sup>77</sup> *ATL* I 538.

<sup>78</sup> *Alexander* II 218.

<sup>79</sup> This case is in fact more arguable if one takes into account the ancient testimonies that both the Mausoleum and the palace of Mausolus were standing intact in later times. Cf. p. 91, n. 32.

<sup>80</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 46, 2-3.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. the elegiac dedication of Panamyas (p. 93).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *BMC Coins, Caria*, pl. 18, Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 617 f. It is worth noting in this connection that the series of late archaic and classical terracotta figurines from Halicarnassus (nn. 58 and 63) are thoroughly Greek and seem on the present evidence to be products of a local fabric.

<sup>83</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 45 = Tod *GHP* no. 25.

<sup>84</sup> Strabo XIV 659. Cf. Newton II 30 f.

<sup>85</sup> Herodotus (V 118) names Pixodarus, son of Maussollus, of Cindya, who was married to a daughter of the Syennesis of Cilicia, c. 497 B.C. Pixodarus and Maussollus are two of the three Hecatomnid male names; the known male names in Artemisia's family are Pisindelis, Lygdamis and Apollonides. In Suidas' entry s.v. Πίπρης there seems to be a confusion between the two Artemisias, since Pigres can hardly have been a brother of the later one, whereas the unqualified phrase *Μαυσώλου γυναικός* can only refer to the wife of the famous Mausolus; the phrase *τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς διαφανούς* could well be referred to either Artemisia; the younger one was noted for her capture of a Rhodian fleet in the harbour of Halicarnassus and capture of Rhodes itself, and the stratagem which led to the capture of Latmus (Polyaenus VIII 53 f.) must also be referred to her. Vitruvius (II 8, 11) says that Mausolus was born in Mylasa and transferred his residence to Halicarnassus on account of the advantages of the situation.

τῆς μετὰ ΣΥ[- 6-7 - τ]οῦ Ἀρκάδος,  
 γραμματ[εῦοντος . . .]χου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος,  
 5 ἕκτηι ἀν[ομένο]υ, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ[ι]  
 καὶ [τ]ῶι δ[ήμ]ωι, γ[νώμ]ηι πρυτάνεων, [. . .]  
 . ΗΙΕΥΝ[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]

This is a normal prescript to a Hellenistic decree of Halicarnassus; cf. no. 35 below. For the name Ἀρκάς at Halicarnassus see *BCH* IV (1880), 398-9, nos. 7 and 8.

Ll. 6-7. ? [ἐπειδ]ή κτλ.

2. Türküyusu, in the yard of house no. 7, a block of darkish marble now hollowed out as a trough, 0.57 m. high, 0.56 m. wide, 0.45 m. thick. The text is on the side of the trough, but is almost entirely effaced. Letters 10-11 mm. high in ll. 1-5, 7-9 mm. below. Squeeze.

[- -]ΤΥΣΔΕΙΝ[- - - - -]  
 ΟΥΝΕΚΑΥΕΥ[- - - - -]  
 ΑΡΧΟΥΕΥΟΥ . ΑΙΝΕ . . . ΟΥ[- - - -]ΣΚΑ[-]  
 [- - -]ΤΑΙ[- - - - -]ΕΚΑ  
 5 [- -]ΙΑΧΟΥΕΥ . Ε[- - - - -]ΕΥΕΤΕΙΤΑΡΙΟΝ  
 (10 lines illegible)

16

ΑΘΗΣ Ἀρτέμιδι  
 Ἡρακλεῖ [. . .]ΑΤΡΙΛ

<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>	<i>vacat</i>
[. . .]θεμῖς			Δ[η]μήτριος
[Δι]ονυσίου	[- -]δρος	[- - - -]	Ἐξηκέστου
[ε]ὐταξίας	ε[ὐτα]ξίας[ς]	εὐταξίας	εὐταξίας

In ll. 6-15 occasional letters or syllables are visible on various parts of the stone, and appear to belong, at least in some cases, to proper names; but it is not certain that this part of the text was disposed in four columns, as it is at the bottom. If Ἀρτέμιδι Ἡρακλεῖ is rightly read in ll. 16-17, we have perhaps a joint dedication by four winners of the good-conduct prize in the gymnasium, rather than a list of prizewinners. The heading (ll. 1-5) is very illegible and unintelligible to us; in the absence of any recognisable word, the reading is, of course, most uncertain.

For other gymnastic inscriptions in the quarter of Türküyusu see below nos. 8-18.

3. Bodrum Castle, on the east side, built into one of the crenels towards the north end, overlooking the sea, a fragment of pale-grey limestone broken on all sides. Present maximum dimensions: 0.38 m. high, 0.16 m. wide, 0.31 m. thick. Letters 9-10 mm. high, α, θ, ω smaller. Copy.

[- -]ΑΣΗΝΙΟΥ[- - - - -]  
 [- -]ον ἐμ μηνι[- - - - -]  
 [- -] ἐπ' Ἀρχίππου[- - - - -]  
 [- -]ς ἑωνημένη[- - - - -]  
 5 [- - -] τὴν Ἑρμίου ![- - - - -]  
 [- -]ν τὸν πρὸς τ[- - - - -]  
 [- -]τηι Μενεστρ[άτου - - - -]  
 [- -]ς Ἑρμίου ἀπὸ Λευ[- - - -]  
 [- - -] ὁδὸν τὴν στενὴν [- - -]

10 [- -]η μήκος ἀπὸ τοῦ [- - -]  
 [- -]ΟΤΗΣΙΤΩΝΑΣΤΗΣ[- - -]  
 [- -]ΔΑΣ < Ε ΕΥΘΥΤΙ. Α[- - -]  
 [- -]ΤΟ [Ε]ΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΙΚ[- - -]  
 [- -]ΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣ[- - - -]  
 15 [- -]ΟΔΑΣΙΒΟΙ[- - - - -]

We have part of a document relating apparently to the sale of properties and containing a description of them. No recognisable localities occur, unless possibly in l. 8 ἀπὸ Λευ[κῆς Ἀκτῆς]; for Mela's *litus Leuca* see below p. 162.

L. 11. The letters will yield σιτώνας, but these seem hardly in place.

L. 12. Presumably 5000 dr., rather than 5 dr.

L. 15. ? [πό]δας ἰβ'.

4. Found in the quarter of Eskiçeşme, now in the Turgut Reis school, an elegant white marble relief in a panel with antae at the sides and antefixes over the epistyle; height 0.42 m., width c. 0.54 m., thickness 0.07 m.; depth of relief 0.028 m. Hermes brings three nymphs in chiton and himation to the river-god Achelous; the second nymph grasps the mantle of the first at the elbow, and apparently the third that of the second. Inscription in three lines, (a) on the epistyle, (b) on the ground above the figures, (c) on the rim below. Letters of the second century B.C., 9-12 mm. high in (a) and (b), 13-15 mm. in (c). Photograph PLATE 12 (c).

ὁ ὑπουργὸς τῶν θεῶν Ἀναξί Νύμφας Ναϊδας  
 Ἀχελώϊος Ἑρμῆς Περικλυμένη Ναίουσα Πανόπη  
 Ἀπελλῆς Ἀπολλωνίου Μύνδιος

For reliefs of this kind cf. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* 85 ff., Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek Sculptures* 80 f., no. 143, pl. 105 a, and for the nymphs *ibid.* no. 60 (we have been unable to consult Svoronos and Feubel). The precise significance of l. 1 is not clear; as it stands it appears to indicate a dedication to the Dioscuri, but the dative ἀναξί may not be intended. In any case the original significance of this type of scene has evidently been forgotten; cf. Rouse, *op. cit.*, 87.

5. Türkkuyusu, at the well by the house of Mehmet Mutlu, a rectangular block broken at the top and upper left side. Published by Hula and Szanto, *Sb. Akad. Wien* CXXXII 29, no. 4. We give from a squeeze and a charcoal reading a rather more complete text.

[- - - - -]  
 [- - - -]ΣΙΔΟΣ[. . .]  
 [- - - -]ΟΝΤΟΣ[. . .]  
 [- - - -]Θυάλλιος  
 [- - 9-10 - -]ΜΑΙΣ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 5 [ . . . . . ]πρ[ε]σβείας ΔΙΕ  
 [ . . . . . ]Σ ἐπρέσβευσε  
 [- 5-6 -]Ε[. . .]ΙΕΡΩΝΜΕΝ  
 [3-4] γυμ[να]σιαρχῶν δὲ τὸ γ'  
 [τῶ]ν νέων πρῶτος, γυμνα-  
 10 σι[α]ρχῶν δὲ καὶ τῆς γερονσί-  
 [α]ς, Εἰσιδι Σαράπιδι καὶ τῶι  
 δήμῳ χαριστήριον

L. 3. The name Thyallis is known elsewhere at Halicarnassus, cf. no. 8 below. The name of the gymnasiarch there could in fact be restored here: [Μελάνθιος Δράκ]οντος τοῦ [Μελανθίου τοῦ] Θυάλλιος.

Ll. 5-6. ? δι' ἐ[παγγελί]ας.



6. Çarşı Mahallesi, built into the house of Ali Uyar beside the Mılas road, a rectangular block 0.645 m. high, 0.66 m. wide, 0.28 m. thick; the upper surface is plain. Letters 27-28 mm. high.

ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν  
Κοίντον Λόλλιον  
Δέκμου υἱὸν ἑπαρ-  
χον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα  
5 καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς  
ἐατόν

The man in question seems to be unknown; a Lollius is also mentioned in *BMI* 893. 23.

7. In the quarter of Yeniköy, beside the door of the upper large round cistern, a rectangular block 0.63 m. high, 0.52 m. wide, thickness not ascertainable. Broken on the left. Thin regular letters 25-28 mm. high.

[ - - ]ων Βίωνος  
[τὴν ἐ]αυτοῦ μητέρα  
[ - - ]ν Ἀριστομάχου

8. Türküyusu, at the well behind the house known as İğnecilerin Evi, a block of white marble 0.27 m. high, 0.65 m. wide, 0.44 m. thick. Elegant letters 20 mm. high, not earlier than the first century A.D.

Μελάνθιος Δράκοντος τοῦ Μελανθίου[ν]  
τοῦ Θυάλλιος [γ]υμνασιαρχῶν  
ὑπὲρ τοῦ νικήσαν[τ]ος τοὺς ἐφήβους  
τοὺς νεωτέρους *vac.* εὐξίαι  
5 Ἀντιγένου τοῦ Ἀρ[ισ]τογένου Ἑρμῆ  
καὶ Ἡρα[κ]λεῖ

νίκη  
[τοῦ δεινός]  
νίκη  
[-]ηνοδό[του]

For the contest in physical condition (εὐξία), found elsewhere in Asia Minor and at Samos, see *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1060, 1061 and Dittenberger's note.

Melanthios is perhaps mentioned in no. 5 above (*q.v.*), and it seems almost certain that he occurs also in two of the British Museum inscriptions, *BMI* 899 and 905. In the former of these we may read: ὁ δῆμος [Μελανθίω] Δράκοντος τοῦ Μελανθίου [τοῦ Θυάλλιος], while 905 appears to be phrased identically with our present inscription, thus:

Μελάν[θιος Δράκοντος] το[ῦ Μελανθίου]  
τοῦ Θυ[άλλιος γυμνασια]ρ[χῶν ὑπὲρ]  
[τοῦ] ν[ικήσαντος τοὺς ἐφήβους]  
[το]ύς νεωτέρους φι[λοπονίαι *vel. sim.*]  
Μητροφάνου τοῦ Εὐαίωνος τ[οῦ δεινός]  
Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλε[ῖ]

The νίκη inscriptions at the bottom were added subsequently, and have no connection with the main inscription; so also in *BMI* 905.

9. Türküyusu, in the garden of Ahmet Çavuş, upper part of a round base, irregularly broken; two dowel-holes on top. Preserved height 0.25 m., diameter 0.40 m. Letters 15-18 mm. high in ll. 1-5, 9-11 mm. in ll. 6-8. Complete at the top.

ὁ παιδονόμος  
Μελάντας Ἀντιλόχ[ου]

ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν παίδ[ων]  
 ὑγίειας  
 5 Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρα[κλεῖ]

[- -]τον ἐπὶ κτεάνοις γαυρὸ[ν? - - -]  
 [- -]αίνω μὴ μοι τοῦτο καλ[- - -]  
 [- - -]το[- - - - - - - - - - -]

L. 6. Or γαυρο[ύμενον].

L. 7. ? [δεῖμ]αίνω. After τοῦτο, perhaps βαλ- -.

10. Türkuyusu, outside the house of Hüseyin Morgan, a block of blue marble 0.33 m. high, 0.54 m. wide, 0.42 m. thick; on top is a rectangular sinking 0.235 m. long and 0.04 m. deep. Letters 20-22 mm. high, *omicron* smaller. Squeeze.

Δεινομένης Μύτωνος  
 γυμνασιαρχήσας  
 καὶ παιδονομήσας  
 Ἑρμῇ

The inscription is in elegant letters attributable to the third century B.C.

For the uncommon name Μύτων see Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Μυπλήνη', and Bechtel *Hist. Personennamen* 541.

11. Türkuyusu, in the yard of house no. 10, a round base of bluish limestone 0.66 m. high, 2.59 m. in circumference; upper surface not visible. Letters 20-25 mm. high.

Ἀριστείδης Νέωνος, καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ Θρασυμάχου,  
 γυμνασιαρχῶν Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ,  
 ὑπογυμνασιαρχοῦντος Θεοδότου τοῦ Φανία

Late Hellenistic date.

Theodotus son of Phanias occurs in two other gymnastic inscriptions at Halicarnassus, published by Haussoullier in *BCH* IV (1880), 401-2, nos. 12 and 13. In the former of these he erects a statue of his nephew Neon son of Aristides, adopted son of Menyllus. No. 13 can now be probably restored: ll. 1-2, [Ἀριστείδης Νέ]ωνος, καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ Θρασυμάχου, [Θεόδοτον Φ]ανία ὑπογυμνασιαρχήσαντα: and ll. 5-6, ὑπογυμνασιαρχοῦντος Νέωνος] τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, καθ' [υἱοθεσίαν δὲ Μενύλλου].

12. Close to the house of Hüseyin Morgan in Türkuyusu, four broken column-drums inscribed vertically in the flutes in the manner familiar at Halicarnassus.

(a) [-] Ῥ [-] Ζ [-] [Δ]  
 υ ο ο ή δ [ρ]  
 τ δ υ θ ρ ά  
 ο ο Τ ο ο κ  
 υ κ ι υ υ ο  
 λ τ ν  
 έ ί τ  
 ο ο [ο]  
 υ [υ] [ς]  
 5

(b) Μ Ἀ Κ  
 η μ ο  
 ν α ί  
 [-] ρ ν  
 [ά] [τ]  
 [ν] [ο]  
 [τ] [υ]  
 [ο]  
 [υ]

(c)	[-]	Θ	[- -]	[-]	Α	(d)	[-]
	ο	ε	λέ	αρ-	N		ι
	δ	ο	μου	ιο-	T		μ
	ώ	φ	ι	υ			ο
	[ρ]	[-]	ο				ν
	[ο]		ς				ο
	[υ]						ς

Inscriptions of this kind, recording victories won in the gymnasium, have been well known at Halicarnassus since the first were discovered by Hamilton in 1837 (*Asia Minor* II 31-2, 458, nos. 275-8). They seem to be all of Roman date.

(b) 2. For Ἀμάραντος, cf. Hamilton no. 277.

(c) 3. [Νεοπτο]λέμου or a similar name. The letters ΙΟΣ written below this in smaller characters apparently belong to an earlier name partially erased to make way for . . . lemus; cf. Hamilton, *loc. cit.*

(d) Some name like Ἀνδραίμων or Εὐδαίμων. The first letter might also be read as *gamma*.

13. Türkkuysu, by the well in the yard of house no. 11, very roughly inscribed on a good marble block 0.56 m. high, 0.65 m. wide, 0.24 m. thick.

νίκη Ἀπε[- -]  
ΕΛΛΙ[- -]  
Γαίου ΚΑ  
Φ ΛΛΣΕΑ

14. Türkkuysu, in the yard of house no. 10, a rectangular block of dark-blue limestone 0.71 m. high, 0.81 m. wide, 0.37 m. thick; dowel-hole in the right front corner of the under surface.

νίκη  
[- -]ΑΙΟΙΘΗΝ  
[- -]ΙΕΜΟΝΤΕΣ  
[- -]ΙΕΡΟΝΙΚΗΝ  
Ἰεροκλέου (*sic*)  
καὶ  
Ἀριστάνδρου  
καὶ  
Κλεομενίδα

The original inscription on the left is carefully written in letters of the Imperial period; we have apparently [- -]αὶ οἱ τήν [- -]νέμοντες [τὸν δεῖνα] ἱερονίκην, but we can offer no likely restoration. The νίκη inscription on the right is a subsequent addition.

15. Türkkuysu, in a wall near the house of Hüseyin Morgan, on a rectangular limestone block 0.50 m. high, 0.50 m. wide.

νίκη  
Νέωνος  
κ[αὶ - -]  
νι[κη - -]

This is probably the same inscription as *Annuario* IV-V 473, no. 18.

16. Türkkuysu, near the last, lower part of a marble base with moulding at the foot.

νίκη [τοῦ δεῖνος]  
νίκη Οὐάλεντος

The base was certainly not originally made to carry this inscription.

17. Kelerlik Mahallesi, Mesçit Sokakı, built into the 'tower of Ali', rectangular block 0.25 m. high, 0.58 m. wide, 0.19 m. thick. Inscription roughly scrawled.

νίκη	Γαίου καὶ
Τροφίμου	Λευκίου
	τῶν ἀδελ-
	φ

Nothing more was written; presumably ἀδελφῶν was intended, perhaps ἀδελφῶν ἱερέων, though the article is not elsewhere added to this phrase: see Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 704, no. 12 c, Le Bas-Waddington 503 = *Annuario* IV-V 472, no. 17 (now forming the threshold of house no. 7 in Türkuyusu).

18. Türkuyusu, in the yard of the house of Mehmet Başkaya, a well-cut block 0.57 m. long, 0.27 m. high, 0.25 m. thick, roughly inscribed on the short end in large irregular letters.

Δαφν-  
αίου

The inscription has certainly nothing to do with the purpose for which the block was originally cut, and may well be another νίκη inscription.

19. In the epitaph of Chimairos and Aelia Karpime (*SEG* IV 192), in ll. 6-7, the stone has clearly ἐκ γῆς Παταρίων, not ἐκ τῆς Παταρίων.

20. In the epitaph of Demetria (*SEG* IV 193), in ll. 6-7, we should read Ἀνε[κλ]ήτου in place of Ἀνε[κ]ήτου. The name Anencletus fills the space accurately, avoids the ugly line-division Ἀνε|κλήτου, and is found several times in and near Halicarnassus; see below no. 49.

21. Türkuyusu, built into a wall in the garden of house no. 22, a handsome block of grey-blue limestone 0.75 m. high, 0.71 m. wide, thickness not ascertainable. Letters 14-16 mm. high, late Hellenistic. The block is complete except for a small piece broken off the top right corner; the inscription continued on another block to the right. Squeeze.

μνημ' ἱκελον ναοῖσι θεῶν ἰδρύσατο (*nomen*)  
 ὃν βασιλεῖς βιότῳι θῆκ[αν - - - - -]  
 τῷ δὴ τοι Πόσις υἱὸς ἀγακλει[τὴν τέκε παῖδα]  
 ἐν ξυνῳι προγόνων μνήμ[ατι κεισομένην?]  
 5 ἥπιον, [ῆ]πιόβουλον, ἐχέφρονα [- - - - -]  
 Ἀνθεαδῶν, ἐρατὴν, βασκαν[ίας ἀθιγῇ]  
 ἀνδρὸς καὶ τέκνων διεχωρισ[- - - - -]  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν μούνην ἴχνε[- - - - -]  
 σωφροσύνης κλέος ἔσχε πε[- - - - -]  
 10 ἦδε πάσι νεότηθ' οὐνεκ' ἐπι[- - - - -]  
 τιμαῖς Ἀνθεαδῶν μήτηρ δι[- - - - -]  
 ἀλλ' ἐτύμως πάντων α[- - - - -]  
 γίνατο παῖδ' ἀγαθὴν πανταί[νετον? - - - - -]  
 ἥπιον, ῆς Αἰδης σῶμα με[θηρπάσσατο]  
 15 αἶνους δὲ οὐ σήψει θνητοῖς [χρόνος, οἷσι - - -]  
 δῶκε θεὸς τιμὰς ἀθανά[τοισιν ἴσας]  
 καὶ κτιστῶν γένος εἶλκον ἀπ' Ἀν[θεαδῶν - - -]  
 πατρός ἐπει προπάτωρ πι[- - - - -]  
 τὴν Ἀνδροσθένης Διομήδη[ς - - - - -]  
 οὐνομα κεῖς φθιμένην μη[- - - - -]

The restorations are, of course, tentative.

We have not succeeded in sorting out the relationship of the persons mentioned; they



evidently belonged to a family claiming descent from the legendary founder of Halicarnassus, Anthes King of Troezen.

The name Posis is not uncommon in Asia Minor; it is connected by Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* 381, with Poseidon, and is accordingly appropriate in this family, since Anthes was a son or descendant of Poseidon, whose priesthood was hereditary in the family.

22. Yeniköy, at the door of the house of Mehmet Kırılı, a plain block of good limestone 0.33 m. high, 0.56 m. wide, 0.49 m. thick. Inscription in regular letters 19-22 mm. high.

[τὸ μνημα τοῦτο κατεσκεύα]-  
[σεν Φ]λαύιος Ἔρωσ ἐαυ-  
τῷ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις  
ζῶσιν  
5 καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἐσο-  
μένοις, μηδενὸς ἔχον-  
τος ἐξουσίαν ἕτερον  
θεῖναι τινα ἀλλότριον· εἰ  
δὲ μή, ἔστω ἐπάρατος

For the name Ἔρωσ cf. no. 31 below.

23. In the Belediye garden, a round altar c. 0.80 m. high, diameter at top 0.57 m., with bucranium decoration. Letters of Roman date 19-22 mm. high. This is probably the inscription published by Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 708, no. 75.

Ἑκάτεια  
Θευδᾶ  
χρη[σ]τῇ χαῖρε

L. 2. Θευδάμου Newton.

L. 3. χρηστῇ Newton.

This is the commonest epitaphic formula at Halicarnassus.

Also in the Belediye garden is an altar dedicated to Aphrodite, the Loves, and the Graces; this will be published by L. Robert.

24. Türküyusu, in a wall of the house of Mehmet Başkaya, published inaccurately by Cousin and Diehl, *BCH* XIV (1890), 113, no. 15. Squeeze, PLATE 15 (e).

Ἐφαρμόστου  
τοῦ  
Ἀπολλοδότου.  
ΚΟΙΗΤΟΥ Λοκκίου ΕΥΝΟΔΣ  
5 ΘΗΚΑΙΗ χρηστῇ χαῖρε

Nothing is missing on the left, and every letter is clear. As noted by the editors, the second part of the inscription is much later than the first part.

L. 4. [καὶ Κ]οίντου C.-D., and no doubt this name was intended, rather than Quietus; but καὶ is not wanted, and was never on the stone. Εὐνοδ[ίου] C.-D., a name unknown to us. We take it that Εὐνο(ο)ς was intended; for this genitive cf. *TAM* III 1. 636.

L. 5. θῆκαι — Η — χρηστῇ χαῖρε C.-D., but θηκαιη, with floating bar in the second eta, was clearly written; and spaces are left between the words in this line. θηκαιη seems hardly a possible word; perhaps it represents a conflation of θῆκη and θῆκαι.

25. Göktepealtı, outside the house of Mehmet Özyiğit, lower part of a round altar with bucranium decoration; preserved height 0.49 m., circumference 1.34 m. Letters 16-24 mm. high.

Περτέρνια  
Μάαρκου  
Ἑλένη  
[χ]ρηστή [χάϊ]ρε

26. Tavşan Sokağı, two fragments, one built into a wall behind the house of Yusuf Gözen, the other built into the adjoining house, the two evidently forming a single epitaph. Combined width c. 0.80 m., height at least 0.31 m. Letters 31-35 mm. high.

ἡ ὑπόστη  
[ἴ]ουλίου Ζωσίμου καὶ  
[τ]ῆς θυγ[α]τρὸς αὐτοῦ.  
[ἴ]ου]λία παρθένε ἐτῶν 15'  
χρη[στή] χαῖρε

ς' in l. 4 has the form of the figure 5.

27. Türküyusu, in the Bardakçı Sokağı, a rectangular plinth carrying the base moulding of a circular altar; 0.20 m. high, 0.53 m. wide, 0.53 m. thick.

Νίκανδρε Καστρίκιε  
χρηστὲ χαῖρε

28. Yokuşbaşı, at the coffee-house, round altar with bucranium decoration.

Κτησικλῆς  
Νυσίου

29. Çarşı Mahallesi, tower no. 30 (property of Kâmil Bar), in the staircase outside the door, a block of dark limestone said to have been found at Kanlıdere in the western part of the town. Height 0.74 m., width at least 0.41 m., thickness c. 0.24 m. Dowel-hole 0.07 m. square near the bottom of the inscribed surface. Letters 22-25 mm. high, worn away on the left.

[Αὐτ]οκράτορι  
[Καίς]αρι Ἀδριανῶ  
[Δι]λ? Ὁ]λυμπίῳ  
*vacat?*

There is room for Διλ in l. 3, but from the spacing it seems on the whole more probable that it was not added.

30. Eskiçeşme, by a well in the field of Şemsettin Ünlü, a base of pale-grey limestone with moulding at the top, 0.35 m. high, 0.59 m. wide, 0.51 m. thick. Surface damaged on the right. Letters 3-4 cm. high in ll. 1-2, c. 5.5 cm. in ll. 3-4.

Ἡδυόνοε ΑΠΡ[- -]  
νοε χρετὲ (sic) χάϊ[ρε]  
Ἐπιγόνῃς τῆς  
Ἡδυόνου. 3ῃ.

*Sigma* having its square form, it is possible that NOE should be read for NOE in l. 2, and perhaps also in l. 1. We have not seen the name Ἡδυόνους elsewhere.

On the opposite side of the stone is a second, very illegible, inscription ending with χαῖρε.

31. Gümbet, just outside Bodrum on the west, at a private house, a funeral stele of white marble broken at the top; present height 0.365 m., width 0.295 m., thickness 0.10 m. The stele bears a relief showing a woman in chiton and himation, seated on a stool with cushion, her feet resting on a footstool, in front of a one-legged table on which is a large casket whose lid the woman raises with her left hand. On the inside of the lid is an indistinct design, possibly an animal. Below is the inscription

\*Ερως  
[[. . . . .]]  
χρηστὲ χαῖρε

The woman's name has been erased and \*Ερως added in rough characters above; in the bottom line χρηστή has been altered to χρηστὲ to correspond. The re-use by a man of a woman's tombstone, however inappropriate, is not unparalleled; see, for example, *Side Excavation Report* (*Türk Tarih Kurumu Publ.*) 1948, no. 68.

32. A fragment of the inscription *Corp. Inscr. Jud.* II 756 is now built into the garden wall of house no. 196 in Gembasi, at the extreme west end of the quay. This is the monument published by T. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Juives* XLII (1901), 1-6 under the title 'La pierre de Myndos'. It mentions a female *archisynagogus*.

33. Yokuşbaşı, lying by the road in front of the coffee-house, a milestone broken into two parts; the upper portion, which carries two inscriptions, is 0.98 m. high, 0.44 m. in diameter at the break.

(a) † ἐπὶ Φλ. [Ἀ]ναστασίου  
τοῦ Εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμ[ῶν]  
βασιλέως *vacat*  
Φλ. Ἰωάννης ὁ κ (?)  
κόμ(ης) κ. ὑπατικ[ός]

*Cf.* no. 54 below. In l. 5, κὲ was perhaps written in ligature. Anastasius I (491-518) was active in the construction of public works.

(b) In rather tall, thin letters 30-35 mm. high. Badly worn on the left.

\*Α[ὐτ]ο[κρ]άτορι Καίσαρι Λουκίῳ Σεπτιμίῳ  
[Σ]εουήρῳ Ε[ὐ]σεβεῖ Περτίνακι Σεβαστῷ  
τὸ [β', ἀρ]χι[ερ]εῖ μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς  
ἐξουσί[ας] [τ]ὸ β', πατρὶ πατρίδος, ὑπάτο  
5 τὸ β', καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μάρ-  
[κῳ Α]ὔρηλίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβεῖ  
[Σεβαστ]ῷ τὸ β', [ἀρ]χιερεῖ μεγίστῳ,  
[[-----]]  
[[-----]] καὶ Ἰου-  
10 λία Δόμ[να Σεβ]αστῇ τὸ β', μη-  
τρὶ κάσ[τρων], αἱ ὁδοὶ ἀπο-  
κατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ ἀνθυ-  
πάτου Λολλίου Γεντιά[νο]ῦ

M

This remarkable inscription is full of difficulty. In l. 4, the figure β' for Septimius Severus' *tribunicia potestas* is quite clear on the squeeze, and gives the date A.D. 194; but it is inconsistent with Εὐσεβεῖ in l. 2, as Severus only took this title in 195. Moreover, the titles given to Caracalla in ll. 5-7, and the inclusion of Geta (ll. 8-9) and Julia Domna, are incompatible with so early a date. It might seem natural to suppose—as was suggested to us by Professor R. Syme—that the inscription has been re-cut, and that the original text, mentioning Severus (and perhaps also Clodius Albinus) and dated 194, was later amended to include Caracalla, Geta

(ll. 8-9) and Julia Domna, without alteration of the original date. But examination of the squeeze shows no trace of any erasure in l. 5, nor any change in the style of lettering; and the difficulty of Εὔσεβεῖ in l. 2 would still remain. It seems virtually certain that the whole inscription was cut at one time. A peculiar feature is the addition, in ll. 7 and 10 certainly and probably also in l. 3, of the meaningless τὸ β' to the title Σεβαστός (-ή); perhaps therefore the simplest thing is to suppose that τὸ β' has been added indiscriminately to all the titles, and may be disregarded wherever it occurs. The document can then be dated to the period 201-11. This is probably confirmed by the dating in ll. 12-13 to the proconsulship of Gentianus. The man in question is presumably Q. Hadius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus (*Pros. Imp. Rom.* II 128, no. 27), proconsul of Asia in 201-2 (not 209, as was formerly supposed). Most probably, then our inscription dates to the year 201; the erasure in ll. 8-9 is exactly filled by the words καὶ Λουκίῳ (or Ποπλίῳ) Σεπτιμίῳ Γέτῳ, ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Καίσαρι. The description of Caracalla as *pontifex maximus* is a further irregularity, since he had not this title until the death of Severus; but this is paralleled in other unofficial documents: see Liebenam, *Fasti* 110.

In l. 13, though the stone is worn, Λολλίου is beyond doubt; we take it to be a mere error on the part of the stone-cutter.

L. 14. M denotes presumably one mile, μ(ίλιον), measured no doubt from the Mylasa gate of Halicarnassus. The stone is not now *in situ*, but will not have been moved far from its original position. For one mile, μ.α' is more usual, but the alternative 40 (miles from Mylasa) is not probable.

34. Bodrum Castle. The inscription over the main gate on the outer side, published very inaccurately in *CIG* 8698, was republished by Hasluck in *BSA* XVIII (1911-2), 215 f., but still not quite correctly. We read:

† ὁ ἔνδον ἐρχόμενος τοῦ κάστρου τούτου  
(καὶ) πράττειν εἰ λέγειν κακῶς βουλόμενου (sic) τιμοριθήσεται C \*  
,αφίγ'. Φρ. Τζιάκης Γατινέο καπιτάνος

L. 2. καὶ is represented by a sign in the form of the letter S. The symbols at the end of this line (which presumably give the amount of the fine) are omitted by Hasluck.

34a. Bodrum Castle. Built into the main gateway on the left side, close to no. 34, and visible in a hole in the stonework, is an inscribed block so awkwardly placed that we could obtain neither a copy nor a satisfactory squeeze. The last two lines read:

[Εὔε]ργέτην καὶ σωτῆ[ρα]  
[γε]γονότα τῆς πό[λεως]

but of the man's name we could recover only a few isolated letters. The inscription is of the Roman period, and is carefully written in letters 18-20 mm. high.

We include a few other inscriptions from Bodrum which were not found by us during our investigations. Nos. 36 and 37 are published here with the kind permission of Dr. M. Mitsos.

35. From a copy submitted by Dr. F. J. Tritsch, made at Bodrum in 1952. No details available concerning the stone or the place.

[ἐ]πὶ νεωποίου Ἀνθύλου τοῦ Δημ[. . .]  
[π]ρυτανεύοντος Δημοκρίτου [τοῦ . . .]  
[.]ύλλου, μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος[. . .]  
[τ]ηι ἀνομένου, ἐν τῇ κυρία ἐκκλησί[αι],  
5 [γραμμ]ατεύοντος Πυλάδου τοῦ Φ[. . .]



[.]νου, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ [τῷ δή-  
 [μῳι, γνώμῃ] πρυτανίων· ἐπειδὴ [.....]  
 [.....]ΜΥΝΙΟΣ εὐνου[ς ὦν καὶ . .]  
 [..... πρὸς] τὸν δῆμο[ν .....]  
 10 [.....] τῇ πόλ[ει -----]

The numbers of missing letters are given according to the copy.

Ll. 2-3. [Ἀνθ]ύλλου and [Μεν]ύλλου are familiar names at Halicarnassus.

L. 8. Probably Μύν(δ)ιος.

Ll. 9-10. [διατελεῖ | τὰ συμφέροντα] τῇ πόλ[ει πράττων] or something similar.

For a similar prescript see no. 1 above.

36. Athens, Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. 198, from Halicarnassus. Fragment of a white marble stele, broken at the top and on the right, left edge bevelled away, bottom edge preserved and worked smooth. Present height 0.125 m., present width 0.17 m., thickness 0.07 m. Letters of latish Hellenistic date 14-16 mm. high.

[- - -]ΙΑΡΙΑ διακοσ[- - - - -]  
 [- - -]Σ ἐπὶ τὴν βου[λὴν - - -]  
 [- - -]Σ ἀργυρίου εἰς τα[- - -]  
 [- τεσσ]εράκοντα δ[- - - - -]  
 5 [- - -]ΙΤΑΙΣ τῆς γερ[ουσίας - -]  
 [- - -] ἑκάστον ἐν[αυτὸν?]

In l. 3 *init.* the squeeze seems to show a *sigma* partially overlapping the *alpha*, as if added later. In l. 4, the second letter is apparently *rho* corrected from *beta*.

We seem to have the record of a gift of money. In l. 1 the obvious restoration [δη]γάρια διακόσ[ια] is probably to be rejected; at the apparent date of the inscription drachmae are more naturally expected than denaria, and we seem in fact to have [δραχμά]ς ἀργυρίου in l. 3. -άρια may be the end of a word denoting the object of the donation; διακοσ- may be from διακόσιοι or from διακοσμεῖν.

Ll. 2-4. [παραγενόμενο]ς ἐπὶ τὴν βου[λὴν ἐπηγγείλατο δραχμά]ς ἀργυρίου εἰς τα[- - - τεσσ]εράκοντα or the like.

For the question of the provenience of this and the following fragment see below, p. 115.

37. Athens, Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. 197, from Halicarnassus. Thin slab of white marble broken on all sides, 0.14 m. high, 0.13 m. wide, 0.018 m. thick. Tall, thin letters with strong apices, 22-24 mm. high, regularly cut. Above the inscription, decoration in the form of scored lines.

[- -]α Φίλαι[- -]  
 [- -]ράνορος

Apparently a tombstone. For names beginning Φίλαι- see Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* 447, and add Φίλαιθος at Rhodes (*SGDI* 4157, 35).

## MYNDUS

The position of Myndus on the end of the peninsula cannot seriously be questioned; the ancient testimonies demand a position between Bargylia and Cape Termerion opposite Cos,<sup>86</sup> and within these limits the remains at Gümüşlük, and they alone, correspond to a πόλις

<sup>86</sup> Strabo XIV 657 f.; Athenian tribute lists (*ATL* I 522, Μύνδοι παρὰ Τέρμερα; cf. Phot. s.v. 'Τερμέρια'); Ps.-Scylax 99; Mela I 85; Pliny, *NH* V 107; Anon. *Stad.* 276-8.

Ἑλληνίς of later Greek times.<sup>87</sup> The situation closely resembles that of the fourth-century city of Cnidus at Cape Kriò.<sup>88</sup> It is formed round the anchorage, which is protected by a barren peninsula (ancient Aethusa)<sup>89</sup> from the north-west wind and closed by a small rocky island at the south of the entrance (FIG. 3, PLATE II);<sup>90</sup> the city wall seems to have encircled the



FIG. 3.—PLAN OF MYNDUS.

peninsula, from whose north end it crossed to the mainland and climbed by a sharp crest to a high salient point in the east; thence, still taking advantage of a well-defined ridge, it des-

<sup>87</sup> The identification has not been attested by inscriptions; but Paton, who had a residence at Gümüşlük, remarked the preponderance of Myndian issues among the coins found there (*JHS* XX 80). The mediaeval testimonies alone might in fact be decisive for the location.

<sup>88</sup> *BSA* XLVII 184.

<sup>89</sup> Pliny, *NH* II 204.

<sup>90</sup> The plan FIG. 3 is drawn after Admiralty Chart no. 1531 of the year 1837, with some remodelling of the legends and slight additions. Remains which are now no longer visible have been retained on the plan.

cended to the shore and traversed the shallow water to the little island; the narrow entrance to the harbour was further contracted by a reef on which the foundations of a square tower are still visible under water off the SE tip of the peninsula. The geographical situation, at a distance from the inland cities of Caria and six hours farther out than Halicarnassus, was not favourable to commercial development. But the strategical emplacement, with its capacious enclosed harbour and wonderfully sited circuit, is almost without equal among the Hellenistic cities of the west coast of Asia Minor. It withstood an assault by Alexander in 334 B.C.,<sup>91</sup> and provided a naval base for Ptolemy when he prepared his expedition to Corinth in 308;<sup>92</sup> it also accommodated the Rhodian fleet after the battle at Lade in 201<sup>93</sup> and Cassius in 43 B.C.<sup>94</sup>

Of the network of fortifications which the Admiralty Chart of 1837 shows encircling the peninsula (FIG. 3) there is now nothing to be seen save for faint traces at the NW end; but Newton, twenty years later, was able to follow this circuit from the most northerly point round the west side to beyond the entrance of the harbour.<sup>95</sup> The whole course is still clear on the mainland. The circuit is constructed in ashlar masonry,<sup>96</sup> parts, at least, being of green granite (cf. p. 130); we measured the thickness of the wall on the north as 2.75 m. The foundation of the wall in the shallow water where it crosses to the island on the south is laid in squared blocks throughout. The SE stretch of the circuit was studded with towers, since this side faced the road from Halicarnassus and was more accessible to attackers, whether approaching by land or sea.<sup>97</sup> Of the constructions laid down in the Chart on the landward side of the harbour head there is now scarcely anything to be seen apart from the ruined Christian basilica preserved by Paton, but most of these ruins were observed by Newton (II 575 ff.) in 1857.<sup>98</sup> There are rock cuttings, presumably for houses, on the upper slope here inside the circuit, and traces of rock stairways, both here and near the SE tip of the peninsula. The building at the highest point of the peninsula is not ancient, and may have been a Christian church.<sup>99</sup> The ruins on the little island are also not ancient, though ancient blocks and architectural pieces are incorporated in them.<sup>100</sup> Tombs of late date have been remarked outside the circuit on the SE; and in the valley of Çukurbuk on the NE, outside the city wall, we saw a funerary altar with a relief of a woman seated in a basket chair and a little girl in front of her, and a fragment of another relief. There are polychrome Roman mosaics, with geometrical decoration, and late Corinthian capitals at the primary school about twenty minutes' walk inland.

The most celebrated of the antiquities of Myndus is the so-called Lelegian Wall, which ran down the spine of the peninsula northwards from the summit.<sup>101</sup> This wall also has a thickness of 2.75 m. It is built of big blocks of hard stone, roughly faced in places and sometimes tolerably well fitted,<sup>102</sup> while at points it has the squareish look of Hellenistic polygonal;<sup>103</sup> there is no perceptible difference between the two faces, though the east one is the better preserved. The masonry is unlike that of Lelegian fortifications and is best matched in the north part of the main circuit of Halicarnassus (p. 90, PLATE 15 (b)). It is hardly likely to be of any exceptional antiquity, but along its course towards the south end we picked up some black-glazed

<sup>91</sup> Arrian I 20, 5-7.

<sup>92</sup> Appian, *BC* IV 65, 71 f.

<sup>93</sup> Newton's explanation (II 574) that this side is less naturally strong could only be applied to the lowermost end of this stretch.

<sup>94</sup> Diod. XX 37, 1.

<sup>95</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 577.

<sup>96</sup> Polyb. XVI 15, 4.

<sup>97</sup> Polyb. XVI 15, 4.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. *Ann.* IV-V 367, figs. 27-9.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. *Ann.* IV-V 367, figs. 27-9.

<sup>100</sup> The small foundation near the north tip of the peninsula, which Spratt and Newton (II 575, I, pl. 83) took for a bath, is now under water but must have stood on terra firma in antiquity.

<sup>101</sup> We noted an *epikranon* with carved cross among the architectural pieces close at hand.

<sup>102</sup> The wall of squared blocks traversing the base of the isthmus, which Newton (II 578) noted as ancient, can hardly be so, since pieces of tile can be seen in the joints.

<sup>103</sup> Spratt marks it as extending from the peak almost to the north tip, and Paton apparently described it as doing so in the 1880s (*JHS* VIII 66, fig. 2); Guidi's assertion that it starts from the north summit of the peninsula and descends towards the sea in a southerly direction (*Ann.* IV-V 365) seems to correspond, assuming the topographical directions to be inverted.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. *Ann.* IV-V 366, figs. 25-6.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. *BSA* XLVII 172.

sherds which constitute the earliest known remains of habitation on the site; these include a fragment of the rim of a small bowl dating to the second quarter of the fourth century, the mouth of a squat lekythos which Mr. Corbett assigns to the same date, and a piece of a mid-fourth-century bell-krater.<sup>104</sup> In general, the outer system of fortification, in which greenstone seems to be dominant, should date to the later years of Mausolus' power (*cf.* p. 169); and we are inclined to suppose that the more primitive, incomplete defensive line seen in the 'Lelegian Wall' represents an abortive earlier stage of fortification immediately consequent on the Mausolan synoecism of the Lelegian towns. There is no sign of earlier settlement at Gümüşlük or of Lelegian tombs in the vicinity, and the native settlement of Myndus cannot have been on this site (*cf.* p. 145); the situation is quite unlike that of any known Lelegian town, and is, on the other hand, perfectly designed for a later Greek city. Apart from the few scraps of pottery mentioned, we found little trace of occupation before the advanced Hellenistic era, at which time sherds become abundant; and the architectural and epigraphical relics seem to be all of Roman date. The ruins that Spratt and Newton observed were all bunched in one part of the town, and the impression of empty spaces within the walls is confirmed by an anecdote recounted by Diogenes Laertius (VI 2, 57) of his more famous namesake: the Cynic philosopher, going to Myndus and noticing that the gates were big but the city small, advised the Myndians to shut their gates for fear that their city might run away. While Mausolus could build a new city, he could not fully man one; and it seems that at Myndus the Lelegian hill-folk, like the Arcadians of Megalopolis, did not readily take to Greek political life, and that Mausolus' aim was not realised in full until two or three hundred years after his death. In the end, however, it caught on firmly, and Myndus was numbered among the bishoprics in the later Roman province of Caria.

According to Strabo (XIII 611) Myndus was a Lelegian town, though in later times it laid claim, like Theangela, to a Troezenian origin in imitation, no doubt, of Halicarnassus.<sup>105</sup> It was mentioned by Hecataeus (*ap.* Stephanus), and Herodotus (V 33) records a Myndian ship under a captain of the name of Scylax in Aristagoras' fleet (*c.* 500 B.C.). It is recorded in Athenian tribute lists as paying only one-twelfth of a talent tribute, and was clearly a place of very slight consequence in the fifth century.<sup>106</sup> Myndus has a small interior plain on the SE, and the present population is estimated at about eight hundred. Its access of prosperity in later times must have come from the possession of the territory of Termera (pp. 147 ff.), and possibly also from some working of the silver mines.<sup>107</sup> In the main, Myndus must have followed the fortunes of Halicarnassus after the time of Mausolus. Unsuccessfully assaulted by Alexander in 334 B.C., it seems to have been lost to the Persians after the defeat of the satrap Orontobates in the following year.<sup>108</sup> The city sent judges to Samos *c.* 270 B.C.;<sup>109</sup> and from the late third century onward there are occasional references to Myndians in the inscriptions of other states, especially on Rhodian territory. The first coinage of Myndus is said to date to the second century B.C. after the city was helped to independence by the Rhodians in 197. About 131 B.C., prior to its incorporation in the Roman province of Asia, Myndus was in the hands of the rebel Aristonicus.<sup>110</sup> It was to two Italians resident there that Verres sold a ship that he had commandeered from the Milesian navy (*Cic., Verr.* II 1, 86 f.). After the battle of Philippi Myndus is said to have been given by Mark Antony to the Rhodians, but not to have remained subject for long to their harsh rule.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>104</sup> The fragment from a plate with palmettes and rouletting, PLATE 13 (c) 3, is of the late fourth century or rather later.

<sup>105</sup> Paus. II 30, 9.

<sup>106</sup> ATL I 348.

<sup>107</sup> Paton and Myres, *JHS* XVI 204.

<sup>108</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* II 5, 7.

<sup>109</sup> SEG I 363.

<sup>110</sup> Florus II 20, 5.

<sup>111</sup> Appian, *BC* V 7. L. Robert infers from the scanty coinage that Myndus suffered a decline in the imperial period (*BCH* LX 201). On the cults and prosopography of Myndus, see Petrarca, *Rend. Lincei* XII (1936), 259 ff.



## INSCRIPTIONS (MYNDUS)

38. Gümüşlük, in a wall of the house of Karakayalı Galip at the north end of the village, a slab of white marble broken on the right, the other edges preserved. Height 0.35 m., length 1.25 m.; the thickness is not ascertainable, but the stone is cracked in five places after insertion in the wall, and is probably very thin. Inscription in monumental letters 0.12 m. high, but the carving is neither sharp nor deep. Imperial date.

ΑΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΤΙ  
ΡΥΣΟΙΣΚΕΦΑΛΕ

We have apparently part of the dedication of a building: [ὁ δεινὰ τοῦ δεινὸς τῇ γλυκυτ[άτ]η πατρίδι τῇ[ν στοάν? σὺν - - - καὶ τοῖς χ]ρυσοῖς κεφαλῆ[οις]. Though κεφαλὴ and κεφαλῆς are used of a column-capital, we have not found κεφαλῆον in this sense, nor indeed of any part of a building, but we see no other probable restoration.

39. The funeral altar of Paideros son of Aelius Stephanus, published by Paton in *REG IX* (1896), 423, no. 13, is now lying on the beach at the extreme south end of Gümüşlük village. Paton *ibid.* justly remarks on the rarity of Myndian inscriptions.

40. Athens, Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. 201, published here by permission of Dr. M. Mitsos. Small funeral stele with pediment, of coarse-grained white marble, 0.40 m. high, 0.22 m. in maximum width, 0.06 m. thick; the back is left rough. Letters 17-21 mm. high, with marked apices.

Σφαῖρε  
Ἀράδιε  
χρηστὲ  
χαῖρε

The stone belongs to a consignment sent from Bodrum by Michael Bogiatzes (see below, p. 115), and was apparently found ἐν πόλει Μέντζα. More precisely, the provenience of Inv. No. 200 is so indicated, no. 201 having merely ὠσαύτως. No. 200 is *BCH XII* (1888), 281, no. 6, and was seen by Paton near Mandrais between Gümüşlük and Geriş. There seems no doubt that Μέντζα is Myndus; the word πόλις is significant, and various forms of the name Myndus are quoted: Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* 38, gives ὁ Μονδοῦ, Μένδου, Zumonta and Jumenta.

The name Σφαῖρος occurs in various parts of the Greek world, e.g. Kirchner, *Prosopogr. Att.* nos. 13042-5 (Athens), *SGDI* 1461 II 47 (Halos), 4052 (Rhodes), 5485 (Thasos); cf. Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* 605. Our man presumably came from Aradus in Phoenicia.

## THEANGELA

The site of Theangela at Etrim we consider to be beyond dispute.<sup>112</sup> The extant remains have been described, though not exhaustively, by Judeich in *AM XII* (1887), 334-6, and by Robert in *Coll. Froehn.* 81-6; cf. *RA* 1935 II 163.

The city forms an elongated enclosure along the crest of a steep mountain (alt. 547 m.) immediately to the south of Etrim village (alt. c. 80 m.); it dominates the extensive plain of Karaova to the north-east and the Çiftlik valley to the south. The fortified perimeter takes in three peaks of the mountain and can hardly be less than 1500 m. in length on an east-west axis; but it has little breadth except in the central part, where it forms a salient to the south to take in the lower spur C.<sup>113</sup> A similar salient descends the ridge to the east of B. On the west the walls run up to merge into a fine rectangular fort, with four corner towers, on the

<sup>112</sup> Robert's discussion in *Coll. Froehn.* 65-9 should be regarded as decisive.

<sup>113</sup> We adopt Robert's lettering in *Coll. Froehn.* 85-6. The visible crest from D to B subtends an angle of 10½ degrees when seen obliquely from Alâzeytin at a distance of c. 6 km.

summit D. FIG. 4 shows an outline plan of this *tetrapylon*. The entrance through its eastern wall, now buried under débris, is about 1 m. wide and had a corbelled roof.<sup>114</sup> The masonry to be seen on the site is varied, including a fairly regular coursed masonry near to ashlar (PLATE 16 (a)), a regular isodomic ashlar, and a kind of squareish polygonal. The city wall is in general about 2.50 m. thick; its masonry recalls that of the Lelegian sites, but is more solid and of a more developed type. There is no place for a stadium and no sign of a theatre.<sup>115</sup>

Inside the wall the chief extant buildings are on and around the peak B. On the NE slope of this hill, a little below the summit, is a remarkable pit, evidently a cistern, hardly less than 5 m. deep (PLATE 16 (b)); the upper part is of regular coursed masonry, the lower part is rock-cut. The roof is of large stone slabs supported on rectangular pillars of masonry, each course of the pillars consisting of two blocks with the joints alternately along and across. At the bottom, now largely filled with stones and rubbish, the tops of two triangular apertures are visible; these are said to lead through into cavernous spaces where a match will not burn and only rock is to be seen. On the west side of the same peak B is a very well-preserved tomb in the hillside (PLATE 16 (c)); its side-walls are vertical in their lower parts, then converge to a sharp

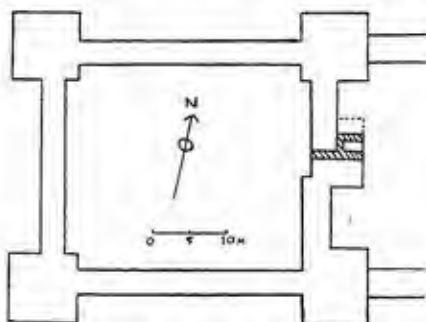


FIG. 4.—THEANGELA: PLAN OF TETRAPYLON.

point at the top, presumably on the corbelled false-arch principle, but they are covered with red and whitish-yellow plaster. The tomb is about 7 m. long and has a door at the west end. The height is not less than 3 m.; the floor is at present buried under earth and stones. This remarkable structure, particularly in this situation, might hardly have been recognisable as a tomb; but its nature is assured by the recent discovery in it of quantities of bones, together with numerous fragments of three vases, namely a r.f. pelike, a Panathenaic amphora, and a kalyx-krater. Some of these sherds were shown by the villagers to Miss Aşkidil Akarca, and others were later picked up in her presence on the spot.<sup>116</sup> The two first-named of these vases are dated by Mr. P. E. Corbett (from photographs kindly supplied by Miss Akarca) to about 420 B.C. On the same slope, lower down to the west, are several fine cisterns, one of which (still used by the peasants) is illustrated by Robert in *RA* 1935 II 162, fig. 10. In the same area, between B and the southern foot of A, we noticed several column-drums, a piece of a triglyph-frieze, and other well-cut blocks. It was in this central area that Winter in 1887 discovered the plinth, with the feet, of a kore of archaic type (*AM* XII 337), and from here

<sup>114</sup> Robert, *Coll. Froehn*, 85, observes mistakenly that the *tetrapylon* is linked to the west angle of the main perimeter by a single wall. He has no doubt reached this conclusion from a study of his own composite photograph, pl. XXVI, but the appearances are deceptive; in fact, a wall runs up to each of the eastern towers of the fort: see FIG. 4. The *tetrapylon*, as Mr. E. W. Marsden pointed out to us, is of unusually powerful construction and designed to resist artillery.

<sup>116</sup> The fragments in question were deposited by Miss Akarca in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul; we are indebted both to her and to the Museum Director, B. Rüstem Duyuran, for permission to announce this discovery in advance of publication.

also other statues seem to have come to light, including presumably the trunk of an archaic kore in the British Museum.<sup>115</sup> Inscriptions<sup>116</sup> also attest the location in this area of a temple of Athena. Near the summit of peak A is a finely preserved specimen of a Lelegian house, comprising three intercommunicating rooms, with an entrance in the long side-wall and the usual corbelled roofing, as for example at Alázeytin and in the farmhouse near Halicarnassus (below, pp. 132 f., n. 209). Other buildings of Lelegian type are illustrated by Robert, *Coll. Froehn.* pls. XXVII d, XXVIII h.

There is a fair quantity of sherds around the peaks A and B; the earliest pieces we recognised were from black-glazed vessels (bowl, kotyle, and fish-plate) of the middle ranges of the fourth century. The rest is Hellenistic, the latest fragments being from half-glazed plates and kantharoi of advanced Hellenistic forms; we found no trace of *sigillata* and Roman wares. We saw also much Hellenistic tile, with a few pieces that look fourth-century; again no Roman.

On the flank of the mountain, below the city on the NE, we saw a group of tomb-chambers sunk into the ground; these are oblong and built of fine squared blocks joined by strip-clamps, with regular vaulting and a pavement of limestone slabs above. One, which we saw newly rifled and nearly intact, is 2.05 m. long; in its spoil we found fragments of a large hydria or similar vessel of reddish ware with a cream slip,<sup>117</sup> and of a miniature with poor-quality dark glaze. Apart from a late tombstone (below, no. 41) from the village below, we know of no other tombs hitherto discovered on or near the site.<sup>118</sup>

We agree without hesitation in the commonly accepted view that Theangela is the Hellenistic form of the name Syangela, which occurs in the fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>119</sup> In the Athenian tribute lists Syangela pays regularly at least until 427 B.C.; the city is all this time under a dynast Pigres (or Picres or Pitres), who on two occasions pays in his own name, Πίκρης Συαγγελεύς. Syangela is on one occasion coupled with Amynanda,<sup>120</sup> and the Syangelan tribute, one talent, seems normally to include that of Amynanda.<sup>121</sup> A certain Pigres, son of Hysseldomus, was among the distinguished Carian captains at Salamis (Hdt. VII 98); if, as seems probable, he was an earlier member of the Syangelan dynasty, the city must have had a port on the south coast. Syangela was one of the eight cities founded by the Lelegians, but when Mausolus merged these into Halicarnassus he did not include Syangela; this is stated by Strabo on the authority of Callisthenes.<sup>122</sup> Pliny (*NH* V 107) states that Alexander incorporated six towns in Halicarnassus, one of which was Theangela. This information we believe to be erroneous in two important respects: Pliny has attributed Mausolus' synoecism to Alexander, and Theangela is wrongly included; see below p. 144. In the late fourth, third, and early second centuries numerous inscriptions show Theangela as an independent city; <sup>123</sup> in this period we find it claiming a foundation from Troezen, which claim is accepted by the Troezenians.<sup>124</sup> This we believe to be based on nothing more than the Troezenian origin of Halicarnassus.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>115</sup> *BMC Sculpt.* I 1, 149 (B 319), dated c. 520 B.C.

<sup>116</sup> See *RE* s.v. 'Theangela'.

<sup>117</sup> The strongly moulded projecting rim of this vase seems best matched by the profiles of early Hellenistic vases (e.g. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, pl. 38 below).

<sup>118</sup> We have no information regarding the 'large tumuli' seen by Paton and Myres on a distant skyline 'probably in the neighbourhood of Theangela' (*JHS* XVI 198); we suspect they may have been the fortified peaks of Theangela itself.

<sup>119</sup> The case has been argued, conclusively as we think, by Robert, *Coll. Froehn.* 82 n. 7 and in *ATL* I 551-2, as against Ruge in *RE* s.v. 'Theangela'. We have nothing to add: the intermediate form Θυαγγ[ελεύς] seems to us almost decisive in itself.

<sup>120</sup> 446/5 B.C., Συαγγε[λ]ῆς καὶ Ἀμύνανδ[α].

<sup>121</sup> When the two pay separately in 444/3, the tribute of each is half a talent.

<sup>122</sup> Strabo XIII 611 = *FCRH* II B, no. 124, fr. 25: Συαγγελα δὲ καὶ Μύνδον διεφύλαξε.

<sup>123</sup> See the list given by Robert, *Coll. Froehn.* 91-4; his no. 18 now Πολέμων IV 8, no. 248.

<sup>124</sup> Nos. 9 and 10 in Robert's list.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *ATL* I 552. For a similar claim by Myndus, see above, p. 111.

By about the middle or end of the second century it is commonly supposed that Theangela had been absorbed into Halicarnassus. The evidence for this is an inscription attributed to Theangela, published by Wilhelm in *ÖJh* XI (1908), 61, no. 4; it is dated by the eponymous priest of Halicarnassus.<sup>126</sup> This evidence has never, as far as we know, been challenged;<sup>127</sup> but in fact the attribution to Theangela is, in our opinion, mistaken. The stone is in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, Inv. No. 199, among a number brought to the Museum about 1901 by Michael Bogiatzes from Bodrum. The provenience of the individual inscriptions is recorded in the inventory; we transcribe the relevant passage.

No.	Provenience	Remarks	
196	Ἐκομίσθη ὑπὸ Μιχαὴλ Βογιατζῆ ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου Θεαγγελίας (Ἀλικαρν.)	Μνημονεύεται ὑπὸ A.W. in <i>Jh.</i> 1905, 241: ἐξεδ. <i>Jhefte</i> 1908, 71	Decree of Troezen for Theangela.
197	Ὡσαύτως	ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ	Two-line fragment: above, No. 37.
198	Ὡσαύτως	ὅπου τὸ 197 ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ	Fragment apparently recording a gift of money: above, No. 36.
199	Ὡσαύτως	αὐτόθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἐξεδόθη ἐν <i>Jahreshefte</i> 1908, 61 . . .	Contributions for the construction of a well.

Two things here are perfectly clear: 196 is from Theangela, and 197-9 are all three from a single source. But is that source Theangela or Halicarnassus? The contents of the inscriptions themselves afford no clue, apart, of course, from the agreed Halicarnassian dating of 199. Wilhelm, in his publication of 1908, took the provenience of 196 to apply also to 199. He saw the stones within a few years of their arrival in Athens, when oral information may possibly have been available to him; but there is no hint of this in his article, where he makes the attribution of 199 depend upon the inventory record.<sup>128</sup> He evidently understood ὥσαύτως to repeat the whole of the 'Provenience' entry of 196; it seems to us, on the contrary, clear that the 'Remarks' entries of 197-9 refer in fact to the provenience of the stones, ὥσαύτως denoting simply that all four formed part of a single consignment from M. Bogiatzes. This is especially plain in the case of 198: ὅπου τὸ 197 can only refer to provenience. And if that provenience is Theangela, why is the reference not to 196, or at least to 196-7? Since 197 is distinguished by the words ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ, the reference is surely to this, and 197-9 must all be from Halicarnassus.<sup>129</sup> If this be right, the evidence for the absorption of Theangela in Halicarnassus disappears; since the evidence of Pliny is likewise to be rejected (below, pp. 143 f.), there remains no reason to suppose that Theangela was ever other than an independent city.<sup>130</sup> We believe, moreover, that there is evidence that it was a free city under the early Empire; see below, p. 144.

On Syangela-Theangela see further below, pp. 145-7.

<sup>126</sup> ἐπὶ ἱερῶς Πολείτου τοῦ Ἀνδροσθένου. This man is known as a priest of Poseidon Isthmius at Halicarnassus (*CIG* 2655).

<sup>127</sup> It is accepted by Ruge in *RE* s.v. 'Theangela' 1374 and by Robert, *Coll. Froehn.* 84-5.

<sup>128</sup> 'Der Vermerk der neuen Erwerbungen n. 199: Ἐκομίσθη ὑπὸ Μιχαὴλ Βογιατζῆ ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου Θεαγγελίας (Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ) lehrt, dass der Stein von der Ruinenstätte (sc. Etrim) stammt.' In fact, as was seen above, this entry belongs not to 199 but to 196.

<sup>129</sup> The alternative is hardly attractive, namely to suppose that ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ means merely that the stone, though found at Etrim, was shipped to Athens from Bodrum.

<sup>130</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8831, Μενεράτης Μενεράτου Θεαγγελεῖς, is there dated by Kirchner to the first century B.C. If this is correct, it is conclusive against the supposed second-century incorporation in Halicarnassus. In the *Addenda*, however, a second-century date is preferred for the epitaph: 's. I a. Theangela non iam sui iuris fuit. L. Robert per litt.' If this argument is, as we believe, baseless, it will be possible to revert to Kirchner's original dating.



## INSCRIPTION (THEANGELA).

41. Etrian. Shown to us in the village, right bottom corner of a funeral stele, with a pilaster in relief on the right. Height 0.30 m., width 0.25 m., thickness 0.13 m. Found recently during the construction of a road near the village. Late letters, 25-27 mm. high. Photograph.

[ὁ δεινα]	[καὶ τοῖς] ἐξ αὐ-
[τὸ μνημεῖον]	[τῶν] αἰεὶ ἐσομέ-
[ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ]	[νοί]ς κατεσκεύ-
[γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ]	[ασ]εν ( <i>leaf</i> )

## LELEGIAN TOWN SITES

The description of the sites which merit this title follows. The account of their history and discussion of their identification are reserved for a later section of this article (pp. 143-155).

## ASARLIK.

The site <sup>131</sup> (FIG. 5) has been partly described by Newton,<sup>132</sup> and by Paton and Myres, whose identification of it as Termera seems certain (p. 147).<sup>133</sup> The citadel forms a nearly level platform c. 40 m. long on the peak of a dominant hill, whose slopes are steep on all sides and precipitous on the NE; it enjoys a commanding view in all directions save to the SW, where it is overlooked by the lofty range of the Termerian promontory. There are traces of a citadel wall in smallish squared masonry surrounding the summit, and the outline of this fortification can be followed in the eastern part by the cuttings made to receive the wall; at the north corner cuttings show that the wall was carried out on to a natural bastion or pinnacle of rock. On the NW side, near the west corner, the wall foundation is well levelled off as though for a threshold, and a long block fallen close by seems likely to have come from a door-frame; we have therefore restored a gate in the citadel circuit at this point (immediately to the right of the letter e in 'gate' on FIG. 5). There are traces of buildings on the summit, including one 13 m. in length on the highest part at the north. To the south of this a double vaulted cistern is sunk to a depth of perhaps 4 m. below ground level, with traces of a rectangular building perhaps built over the western chamber; the two chambers together have a length of about 9 m., and are built in smallstone work which has received several coats of plaster; the vaults seem not to be barrels but to have sprung in Lelegian fashion from all four sides of each chamber. Despite the presence of odd fragments of Hellenistic vases and Byzantine impressed ware on the summit, this cistern gives the appearance of belonging to the classical era.

Below the summit on the south is a shelf partly upheld by a natural scarp and revetted by a polygonal wall; on it are building traces with sherds and tiles of later Hellenistic or Roman date. This area was entered on the east by a gate whose threshold block, with four circular sockets for a double door, is still in position; the gate seems to have been 1.50 m. wide. The fortification enclosing this shelf was carried round outside the west end of the citadel, where no doubt a road gave access to the summit. At some distance below this to the south a stretch of massive polygonal walling c. 5 m. high runs down to a saddle which separates Asarlık hill from the main Termerian range; in this wall, whose thickness is 1.75 m., is set a gate 2 m. wide at the bottom and tapering upwards to form some sort of arch (PLATE 17 (e)).<sup>134</sup> The masonry in

<sup>131</sup> The plan FIG. 5 was fixed where possible by compass intersections from the corners of the citadel, but the steep convex slopes made a complete system of intersections impossible; some details of the intermediate perimeter and the position of the vaulted tomb have been added from a freehand plan drawn by Mr. R. V. Nicholls in 1949.

<sup>132</sup> *Halicarnassus* II 580 ff.

<sup>133</sup> *JHS* VIII 81 f., XVI 203 f.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Paton's drawing, *JHS* VIII 64, fig. 1. The gate appears on the right of the photograph in PLATE 17.

the immediate vicinity of the gate approximates to ashlar or trapezoidal, but has elsewhere a tendency towards curved joints; surface pottery here is abundant and mainly of the fifth century, and it seems probable that the wall here is to be dated to this time. Inside the gate a depressed line, flanked at points by traces of buildings, seems to indicate a road leading up towards the citadel. It is difficult to believe that this wall does not belong to a defensive system; and we were in fact able to link it up with a line of walling 1.60 m. thick which follows

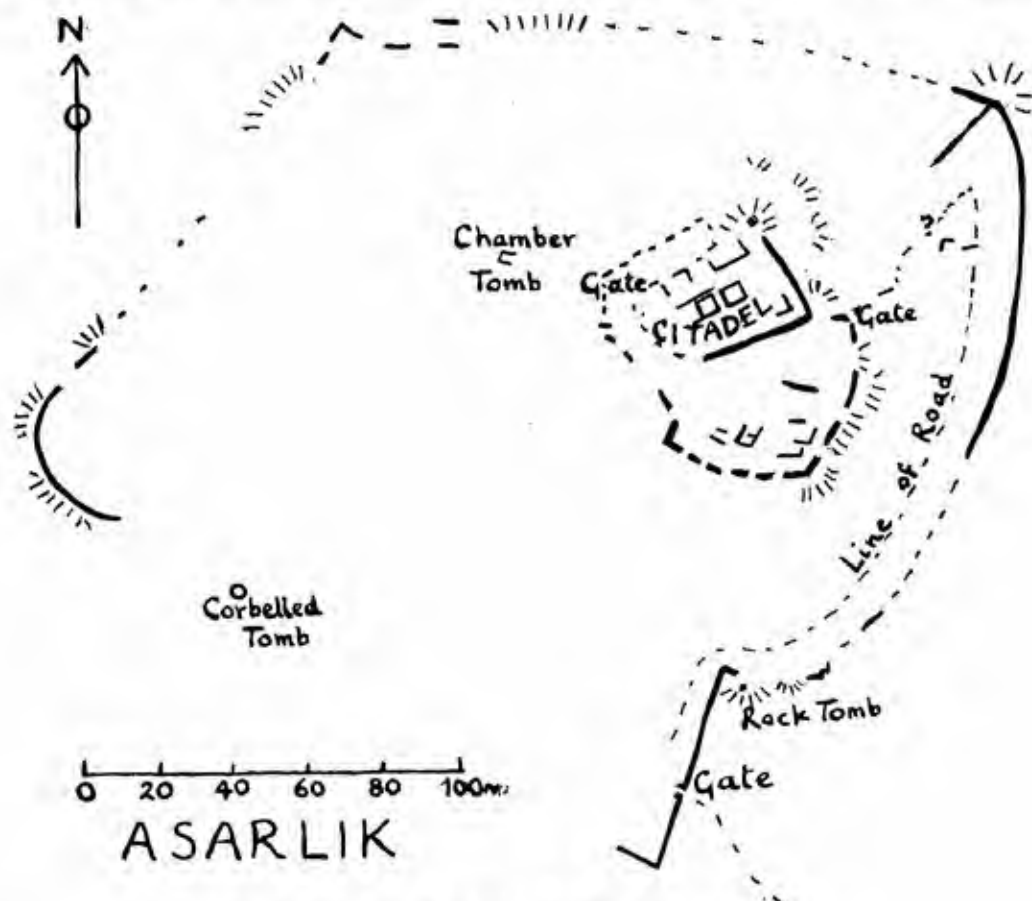


FIG. 5.—PLAN OF ASARLIK.

a rock fault up to the NE corner, and thus to trace the outline of an outer circuit in polygonal masonry, which keeps at a consistent level round the hill save at the NE angle, where it rises to a rocky bluff.<sup>135</sup> Inside this perimeter there are some traces of habitation, and much pottery on the north slope under the citadel and on the south towards the gate. The pottery includes a sprinkling of archaic<sup>136</sup> and some fourth-century wares (the latest<sup>137</sup> being dated by Mr. P. E.

<sup>135</sup> At this corner a stretch of a roughly piled cross wall runs across the neck towards the citadel; it hardly seems to belong to the original design of the circuit.

<sup>136</sup> PLATE 14 (b) 1, probably from the neck of an amphora with striped decoration, similar to seventh-century Chian; PLATE 14 (b) 4, from a late B.F. chariot-scene skyphos, with legs of horses and a man; fragments of early fifth-century glazed kylikes.

<sup>137</sup> PLATE 14 (b) 3, oenochoe rim with painted ovolo pattern; PLATE 13 (c) 1, foot of black glazed bowl with glazed underside and grooved resting surface, stamped palmette and rouletting; fragments of black glazed kantharoi.

Corbett in the second quarter of the century): but the bulk of it seems to be of the full fifth century or the beginning of the fourth.<sup>138</sup> The abundance of the classical pottery leaves no doubt that the main occupation in the outer perimeter came to an end about the second quarter of the fourth century, and might perhaps suggest that from the advanced fifth century it was declining.

There are tombs on the edges of the site, in the valley to the west,<sup>139</sup> and on the watershed east of the main gate of Asarlık towards the hamlet of Mandıra. Paton investigated a considerable cemetery, with chamber tombs, enclosures, and individual graves, around the valley head to the south of Asarlık,<sup>140</sup> and there are built tomb complexes still visible on the ridge leading down to Aspat. Paton's finds range from the end of the Bronze Age to archaic times; a singular resemblance between the early pottery from these tombs and contemporary Attic wares has been remarked in a recent study, where it is suggested that the original settlers at Asarlık may have come from Athens.<sup>141</sup>

#### BOZDAĞ.

This site, also called Erenmezarlık, crowns a mastoid hill, fairly steep on all sides and rising to perhaps 250 m., which forms the southernmost peak of the chain of bare hills behind Myndus. It commands the coastal plain of Karatoprak and an extensive view inland. On the summit are the foundations of a tower c. 10.5 m. square, of irregular masonry roughly squared at the corners with a wall thickness of 0.90 m.;<sup>142</sup> inside this foundation sits a Turkish burial enclosure. Around the hilltop runs an irregular ring wall in loose polygonal or dry rubble enclosing an area not more than c. 80 m. across. We observed no sure trace of an outer circuit; but sherds are abundant for some distance down the hillside, and thus attest considerable occupation, which can be assigned to both prehistoric and classical times. The prehistoric is rough brown handmade ware with straw marks, the dominant form being apparently a jar with vertical handles of almost circular section;<sup>143</sup> we also picked up blades and flakes of obsidian, and a bit of a core. The wheelmade pottery was mostly indeterminate, but included a plain conical foot perhaps of Protogeometric form, some black glazed kylix fragments, one being of a stemmed cup with poor glaze and a reserved circle in the centre of the bowl, and a fragment of a bolsal dated by Mr. Corbett in the first quarter of the fourth century; also the socketed bronze arrowhead PLATE 14 (b) 8. We noted nothing of a later date than the early fourth century B.C.

#### BURGAZ.

NW of the village of Geriş (Gheresi) a high spur runs seaward from the Myndian highland to block the west end of the coastal plain of Yalıkavak. It is articulated by three peaks in line, of which the middle one is crowned by the citadel described and planned by Paton and Myres.<sup>144</sup> Our sketch plan FIG. 6 a depends on a combination of eye and memory. This citadel, about 50 m. long, is surrounded by a wall in coursed masonry, and encloses some fainter wall traces and a small tower built of squared blocks with vertical drafting at the angles (PLATE 15 (a)). Outside the NW corner of the citadel, curiously placed at the foot of the 8-m.-high fortification, stands the tower marked by Paton and Myres, which we noted as being detached from the

<sup>138</sup> Wine amphora fragments, black glazed kylikes, kotylai, and bolsals, etc., R.F. fragment PLATE 14 (b) 2.

<sup>139</sup> Newton II 580 ff.

<sup>140</sup> JHS VIII 67 ff., 454 ff.; XVI 243 ff.

<sup>141</sup> Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 218 ff. For the gold and bronze equipment from these tombs see *BMC Bronzes* 8, *BMC Jewellery* 100 f.

<sup>142</sup> Paton and Myres, JHS XVI 204, noted this tower (at their sketching station 'A').

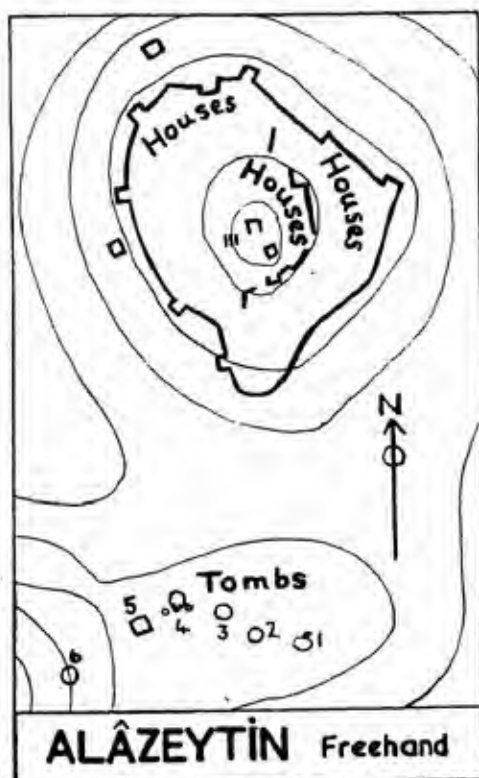
<sup>143</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 204, 264.

<sup>144</sup> JHS XVI 206, fig. 7. It was visited by the Italian cruise, *Ann.* IV-V 363 f.

upper circuit. It seems certain, as Paton and Myres surmised, that the short wall-stretches in rough polygonal down below towards the saddle on the north belong to an outer circuit.<sup>145</sup> We traced the course of this circuit for a considerable distance, but were prevented by impenetrable scrub and cliffs from ascertaining whether it formed a ring round the citadel, or whether it linked on to the sides of the citadel, which will thus have formed the south apex of the whole perimeter. We guessed the length of the whole as 200–250 m.; the ground is steep, and rises to a jagged pinnacle in the middle of the lower perimeter. There is a sloping shelf traversing the north side of this perimeter, which we regarded as an ancient road leading from a gate



(a)



(b)

FIG. 6.—ROUGH PLANS OF BURGAZ AND ALÂZEYTÎN.

at the NW extremity of the circuit by the saddle. There are some coarse sherds and tiles, perhaps of late Greek date, and some wall traces in heavy rubble masonry at the other saddle to the south of the citadel, and small unfluted column shafts in use as roof rollers in the village of Geriş.<sup>146</sup> But on and around the citadel itself, where Paton also noted 'many fragments of glazed pottery, black and red',<sup>147</sup> we found only archaic and classical wares, with a few coarse sherds possibly of prehistoric handmade vases.<sup>148</sup> The archaic included a number of fragments with glaze stripes on both slipped and plain ground (PLATE 14 (b) 13–15) and pieces

<sup>145</sup> A photograph *JHS* XVI, pl. 9, 1.

<sup>146</sup> The inscription no. 55 was also found at Geriş.

<sup>147</sup> *JHS* VIII 79.

<sup>148</sup> These are grey throughout, or tend to grey in the core; the shapes seem to be jars with vertical handles (as at Bozdağ, p. 118) and a bowl with incurving rim.



from the shoulder of sixth-century hydrias or oenochoes with horizontal (PLATE 14 (b) 10) and vertical (PLATE 14 (b) 11) wavy line decoration; these archaic wares have an Ionic complexion. The classical pottery is mainly black glazed and rich in fragments of fifth-century kylikes and other cups; one or two scraps seem to come from cup-kotylai, and should therefore date about the first half of the fourth century. Paton found what sounds like a scrap of R.F. in the handsome chamber tumulus on the peak to the north of this site.<sup>149</sup> Other chamber tumuli are recorded in the vicinity of Burgaz by Paton and Myres,<sup>150</sup> and tomb enclosures to the SW.<sup>151</sup>

# GÜRICE.

The village of Gürice is situated on the watershed dividing the valleys of Müsgebi and Akçaalan. Paton and Myres noted a tower on the summit of a conical hill behind the vil-

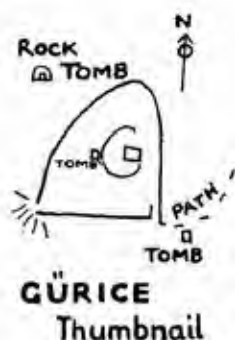
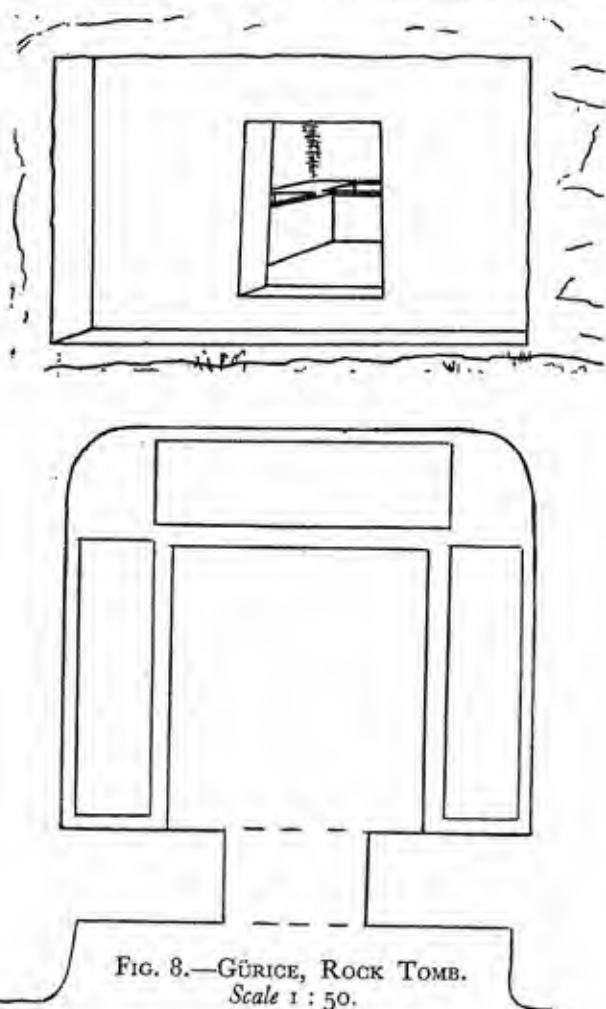


FIG. 7.—MEMORY SKETCH OF GÜRICE.



lage; <sup>152</sup> it is nearly 12 m. square, of good ashlar masonry with vertical drafting at the corners, and stands to a height of c. 3 m. A shelf below this on the west and SW seems to have been enclosed by a wall of dry rubble masonry, and traces of buildings are to be seen here. An

<sup>149</sup> JHS VIII 81.

<sup>150</sup> JHS XVI 206 f.

<sup>151</sup> JHS VIII 78.

<sup>152</sup> JHS XVI 203.

outer circuit is formed by a wall of medium-sized dry rubble masonry; it was carried out to a rocky bastion at the SW corner, and had a tower in coursed masonry on the west side. The gate was at the SE corner. There is a distinct shelf on the south side of the enclosed area with traces of buildings, one with a rounded corner. The rest of the circuit forms a continuous curve, and the greatest length of the perimeter might be 150 m.; the thumbnail sketch FIG. 7 has no pretension to accuracy, but gives the basic form of the defensive system as we understood it.<sup>153</sup> There was no late pottery on the site; we picked up a scrap of a R.F. cup (PLATE 14 (b) 5) and a fair number of fragments of good black glazed ware including a fifth-century kylix rim; and the latest dateable fragment came from a pneumatic rim of a cup-kantharos and is dated by Mr. Corbett in the second quarter of the fourth century. There is a rock-cut tomb chamber inside the circuit, a broken-down vaulted chamber tomb outside the gate, and a fine rock tomb below the circuit on the NW. This last tomb (FIG. 8, PLATE 17 (d)) belongs to a class not noticed hitherto in this region of Caria, which seems to be of earlier date than the rock tombs with cubicles (*cf.* p. 167); three sarcophagi are cut in the native rock against the sides and back of the chamber, whose internal measurements are 2.60 × 3.10 m., with a height of c. 1.75 m.; the ledges at the two inner corners are not cut out square; the walls curve over to the ceiling to give the effect of a false vault, perhaps influenced by the vaults of Lelegian stone-roofed buildings. Paton and Myres also noted a simple rock tomb at the roadside on the top of the pass.<sup>154</sup>

#### GÖL.

The site lines the edge of an escarpment separated by a deep valley from the Karadağ on the south; the ground falls in cliffs on this side, while to the NE the hillside inclines steadily down to the sea at Türkbükü and Göl harbour. The site was briefly described by Paton and Myres, and we give a measured plan (FIG. 9).<sup>155</sup> On the highest point of the crest is a tower in ashlar masonry with vertically drafted angles, which forms the apex of a small inner perimeter lying under it on the east and enclosing a complex of buildings. Other substantial buildings stood on two successive rocky shelves below the tower on the south. To the NW of the tower, but separated from it by a lane-like depression in the rock, stretches an elevated tongue of rock scaled on the north side by a hewn staircase; near the foot of this stair is a group of cisterns. To the NW this tongue broadens out, and the crest is crowned by the foundations of buildings; the extremity of the crest carries a second tower. The site, which is about 300 m. long, is enclosed by a continuous outer circuit, with its main gate apparently on the north side and with occasional jogs and towers; the circuit wall is 1.50 m. thick on the north, but seems to be as little as 0.70 m. at the east corner, and is built in dry rubble or polygonal masonry with a tendency to courses (a fine stretch at the west end, PLATE 17 (c)). House foundations can be seen all over the perimeter; at points they seem to be backed onto the circuit wall, as also at Gökçeler (p. 124) and Alâzeytin (p. 125). There are rock tombs, which we did not have time to examine, in the cliff near the west end.<sup>156</sup> We noted one or two bits of Roman tile and a late amphora sherd on the site. Otherwise the surface pottery seems again principally of the classical era, with amphora sherds and fine black glaze fragments which include fifth-century

<sup>153</sup> It was drawn from memory after we had left the site in a thunderstorm.

<sup>154</sup> *JHS* XVI 203.

<sup>155</sup> *JHS* XIV 376 ff., with drawings figs. 2-3. The citadel on the summit was also seen by the Italian cruise, *Ann.* IV-V 365, fig. 23. Our plan (FIG. 9) was laid out to scale, with intersections in the SE parts only and traverse for the rest of the circuit; an intersection on a very narrow base, which showed the site as distinctly broader in the middle part north of the tower, has been disregarded in our plan.

<sup>156</sup> *JHS* XIV 376. Guidi, *Ann.* IV-V 365, remarked Christian paintings in one.

kylix and cup rims, pieces of bolsals and bowls, and fragments of bowl rims and heavy cup-kotylai of the first half of the fourth century. We also picked up a number of early fragments, including an archaic amphora rim, a fragment of a glazed tankard, perhaps of the Geometric era, a scrap with Geometric bands of glaze (PLATE 14 (b) 7), a piece of a sixth-century kylix

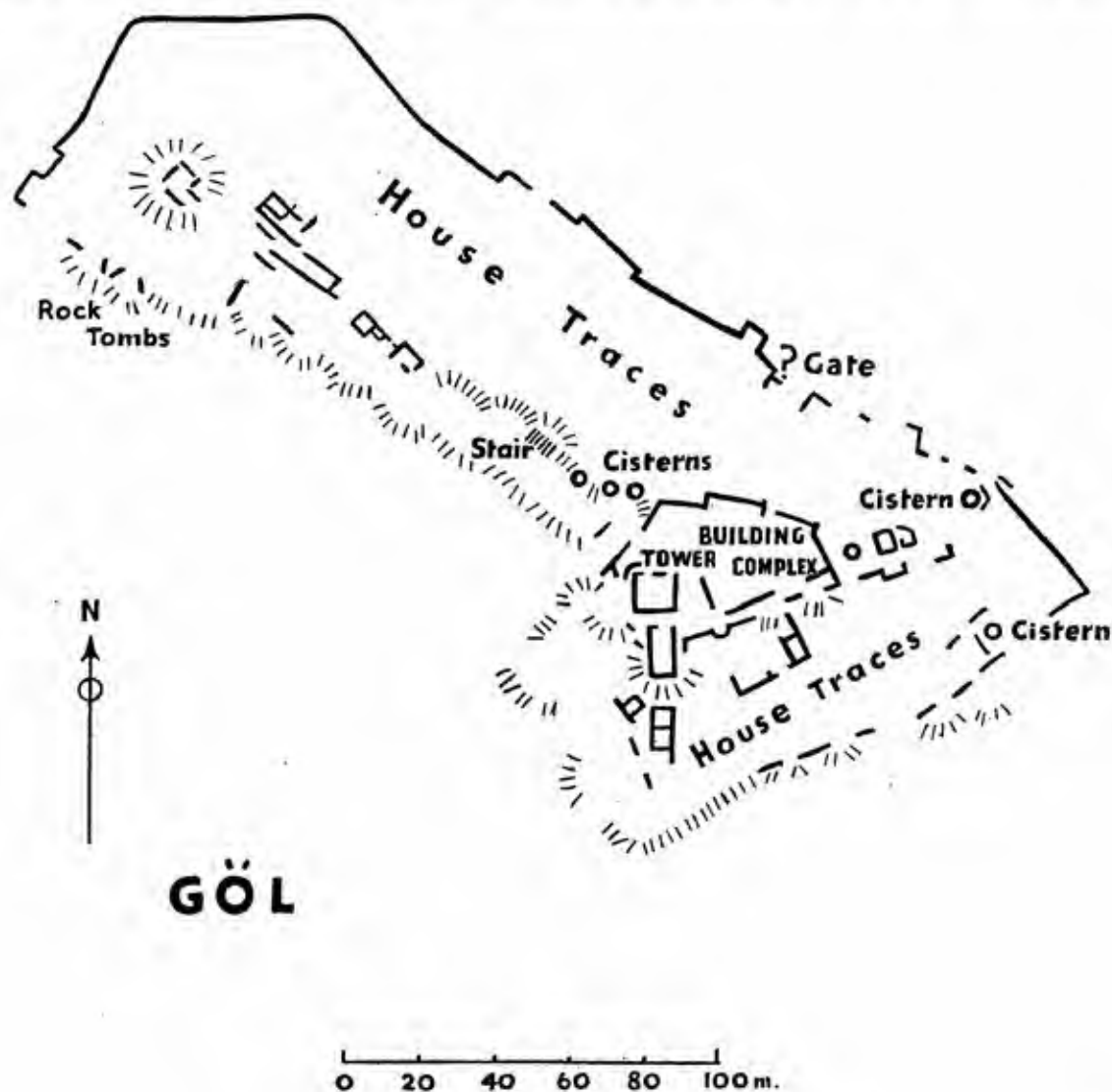


FIG. 9.—PLAN OF GÖL.

stem, a scrap from the lip of an Ionic cup of *c.* 600 B.C. with polychrome stripes on the shoulder and interior of the lip (PLATE 14 (b) 6), and a single chip of obsidian. The pottery here not only indicates early occupation, but seems also to show more contact with the archaic Greek world than on most of these sites. The relative abundance of classical pottery on the surface leaves no doubt that the habitations on the site belong to the classical era.

## KARADAĞ.

At the head of the pass that leads from Göl southwards on the way to Bodrum there is a ruined church, built (according to Paton and Myres) upon the ruins of a Carian or Hellenic building.<sup>157</sup> Adjoining the ruin are a vaulted cistern and wall traces, apparently contemporary with the church. A stone's throw to the east is the foundation of a tower in squared masonry with vertical drafting at the angles, and beside it lie many squared blocks and a badly weathered unfluted column shaft. On a crest a minute or two to the south are the remains of a small fortified perimeter containing traces of buildings and of a large tower on the highest point. It was at the ruined church that Paton and Myres located the Telmessian sanctuary of Apollo (p. 154).

The situation is shown in the admirable sketch which accompanies their description of the sites here.<sup>158</sup> On the shoulder of the mountain above the pass are two considerable settlements facing each other across a valley head a few hundred metres broad, with a small compound tumulus on the ridge above. The more northerly settlement site is about 200 m. long and very narrow, being bounded by a bow-shaped perimeter of dry rubble masonry on the south side (PLATE 15 (c)) and a line of cliffs on the north, which forms, so to speak, the string of the bow. Inside the circuit are scattered remains of perhaps three dozen houses. The masonry is of hard limestone, which splits into longish blocks; the houses (as we noted on other Lelegian sites also) are more carefully constructed than the circuit wall, with a tendency towards squared work. At the east end of the crest, inside an inner perimeter, is the foundation of a well-constructed oblong building of c. 16 × 7 m. This site overlooks the valley of Göl far below; Paton and Myres estimated the altitude at 1800 ft. The second settlement, to the south, has a rounder perimeter which encloses a summit slightly higher than the first. The outer wall is likewise of dry rubble masonry, heavier in places, and in general of a primitive appearance. The area within the circuit is built up with sturdily constructed houses laid on differing axes with walls generally in coursed masonry. Many of the houses consisted of a single room in plan, with sometimes, apparently, an upper storey; others were formed of a complex of rooms. We reckoned that there were hardly less than a hundred rooms in the ground plan of this settlement. The walls often stand two or three metres high, and with a little clearing the plans of these habitations could be recovered more or less complete. Surface pottery is scarce. On the more northerly site we picked up some fragments of wine amphorae of c. fifth-century date and undistinguished scraps of black glaze; on the second site, a single scrap of black glaze and two striped fragments (one, PLATE 14 (b) 12, from a closed vase). There was no sign of occupation of Hellenistic or Roman date. Since the valley on the north must have belonged to the settlement at Göl, this town on the Karadağ can hardly have had access to the sea; and the land around is unmitigated mountainside.

## GÖKÇELER.

The site lies at the head of a pass about an hour and a half above Bodrum, and looks down a ravine to the northern sea. Around the site some stony fields support a handful of cottagers; the inhabitants of the small village of Çirkan spend the summer in their *yayla* in the plain of Bitez. Paton and Myres have mentioned the citadel,<sup>159</sup> and the Italian mission has described it.<sup>160</sup> This citadel, c. 160 m. long, crowns a detached hillock (plan, FIG. 10).<sup>161</sup> It is supported

<sup>157</sup> JHS XIV 373. We noted ancient blocks built into the walls, but could not recognise any *in situ*.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid. 374, fig. 1.

<sup>160</sup> Ann. IV-V 425 ff., with a sketch plan of the citadel fig. 30.

<sup>161</sup> The plan of the citadel (which is overgrown with pinewood) is drawn mainly freehand; the lower circuit was plotted in by traverse and intersection on an insecure basis.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid. VIII 81; XVI 202, with drawings figs. 4-5.



by a high wall in irregular masonry, in places with quite small stones; the thickness of the wall varies between 1.75 and 1.50 m. There are squared masonry towers and bastions on the south side, but the north and west faces show the sweeping curves characteristic of Lelegian fortifications. The main entrance is by a gate 2.50 m. wide at the west end; there is also a postern 0.60 m. wide, with a flat lintel slab (not, as Maiuri indicates, arched) in the north side, and possibly entrances on the south side. Traces of buildings can be seen among the trees, and houses seem to have been regularly backed against the citadel wall. The ground rises steadily from the west gate to the east end, where an enclosure 36.30 m. long is walled off. The approach

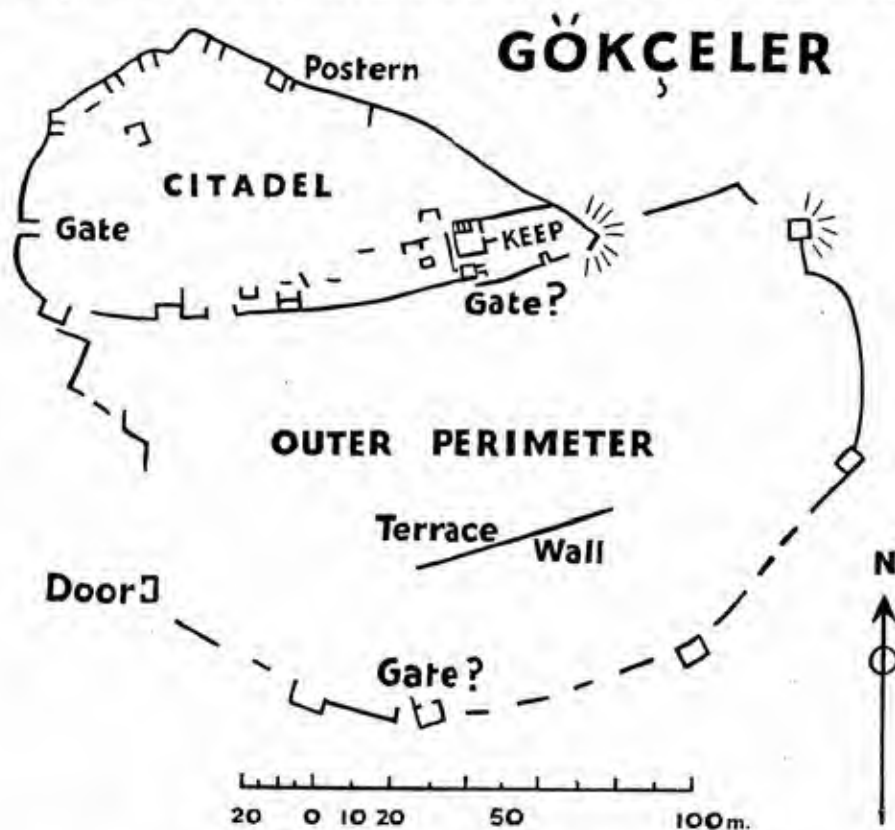


FIG. 10.—PLAN OF GÖKÇELER.

to this keep is by a gateway 2.50 m. wide, reached from the west by a transverse ramp of the same width; it is defended by a tower in coursed masonry, with a door in the east side and a staircase in the corner. On the east and south of the citadel we traced an outer perimeter wall descending to the saddle. It is 1.63 m. thick, and is constructed in heavyish dry rubble masonry roughly coursed on the curtain with better coursed long blocks on the faces of the towers. We found little significant pottery on the citadel, save for a fragment of R.F. with a fugitive trace of drapery. Immediately below the citadel on the SW, in the trough where Paton and Myres located the temple of Athena,<sup>162</sup> there are some building traces and tiles and sherds of Hellenistic-Roman date; and two bucranium altars, evidently of Roman date, are reported from the vicinity of the site.<sup>163</sup> We accept Paton and Myres' identification of this site as Pedasa, and note

<sup>162</sup> *JHS* XVI 216.

<sup>163</sup> *JHS* VIII 81 f. We also heard of one from a cottager here.

here that occupation in Hellenistic times is consistent with the assumption that it was garrisoned by Philip V in 201 B.C. (p. 151).

The ridges on the south and SE are studded with chamber tumuli, in which the corbel-vaulted chamber, with the dromos, was surrounded by a ring wall and covered with a loose pile of stones; some examples are described and illustrated by Maiuri.<sup>164</sup> The Italians seem to have excavated some tombs and claim to have discovered 'abundant local Geometric pottery'.<sup>165</sup> In all probability this belongs to the early Greek period, since a number of early archaic fragments which we gathered on the surface of one of the southern tumuli (PLATE 13 (e) 1-3, 6) must be dated not later than the seventh century.<sup>166</sup> Across the valley on the NE Paton and Myres noted compound tumuli and a large circular enclosure.<sup>167</sup>

#### ALÂZEYİN.

The site lies about two hours from that of Theangela and three and a half or four hours east of Halicarnassus. It sits on a small rounded hill which overlooks a valley on either side. Paton and Myres estimated its altitude as nearly a thousand feet. They have given a brief description of the site and buildings, with photographs;<sup>168</sup> and Maiuri also describes it with good photographs and some drawings of buildings.<sup>169</sup> Our sketch plan FIG. 6 b was drawn freehand and in haste, and cannot be relied on for more than a general idea of the layout. The length of the site is probably under 200 m. The circuit is in loose rubble masonry, built of a local stone which tends to split into narrow blocks; the towers which punctuate the western part of the circuit are in irregular coursed masonry. There was probably a gate at the north end. Within the walls the ground is densely built over, and isolated houses are found outside the perimeter. The houses are generally well built with shallow courses of local stone; here, as at Göl and the Karadağ, they merit a more detailed investigation. On the east side of the summit a line of solidly built houses seems to mark off an upper terrace, but we could not ascertain whether an inner perimeter was in fact formed. There are traces of a well-constructed *krepis* of three or four steps on the west edge of the crest, and on top the foundation of a building or tower 7 m. broad and at least 11 m. long, with vertical drafting at the corner. The sparse surface pottery includes some bits of late tile and odd sherds apparently of late date, but the main occupation seems to have been of archaic and classical times. Myres picked up some early archaic,<sup>170</sup> and we found the odd scrap of striped ware. The classical wares include amphora lips of fifth-century types, badly worn scraps of black glaze, and a fragment from the rim of a R.F. bell krater (PLATE 14 (b) 9). Paton and Myres also discovered a plain voluted capital of archaic appearance.<sup>171</sup>

At no more than five minutes' walk from the town site, on a lower ridge to the south, we noted a series of buildings, of which six are marked on the sketch plan FIG. 6 b. They are of similar masonry to the house walls in the town. Two of these (nos. 3 and 6) appear to be 'compound tumuli' of the type made familiar by Paton and Myres.<sup>172</sup> Of no. 3 little now

<sup>164</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 427 ff., figs. 32-34; cf. Maiuri, *Parola del Passato* III (1948), 13 ff.; *JHS* XVI 247, fig. 22.

<sup>165</sup> Levi, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* IV 177, n. 73; bronze fibulae and arms are mentioned among the few fragments of grave furniture recovered, *Clara Rhodos* I 124.

<sup>166</sup> PLATE 13 (e) 1, fragment of large coarse vase with spiral or cable pattern on a cream slip; 2, fragment of slipped vase with stripes; 3, fragment of body with springing of belly handle, wavy line in glaze; 6, fragment of closed vase with curvilinear decoration: also fragments of skyphoi, one being of the Ionic Late Geometric form with nicked rim.

<sup>167</sup> *JHS* XVI 249 ff., figs. 26-30; the tumulus, figs. 26-28, is described and illustrated by Maiuri, *Ann.* IV-V 429 ff., figs. 35-38, who gives the diameter as 22 m. See below, pp. 166 f.

<sup>168</sup> *JHS* XVI 199 f., pl. 9, 3-6.

<sup>169</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 432 ff., figs. 39-46.

<sup>170</sup> Two fragments with painted concentric circles widely spaced, probably of the eighth or seventh century, in the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>171</sup> *JHS* XVI 200, fig. 2.

<sup>172</sup> *JHS* XVI 248 ff.; below, pp. 166 f.

remains, but it is clear that it consisted of a circular area of c. 14.60 m. diameter enclosed by an eccentric ring like FIG. 12; the outlines of two chambers in the thickness of the wall can still be traced—one narrow and wedge-shaped, the other broader and with a doorway on the inner face of the circle. No. 6 had at least two chambers in the thickness of the wall communicating with the interior by doorways. No. 4 consists of an irregular ring wall 2 m. thick, with a

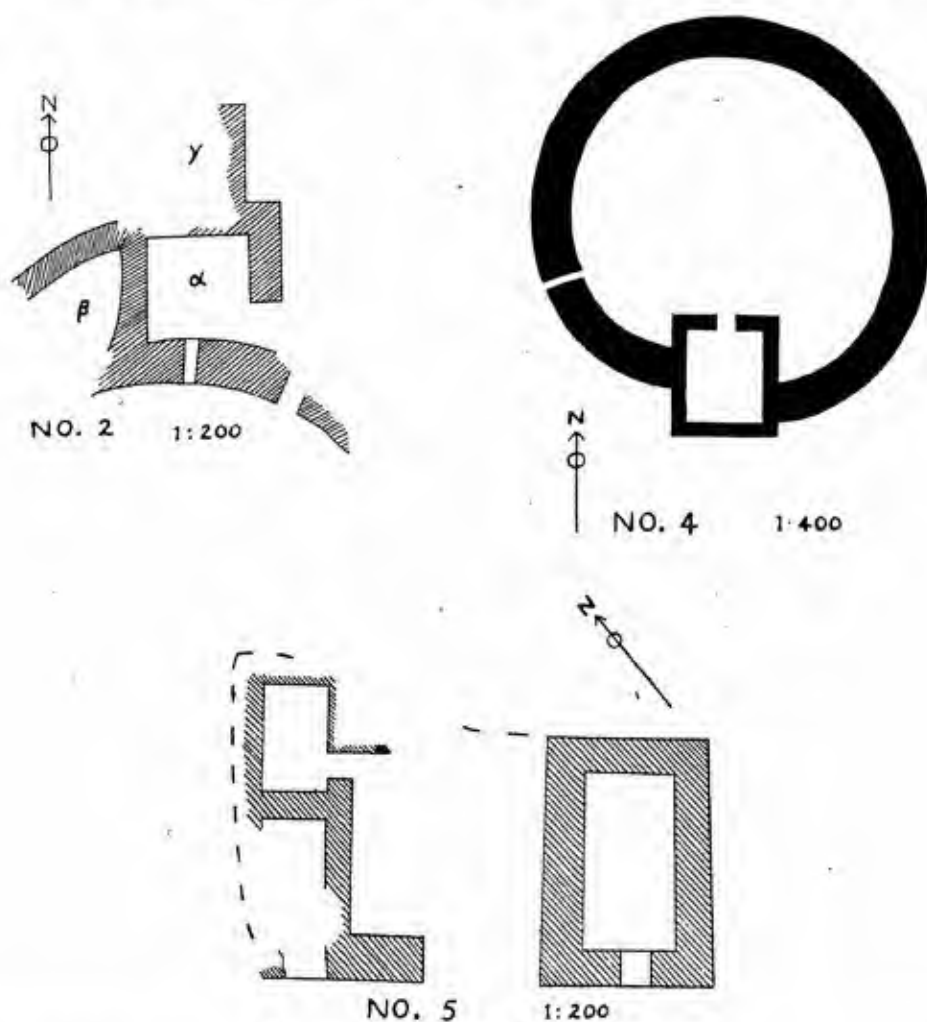


FIG. 11.—ALÂZEYTİN, BUILT TOMBS.

'diameter' of 16.50–18 m., which is interrupted by a rectangular building measuring 6.20 × 5.40 m. (FIG. 11). The ring is entered by a doorway only 0.40 m. wide, and the rectangular building opens by a doorway 1.15 m. wide on to the inner court. The inner face of the ring wall has the inward curve characteristic of the 'compound tumuli',<sup>173</sup> and there can be little doubt that this construction belongs to the same class of monuments. There are traces of a construction a few metres to the east, which may have been attached to the ring, and of a little domed

<sup>173</sup> Cf. *JHS* XVI 251, fig. 28.

tholos on the SW. The position of this monument on the crest of the ridge is a conspicuous one. No. 1 appears to be of a similar form, with a ring 2 m. thick and an inner diameter of 13.40 m.; here a doorway in the inner face of the ring gives access to a rectangular building which projects outwards from the ring; the building was c. 6 m. deep and is of uncertain width. No. 2 appears to combine elements of the two types (FIG. 11), the two exposed chambers ( $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ ) being corbel-vaulted and the narrower one ( $\beta$ ) being immured in the style of the eccentric 'compound tumuli', while the square one ( $\alpha$ ) stood free on its east face. The chamber  $\alpha$  is approximately square with a 2.80-m. side and a doorway 1.03 m. wide; it had a window 0.33 m. broad facing on to the circular court. The ring was c. 12.50 m. diameter on the inside; and the ring wall, slightly over 1 m. thick, was perforated by a door 0.61 m. wide a little to the east of the window. Behind the chamber  $\alpha$  there seems to have been another room ( $\gamma$ ) which is still covered over; its outline is only partly visible, and there is no trace of a door giving access to it. No. 5 is a more or less rectangular complex with a front of about 12 m. facing SW. It consists of two buildings perhaps joined by a wall at the back, the two-room one being partly built against the rocky slope on the north and NW; one jamb of the outer door here is cut in the rock. The ground plan is shown on FIG. 11; the two-room building is ruined, and the plan is not fully reliable. The free-standing single room, on the other hand, is preserved intact; it measures 4.80  $\times$  2.40 m. in the interior, and has a corbelled vault of Lelegian type, which springs from all four sides and is closed at the top by flat slabs. There are traces of further single-room and complex buildings scattered about the ridge, some showing evidence of corbelled vaults. We picked up some fragments of late tiles, a Hellenistic two-reed amphora handle, and a black glazed kantharos stem not earlier than the middle of the fourth century.

Apart from this group of monuments, Alâzeytin appears to have no cemeteries close at hand. Paton and Myres conjectured that the tombs by the roadside several kilometres to the north might be associated with this site;<sup>174</sup> and Maiuri noted a 'compound tumulus' between Alâzeytin and the sea.<sup>175</sup> Paton and Myres also refer to a sanctuary near Alâzeytin which yielded early terracottas.<sup>176</sup>

The recognition of the eight sites described in this section as Lelegian town sites rests on a number of factors. The ancient city of Terméra is located with certainty at Asarlık; and it is almost equally certain from the sudden development of Myndus in the mid-fourth century and from the part played by Myndus in the fighting in 334 B.C. (p. 110), that Terméra was one of the Lelegian towns that had been disbanded by Mausolus. The abundance of surface pottery of the fifth and early fourth centuries at Asarlık not only confirms this assumption but offers a valuable criterion for the recognition of the synoecised sites. Asarlık offers two other valuable criteria. One is the hilltop situation with a citadel in the dominating position and an outer circuit lower down on the slopes. The other is the presence of chamber tumuli and early tomb complexes in the vicinity of the town site. By these criteria the sites at Burgaz, Gürice, Gökçeler, and Alâzeytin can at once be recognised as Lelegian town sites. With the inclusion of these we can add to the criteria the presence within some of our circuits of ruins of closely packed stone-built houses, in the style of architecture which we recognise as Lelegian, and normally in association with pottery of pre-synoecism date; and we can thus proceed to add the Karadağ and Göl sites to the list. The site at Bozdağ lacks any trace of a cemetery, and seems smaller

<sup>174</sup> *JHS* XVI 198 ff.

<sup>175</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 439 f., fig. 47. See p. 166.

<sup>176</sup> *JHS* XVI 200. It appears from letters shown us by Sir John Myres that Paton could not definitely establish the position of this sanctuary but ascertained from a 'retentive old dyer' at Syme that it was located near Alâzeytin (apparently to the exclusion of Theangela); it is apparently this site that is referred to in *BMC Terracottas* 92, where pieces similar to the sixth-century horseman B 118 (*cf.* p. 94, n. 58) are mentioned.



than any of the town sites, save perhaps that at Gürice; but its situation is characteristic, and the pottery offers decisive evidence that the site was abandoned in the fourth century B.C. There is one other peculiarity that binds these sites together: on all save Asarlık and Gökçeler (where the town was dominated by a small 'keep') a tower in more or less squared masonry with drafted angles seems to have been deliberately superimposed on the citadel; the significance of these towers is considered below (p. 168). There is no other site known to us on the peninsula that could rank as a Lelegian town site, and the fortified positions that we have visited farther to the east—at Sıralık, Kişebükü, and Gökbel (pp. 131 f., 134 f.)—do not bear the stamp of Lelegian settlement.

#### INSCRIPTIONS.

We have discovered no inscriptions of the Lelegian towns.

#### OTHER SITES AND REMAINS

Less extensive ancient remains have been noted or are to be seen at a large number of other points on the peninsula and the islands that lie close inshore. We give a brief summary of the known sites in this section, together with a note of the sites that we have examined as far east as Sıralık on the north coast and Gökbel on the south. Paton and Myres have remarked on old roads through the peninsula.<sup>177</sup>

#### THE TERMERIAN PROMONTORY.

The barren rocky island of *Çatallaradası*<sup>178</sup> opposite Karatoprak had a cottage or two before the Greeks left Asia Minor, but is now deserted; it has two narrow isthmuses with faint traces of ancient occupation and the foundations of an ancient tower approached by a path above the southern isthmus. The sherds are mainly Hellenistic, but go back into the fourth, if not the fifth, century. The island of *Pserimos* lies out to sea, and would not require mention here had it not also been named in recent years as a possible location for the Carian town of Caryanda. It shields the passage between Kos and Kalymnos, and has an underfed population of three hundred; it is attached for administrative purposes to Kalymnos, and was probably included in the *Καλύδναι* of Homer *Il.* II 677 (cf. Strabo X 489). There are faint traces of Roman and early Christian occupation near the modern anchorage, and the corner of a dry rubble building, presumably a watch tower, stands on a peak facing Kos; but there is no indication of earlier occupation or of a Carian hill settlement. The late inscription noted by Paton, which contained the phrase *ἐν Ψηρίμῳ*, almost certainly gave the proper name of this insignificant island.<sup>179</sup> At *Kadıkalesi*, just south of Myndus, there are Hellenistic sherds on the ground and the remains of a mediaeval fortification faced with squared greenstone blocks, which were perhaps brought from the site of Myndus.<sup>180</sup> At *Karatoprak* and *Akçaalan* no building traces have been noted, but inscriptions have been found in both places (p. 137, nos. 48-9).<sup>180a</sup> At *Beleniçi*, twenty minutes' walk SSE of Akçaalan, there are rock tombs in a valley descending from the mountain-side; one of these, which we examined, has three sarcophagi cut in the rock like that at Gürice (FIG. 8), and has the same internal measurement of 2.60 m.

<sup>177</sup> *JHS* XVI 201.

<sup>178</sup> Or Karabağlar, cf. *ATL* I 498.

<sup>179</sup> *BCH* XII 282 f. Cf. the *Pserima* of Pliny *NH* V 134; for mediaeval forms of the name see Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie v. Kleinasien* 22. According to Segre, *Ann.* XXII-XXIII 219 f., Coan and Mausolan coins have been unearthed in the fields.

<sup>180</sup> Newton, *Halicarnassus* II 579.

<sup>180a</sup> The inscriptions of Karatoprak are related by Petrarca to the cult of Artemis Myndia (*Rend. Lincei* XII (1936), 260).

from front to back, but is only 2.45 m. wide (the ends of the middle sarcophagus overlapping those on the side); its ceiling is slightly vaulted, as at Gürice, but there are also beam sockets in the walls and cuttings for a door-frame in the jambs. These tombs may be outliers of the Asarlık cemeteries. About ten minutes' walk south of *İslamhaneleri* there is another such tomb, with traces of three sarcophagi and internal measurements of 2.60 × 3.20 m., and groups of two and three parallel gallery tombs cut in the rock; <sup>181</sup> a little to the south of these tombs, at Kuyucak, we noted scattered marbles from a Byzantine church, including the large inscribed mullion (p. 137, no. 50). The route from Myndus to Halicarnassus descends at Dereköy into a fruitful valley, from which it rises to cross the main watershed at Gürice. On rising ground at the roadside one kilometre east of *Dereköy* there are marble architectural pieces, both late classical and early Christian, and a fragment of a monumental dedication (p. 138, no. 52); they may perhaps indicate the position of a sanctuary. A badly damaged marble statue of a lion in Late Greek style and an inscribed stele (p. 137, no. 51), now at the school in the village, are also said to have been found in this place. About 2 km. south of Karatoprak there are some traces of a small fort with good walling just above the sea at *Erentepesi*, with tiles and amphora fragments of late date; and in the seaward face of the hillock is a rock-cut galleried tomb with a side bench. Paton and Myres reported some rough house or tomb platforms on the peak inland <sup>182</sup> and a farm site east towards Asarlık. <sup>183</sup> On the beach at the SW tip of the Termerian promontory there are late building traces and an inscribed bucranium altar (p. 137, no. 47). At *Aspat* there is a full stream but little land. The commanding conical hill of *Çiftkalesi* there has a mediaeval circuit wall and keep, with traces of an earlier Christian monastery of the Virgin; <sup>184</sup> and ancient architectural pieces are built into the walls. Around the north and west foot of the hill are rock-cut tombs and the ruins of a village already deserted in 1837. <sup>185</sup> The village of *Bağla* is almost deserted; there are squared blocks with a slightly cushioned face and odd marbles among the houses, and an inscription in Athens appears to have come from there (p. 136, no. 46).

#### CENTRAL PART OF PENINSULA.

At *Yalı Cuma* in the valley bottom there are traces of habitation of Roman times and the remains of a Christian building, and we copied two late funerary inscriptions (p. 136, nos. 44-5); a little distance inland there are rock-cut tombs. The plain of *Müşgebi* offers singularly few antiquities. The village itself contains numerous Mausoleum greenstone blocks and some marbles, but they seem to have been brought from Halicarnassus. <sup>186</sup> There are late classical and Christian remains c. 1 km. to the west at *Hacı İbrahimtepesi*, which may be the site of the large Byzantine church mentioned by Paton and Myres. <sup>187</sup> Near the head of the valley, by a cottage at *Beyşınar*, we noted a patch of geometrical mosaic in pink, grey, and white, ancient blocks and a late Corinthian anta-capital, an inscribed Hellenistic tombstone (p. 138, no. 53), the inscribed column shaft pp. 138 f., no. 54, and a white marble roundel with an ivy-wreathed satyr's head in relief (PLATE 13 (a)). <sup>188</sup> On the east of the valley here a small fortification in

<sup>181</sup> These have the form of simple boxes open at one end; one which we measured was 0.85 m. broad, 0.75 m. high, and 2.20 m. from front to back.

<sup>182</sup> *JHS* XVI 204, Hill 'F'.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.* 262.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Newton II 588 f.; *BCH* XIV 120. This site, as L. Robert has remarked (*Études épigr. et phil.* 165 f.), is probably that of the important mediaeval fortress of Strobilos near Myndus (Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie v. Kleinasien im Mittelalter* 38 f.); the name Strobilos implies a conical hill, and St. Willibald in the eighth century after Christ described this Strobilos as a city on or at a high mountain (T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* 20 and 60). For the Christian inscriptions of Çiftkalesi see Grégoire, *Inscr. chrét.* nos. 232 f.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor* II 38; Newton, *loc. cit.*

<sup>186</sup> Cf. *JHS* XVI 203.

<sup>187</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>188</sup> H. 0.42; breadth 0.38; thickness in centre 0.12 m.; the back is roughly worked off. It seems too rough for an osculum.

heavy rough masonry hedges the sharp crest of the *Türkmen Dağ*; there is little sign of occupation there, but odd wall traces and abundant late pottery and Roman tile fragments are to be seen at the north foot of the ridge towards Belen. At *Bitez* there are occasional ancient blocks and fragments of tile, and an inscribed base of a funerary altar (p. 136, no. 43); worked stones and a pedestal of an altar dedicated to Dionysus (p. 135, no. 42) have recently come to light in a garden in the village. There are some other remains of late antiquity in the valley to the south. Paton and Myres also noted forts on the headland south of *Bitez* and on a peak of the barren hills between *Bitez* and *Müşgebi*; <sup>189</sup> of the latter we could see nothing more than a short stretch of heavy walling on the summit.

#### NORTH COAST OF PENINSULA.

The route northwards from *Myndus* leads past a succession of little bays. At *Koyunbaba* we noted a few fragments of late amphorae and tiles, and the quarries marked by Paton and Myres at the corners of the cove. The stone appears to be the green granite or ragstone which was extensively used in the fortifications of *Myndus* and the substructures of the Mausoleum. The workings at the south end of the beach and on the slopes above the bay are relatively small (one of the latter *PLATE 17 (a)*), but those at the north end of the bay are of great extent. The quarry here consists of a cutting approximately 200 m. square, with a face up to perhaps 9 m. high, <sup>190</sup> which lies at a stone's throw from the coast, and a long shelf at the water's edge (*PLATE 17 (b)*). The lower shelf has been quarried back so that the water now laps onto it; and one can hardly doubt that it not only provided the original quarry at this point but subsequently served as a wharf for the loading of stone from the great cutting directly above. The quarry faces are scarred by horizontal ledges which give the depth of the untrimmed blocks; the majority of those which we measured ranged between 0.43 and 0.45 m., though deeper (and occasionally shorter) steps are found. <sup>191</sup> West of *Geriş*, by a village which was called *Mandrais*, Paton and Myres remarked an early tomb enclosure <sup>192</sup> and a fortified farm, <sup>193</sup> and a tower or tomb on the high peak behind *Geriş*. <sup>194</sup> There are scattered traces of late classical and Christian occupation along the bay of *Sandıma* around *Yalıkkavak*, and the inscription noted by Newton (II 592) is still to be seen built into a field wall at the isthmus. There are rock tombs in the vicinity. <sup>195</sup> At *Dirmil* a peak above the modern village is crowned by a small fort of irregular outline in a mixture of ashlar and polygonal masonry; a tower in squared masonry forms an integral part of the design. <sup>196</sup> In the shelf against the west face of the tower is a bottle-shaped cistern lined with red plaster; on the south edge of the summit there are building traces and patches of polychrome mosaic, and the tiles and sherds seem to be of a late period. The occupation therefore seems to be post-Mausolan. Paton and Myres remark rock tombs below the village, <sup>197</sup> and we noted occasional marbles there and at *Farılya*. By the road between *Dirmil* and *Farılya* various antiquities of the Roman and Byzantine periods are to be seen in the fields at *Arapmezarlığı*; they include a fragment of a white marble banquet relief with reclining figure, horse's head and amphora, architectural pieces in the Ionic order and the

<sup>189</sup> *JHS XVI* 202, pl. 11 (sketching stations Θ and Υ).

<sup>190</sup> *JHS LXXIII* 125, fig. 12.

<sup>191</sup> Pullan gives the depth of the blocks in the Mausoleum core as one foot (*Halicarnassus II* 183). We did not revisit *Myndus* after seeing these quarries, and have no measurements for the greenstone blocks in the fortifications there; Guidi's figure of 0.45 m. (*Ann. IV-V* 368) applies to a tower with headers and stretchers which may be of a later date than the original system of fortification.

<sup>192</sup> *JHS VIII* 78.

<sup>193</sup> At *Azacık*, *JHS XVI* 206.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.* 207, pl. 11, sketching station 'Q'.

<sup>195</sup> *JHS XVI* 261 f. Newton's inscription has *alpha*, not *mu*, in the first place, and the *sigma* square.

<sup>196</sup> *JHS XVI* 207 f. The plan *ibid.*, fig. 8 is inaccurate in the marking of the north wall; the north face of the tower should according to our notes be shown as forming a right angle with the east face and so creating a bend in the wall here.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. Newton II 592 ff., tombs and perhaps a tower at *Filkecek*.



two inscriptions below (pp. 139 f., nos. 58-9). There are late rock tombs at *Farıyla* bay, and tumuli are reported on the promontory to the west.<sup>198</sup> At *Türkbükü* and *Göl* there are more rock tombs, and there are groups of Christian ruins on the shores of *Göl* bay;<sup>199</sup> about ten minutes' walk inland here we noted a Hellenistic epitaph (p. 140, no. 60). *Konelada* is a rocky, scrub-covered island, now deserted, with a hill at either end. On the summit of the southern one is a church with a nave and two narrow aisles, and paintings in the apse and south aisle (for painted inscriptions see pp. 140 f.); some of the stones built into the church may be ancient. Some 50 m. to the SW of the church is an angle of ancient wall c. 1 m. thick, constructed of good-sized blocks with rubble filling between the faces; the wall can be traced for c. 30 m. in either direction. The pottery on the surface around the hilltop included coarse local ware and mediaeval glazed sherds.<sup>200</sup> We did not examine the steep wooded country between *Göl* and *Torba* bay.<sup>201</sup>

#### EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.

The ancient route from Halicarnassus seems to have forked at the top of the pass at *Yokuşbaşı*, where we noted numerous ancient blocks (perhaps from built tombs of Halicarnassus), three bucranium altars (one inscribed, p. 105, no. 28), a Roman milestone (p. 106, no. 33), and gallery rock tombs in the vicinity. The modern motor route traverses the high ground eastwards to descend into the *Karaova* near *Etrim*. Paton and Myres recognised the line of an ancient road here, flanked by late tombs;<sup>202</sup> on the massif of *Kaplan Dağı* north of the road Paton and Myres also remarked tumuli (and perhaps small forts), and a long line of wall which they convincingly associated with the Pedasian resistance to Harpagus on Mt. Lide (Hdt. I 175).<sup>203</sup> Before the construction of the motor road the principal route from *Bodrum* to *Milâs* is said to have been that which descends from *Yokuşbaşı* to the east side of *Torba* bay and follows the coast to *Güvercinlik*.<sup>204</sup> On the long coastal stretch here a road for wheeled traffic has been engineered two or three metres above the sea; it was embanked by a wall of rubble masonry (in places well over two metres high) on the slope; and it had a consistent width of 5-6 m., though it may occasionally have narrowed to a single lane at awkward points. The road is older than the Turkish pack route, whose *kalderim* often forms a narrow track deep down in the eroded bed of the old roadway; and from the scale of the work and the importance evidently attached to communication between Halicarnassus and *Mylasa* we have little hesitation in ascribing the construction of the road to Mausolus. We noted the traces of a rough perimeter wall, with coursed work at an angle, on a small island at *Zeytinli Kahve*;<sup>205</sup> the island was joined to the land by a short causeway, and a little jetty once offered shelter for a few boats at the isthmus. We found no pottery earlier than Hellenistic, and the settlement here seems to have been very small. The site at *Sıralık* is that to which H. Kiepert assigned *Caryanda*, and Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor allotted the *Uranium* of Pliny (p. 163); it is spread over a blunt peninsula which rises perhaps 40 m. above the sea and commands the coast road. There are considerable remains of late buildings, with sherds of late Roman *sigillata*, and of a Christian

<sup>198</sup> Newton II 595; *JHS* XVI 208 f., 253 f., 262. Another rock tomb on the east side of the bay has a chamber 3.57 × 3.20 m. with single cubicles on the sides and two large cubicles at the back (that on the right, no doubt the owner's, having a niche for an inscription over the door).

<sup>199</sup> Newton II 595 ff.; *JHS* XIV 376 f., XVI 210; *Ann.* IV-V 363, figs. 20-22.

<sup>200</sup> Prof. Haspels has examined samples, and reports that the coarse local ware is ancient (one fragment apparently Hellenistic), while the glazed ware is to be dated between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.

<sup>201</sup> Paton and Myres mark a Byzantine church inland here (*JHS* XVI, pl. 10) and tumuli at *Torba* bay (*ibid.* 254). A mausoleum was noted here, of which we hope to give a photograph in our concluding article on the Carian coast.

<sup>202</sup> *JHS* XVI 198 f.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.* 194 ('compound tumuli' *ibid.* 249, 254).

<sup>204</sup> Cf. Newton II 602, where both routes are remarked; Prokesch v. Osten in 1827 followed the coastal one (*Denkwürdigkeiten* 443 f.). The walking time *Bodrum*-*Milâs* is reckoned a good 12 hours (cf. Ross, *Reisen* IV 38, Newton, II 602, 610).

<sup>205</sup> Admiralty Chart 1546.



church on the summit. At the foot of the slope towards the anchorage on the east we noted the remains of a tower in ashlar masonry with vertically drafted angles; it may have been the corner of a considerable circuit, but dense scrub hampered reconnaissance at this point. The earliest pottery that we found on the site came from glazed ware (and especially half-glazed plates) of middle Hellenistic times. The situation bears no resemblance to those of the Lelegian towns, and the site has none of the characteristics of an early Greek settlement; there is scarcely any land in the immediate vicinity, and habitation now consists of a coastguard station and some seasonal charcoal burners from Bodrum.

*Salihadası* (Tarandos I., Gölcü Ada) is the principal island in the Iasian Gulf; it is now deserted and covered with almost impenetrable scrub. It was visited in 1865 by Biliotti, who noted four cisterns on the small peninsula at the NE extremity and learned of a tower c. 10 m. square in Hellenic masonry on the other side of the island. A visit in August 1953 revealed nothing more on the peninsula, apart from a short stretch of nondescript wall by the water's edge; but on the next hill to the south of the isthmus there are considerable remains. On the summit of this hill an ancient wall forms an enclosure c. 160 m. from north to south; the dense scrub prevented a measurement of the breadth from east to west. The wall is of dry rubble with double facing and filling of small stones; the blocks are for the most part small, but larger at the north corner, where one block measures  $1.18 \times 0.80 \times 0.45$  m.; the thickness is c. 1 m. From this wall others run down the hillside to the south and to the NW. Halfway down the north slope is a stretch of mediaeval wall, and Biliotti notes Byzantine remains near the isthmus. In 1954, armed with bill-hooks, we made a second expedition from the sheltered anchorage in the lee of the N.E. promontory. Numerous rubble walls, apparently from fortifications 1.05–1.30 m. thick as well as from houses, were encountered on the east part of the site; but we were unable to find the remains visited in the preceding year, and so could not accurately gauge the extent of the site, which must, however, have been considerable. The tiles were of the early (c. fourth century) type, some showing traces of red glaze, and the sherds of wine amphorae appear to be of a similar period, Chian and Thasian fragments being noted but none of the later Hellenistic types; no fine pottery was found, the conditions underfoot being unfavourable to the discovering of small sherds.

There are some striking remains of Lelegian architecture at a distance of less than an hour's walk to the SE of Halicarnassus. The two most southerly peaks of the mountain ridge directly above Kumbahçe bear faint traces of walling and terrace revetment;<sup>206</sup> and on the saddle immediately to the north there is an unusually well-preserved 'compound tumulus', which we have named the 'Tomb of Lygdamis'.<sup>207</sup> It has an inner circle c. 12.20 m. in diameter and is up to 17.80 m. on the outer ring (PLATE 16 (d), plan FIG. 12); the stonework is fairly well fitted, the doors are c. 0.70 m. wide and contract towards the top, and all wall faces, save that of the outer ring, have an inward curve. At about a quarter of an hour's walk to the SE, on a low ridge running down towards the sea, is a farmhouse,  $14.75 \times 6.35$  m., built in rather rough squared masonry of longish blocks (FIG. 13, PLATE 16 (e-f)). It consists of two rooms, each with loophole windows (partly closed on the outer face and set at 1.30 m. above the threshold level) in three sides, and a lobby with a solid stone staircase leading up to the roof and a small pantry

<sup>206</sup> The remains here are too slight to correspond to the fortified site remarked by Paton on a hilltop here (JHS XVI 200). This site was discovered by Paton in 1893 after Myres had gone away, but not investigated. In a letter, which Sir John Myres has kindly allowed us to quote, Paton referred to it as a 'mountain fortress on the hill just above Budrum, on the S.W., with walls of seemingly great extent', and in a subsequent letter he spoke of it as 'on the hill above H. Georgios [at Kumbahçe], Boudroum'. We reconnoitred the mountain ridge here without finding any trace of a fortified site other than that mentioned above, but examined a hilltop a few hundred metres to the east of the crest ringed by a rocky escarpment which so closely resembles a fortification that we were certain while approaching it that it was the site noticed by Paton.

<sup>207</sup> For the type see p. 166. The name is for convenience of reference only.

under the landing; <sup>208</sup> there are lockers set in the thickness of the walls, a narrow one (0.30 m. high and set 0.60 m. above the floor) beside the main door, and a larger one 0.70 m. high in a corner of the south room. The main door (PLATE 16 (e)) is 1.13 m. high and 0.70 m. wide; the inner one is 1.54 m. high and 0.90 m. wide (PLATE 16 (f)). The thresholds and lintels are formed of long stretcher blocks, and the lower part of the door jambs of heavy orthostates. There is no sign of door fittings. The floor was presumably of earth. The walls are c. 1.10 m. thick, and rise to a maximum height of 2.40 m. on the exterior. The roof is formed of enormous slabs rising in steps from the edges; in the south room, where it is still nearly complete, it rises



FIG. 12.—TUMULUS EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.

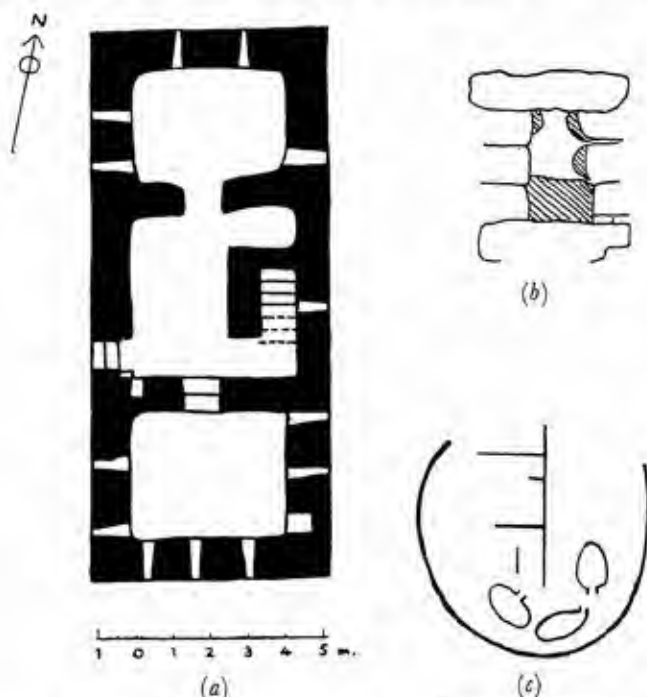


FIG. 13.—FARMHOUSE EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.

(a) *Plan of House* (1:200), (b) *Elevation of Window, interior* (1:50), (c) *Farmyard* (thumbnail sketch).

from the four corners to the crown, the bracketing beginning low down, so that it is not possible for a man to stand erect within half a metre of the walls, while the height in the centre of the room was about three metres. This form of roofing is characteristic of Lelegian buildings, and seems to have been copied on a magnificent scale in the Mausoleum. The plan of the house, with rooms in line and the outer door in a long side, is also normal; <sup>209</sup> it may have been a normal house type in archaic Ionia also. A few metres away on the NE is a corbelled vault 5-6 m. long sunk in the ground; it presumably belongs to a chamber tomb like the archaic

<sup>208</sup> The half closing of the windows is shown by the bonding to belong to the original construction; the windows are mostly c. 0.20 m. wide on the exterior, though varying from 0.17 m. (the stair light) to 0.35 m. (the adjacent window on the north). The top three steps of the staircase (each a single block) are visible, while the lower part of the flight is buried under the collapse of the roof; the risers are 0.20-0.25 m. high, and there is an incline of about 0.05 m. on the tread.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. Alâzeytin, *Ann.* IV-V 435, fig. 32 (the original arrangement of the doors of this house has been altered), Urun (*JHS* XVI 202, fig. 3, main block on north), the house or tomb at Farilya (*JHS* XVI 253, fig. 30), and a building at Etrim (p. 114).

ones of Asarlık and Gökçeler (pp. 118, 125), and suggests a fairly early date for the group of buildings here. A minute's walk above this lies a curved enclosure, of which an unmeasured thumbnail sketch plan is given (FIG. 13 c). On the north it rests against the hill slope, while the rest of the circumference is retained by a wall in native style. There are traces of apparently above-ground constructions in the west part, while the bottom end is occupied by three eye-shaped underground chambers in corbelled vaulting; these chambers are about 4 m. long and 2.5 m. broad, and have doorways similar in construction to those of the compound tumuli (p. 166), which give onto vaulted connecting passages. We could see no means of judging whether this is a tomb enclosure, as those of Mandrais near Burgaz and Asarlık (p. 166), or a farmyard, but are inclined to prefer the latter solution. Paton remarks Lelegian ruins south-eastwards;<sup>210</sup> and Judeich and Winter noted a complex of buildings in the lower Kızılağaç valley, which may belong to a farm, with a habitation site on the slope above,<sup>211</sup> and a tower near the sea.<sup>212</sup>

At *Kargıcık* on the bay of Orak there are ancient remains, which include a fortified perimeter on the peninsula. It is roughly oblong with a long side of over 100 m., and apparently had three towers and a gate on the north side; there is nothing in the interior save a modern coast-guard post, and the pottery seems modern. The fortification is constructed of great blocks quarried on the spot, which are only 0.20-0.25 m. deep but are as much as 3 m. long and 1.25 m. thick. The walls are c. 1.70 m. thick and built in a unique style, the long blocks being punctuated by headers and vertical ribs;<sup>213</sup> there is, as Maiuri remarks, a hard mortar in many of the joints. Maiuri reckoned this fortification to be one of the most primitive in the whole of Caria, and derived the style of building from mudbrick and timber work; but it is perhaps rather an adaptation of Hellenistic header and stretcher masonry. The place is too barren for any considerable settlement. Complex tomb constructions are known at the entrance to Orak bay and on the little island opposite;<sup>214</sup> and there is a large unexplained building in a perimeter on the Karaada (Arconnesus).<sup>215</sup>

The remaining sites mentioned in this section lie outside the presumed limits of Lelegian settlement, and do not appear to have anything in common with the Lelegian town sites. At *Alâkilise* bay (Kisebüktü) the cultivation is restricted to a few fields, but there are Christian ruins on the shore, and two or three minutes inland a rocky eminence about 30 m. high bears rough fortifications which form a small citadel on the summit with perimeter walls on the slopes.<sup>216</sup> The Italians noted the odd B.F. sherd, and we picked up striped sherds, fragments of fifth-century wine amphorae, and a bit of a late fifth-century Attic crater in the R.F. style (PLATE 13 (e) 4), black glazed and other fourth-century and Hellenistic wares, and the head of a terracotta 'snowman' of Cypriot type and classical date (PLATE 13 (e) 5).<sup>217</sup> We found nothing of Roman date. At *Mazı* five miles to the east there are ruins of the Christian era and ancient architectural pieces in the valley bottom near the sea.<sup>218</sup> A Hellenistic inscription (p. 141, no. 65) apparently relating to a sanctuary, was discovered here, and we copied a late epitaph (p. 142, no. 66) in the village of Aşağı Mazı up the ridge. At the next bay, Çökertme (Vasilika), there

<sup>210</sup> *JHS* XVI 200.

<sup>211</sup> *AM* XII 224, figs. 1-2. Paton and Myres (*JHS* XVI 254, n. 4) were unable to find these remains.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.* 331 f.

<sup>213</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 440 ff., fig. 48a-b.

<sup>214</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 442 ff., figs. 49-52; *JHS* XVI 255 f., fig. 31.

<sup>215</sup> Paton and Doerpfeld, *AM* XX 466 ff., pls. 12-13; *JHS* XVI 201; *Ann.* IV-V 449 ff., figs. 57-61.

<sup>216</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 445 ff., figs. 54-55. We do not know whether this is the same as Paton and Myres' site 'on a precipitous hill (1300 ft.)' overhanging the bay (*JHS* XVI 198), but it is clearly that laid down on Admiralty Chart 1604. Cf. Hula-Szanto, *Bericht über eine Reise in Karien* (*SB Wiener Akad.* CXXXII) 30.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. *SCE* II pls. 130 ff.

<sup>218</sup> Hula and Szanto saw substantial remains hereabouts (*op. cit.* 26 f.).

are no considerable remains of antiquity, but fortified positions are reported inland on the mountain heights around *Gökbel*, where H. Kiepert located *Bargasa*.<sup>219</sup>

On a spur of the mountain south of the village of *Gökbel*, at a height of c. 300 m., there is a small citadel on a rocky peak overlooking the valleys of *Mazı* and *Vasilika*, with decrepit ring walls in very rude masonry; we picked up a few worn fragments of archaic and Hellenistic pottery here, including a fragment of a thin-walled relief pithos with meander pattern (PLATE 13 (e) 8).<sup>220</sup> The land on the mountain shelf and in the valleys here could hardly support a population of more than a thousand people; but there was evidently a Greek city in this position in Hellenistic times, since a piece of an honorific decree was brought to light in 1952 on top of the citadel (p. 142, no. 67). The site of *Ceramus* at the delta of the *Koca Çay* is well known and has been described by Lieut. Smith,<sup>221</sup> Paton,<sup>222</sup> Guidi,<sup>223</sup> and Robert.<sup>224</sup> A number of fragments of archaic *kouroi* and other sculptures in marble have recently come to light by the temple platform whence came the archaic marble head noted by Robert in 1932,<sup>225</sup> but we found no archaic or classical sherds there; the new sculptures reinforce Robert's contention that an important temple stood in this position. We copied some new inscriptions on the site (pp. 142 f., nos. 68-70). Paton and Myres mention a tower and remains of buildings on the inhospitable coast between *Ceramus* and *Vasilika*.<sup>226</sup>

#### INSCRIPTIONS (OTHER SITES).

42. Bitez, unearthed in 1952, now serving as a gate-post in the village, a handsome rectangular altar 0.77 m. high, 0.50 m. wide, 0.40 m. thick. The front is decorated with a relief showing a garland from which hangs a bunch of grapes; the garland is crossed obliquely by a thyrsus; above it is a small pendent wreath; below, on the left, two caps (?) resembling the *pilo*i of the *Dioscuri*, on the right, a small circular wreath; below again, on right and left, crossed thyrsi. Oblong sinking on top. The other sides are plain. The inscription is on the rim above the relief, in letters of the Imperial period, reasonably well cut, 20-24 mm. high.

Διότειμος Δράκοντος τοῦ Ἀν-  
[τ]ιγένους ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου Διονύσο-  
υ τὸν βωμὸν Διονύσῳι Βακχεῖωι



Close to where the altar was found many other ancient blocks are said to have been unearthed; it seems likely there was a precinct of *Dionysus* here.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. R. Kiepert, *FOA* VIII 7.

<sup>220</sup> This site is not the same as the tower above the sea marked on Admiralty Chart 1604 and mentioned by Maiuri (*Ann.* IV-V 448 f., fig. 56); cf. also *JHS* XVI 197. It is, however, that visited by Hula and Szanto (*op. cit.* 26).

<sup>221</sup> *Ap. Newton* II 627 ff.

<sup>222</sup> *JHS* XI 109 ff.

<sup>223</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 386 ff.

<sup>224</sup> *AJA* 1935, 341 ff.

<sup>225</sup> Devambez, *AJA* 1935, 344 ff., now in Smyrna Museum. Two terracotta figurines of classical date in the Louvre (Mollard-Besques, *Cat. raisonné* C 160-1, pl. 80) are reported to have come from *Ceramus*.

<sup>226</sup> *JHS* XVI 197.



43. Bitez, lying beside a tower in the village, rectangular plinth with lower moulding of a round altar, 0.28 m. high, 0.63 m. wide (but broken on the left), 0.70 m. thick. Letters of late Hellenistic date, 21-29 mm. high.

[Διο]γύσιος Διοδώρου  
χαῖ[ρε]

Not [χρηστὲ] χαῖρε. Cf. no. 53 below, which is of similar date.

At a church some fifteen minutes south-west of the village, among other ancient blocks, are an altar-base similar to the above and an oil-press.

44. Yalicuma, over the door of the house of Hasan Hüseyin Çavuşun Mustafa, a block 0.29 m. high (broken at the top), 1.075 m. long (broken on the right), 0.10 m. thick. Letters 4-5 cm. high in l. 2; in l. 1 only the bottom halves remain. Inscription complete on the left and below.

τῶ ἱερῶτάτῳ ταμείῳ \* , α καὶ ὑπο[ - - - ]  
ρι τούτων νενομοθ[ - - - ]

Read καὶ ὑπο[κρίσεται τοῖς πε]ρί τούτων νενομοθ[ετημένοις] or the like.

45. Close to the same house at Yalicuma, unearthed in 1932, a funeral stele 0.58 m. high, 0.235 m. wide, 0.06 m. thick; letters 35-40 mm. high, with apices.

Γαίου  
Ἰου(λίου)· Ἐρ-  
μονεί-  
κου

46. Athens, Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. 202, from the village of Μπαλαῖς, seven hours from Halicarnassus, fragment of a grey limestone slab, broken on the left; height 0.22 m., present width 0.36 m., thickness 0.065 m. Below the inscription is a relief of a snake (the head broken away). Letters 12-15 mm. high in ll. 1-5, 30-40 mm. in l. 6.

[ - - - ] C κατὰ προστάγματα σεμνά  
[ - - - ] I μεγάλου Πλουτέος Ἑρμοῦ  
[ - - - ] Μενεκράτης πολύχαριν εὐχὴν  
[ - - - ] ὡν μεγάλων θεῶν προθύμως  
[ - - - ] κω γράμματι τὸν στίχον ἐπιγράψας  
[A] Ε Η Ι Ο Υ Ω  
Ι Α Ω

The village of Μπαλαῖς we take to be Bağla, which answers to the distance from Bodrum.

The amount lost on the left is approximately determined by the missing *alpha* in l. 6; it should be not more than 11-12 letters in l. 1, or 9-10 letters in l. 5.

For the association of Pluto with Hermes see *RE s.v.* 'Pluton' § 12. We have Διὸς Πλουτῆος on an altar at Halicarnassus (*CIG* 2655 b = Michel 800), but we are not aware of any actual identification of Hermes and Pluto elsewhere. The στίχος of l. 5 is evidently the series of the seven vowels inscribed below, but the significance of this is not clear to us. The letters Ι Α Ω (understood to represent the Hebrew name of God), and also the snake, are common on magic amulets; see most recently Campbell Bonner in *Hesperia* XXIII (1954), 145-151, nos. 30, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40. We must leave the interpretation of this interesting inscription to those who are more familiar than we are with the intricacies of Greek magic.

47. Akyerler, near Kemer west of Kefaluka, lying on the beach half-buried in sand, about a quarter of a mile west of the lighthouse, a round altar with bucranium decoration, 0.65 m. high, 0.43 m. in diameter at the top. Letters 23-26 mm. high. On top is a rectangular sinking 0.19 m. long, 0.08 m. wide, 0.07 m. deep.

τὸ μνημεῖ-  
ον  
(bucranium)  
Φιλοστόργου α' καὶ Γ(αίου) Ἰ(ουλίου)  
Φλώρου καὶ τῶν γυ-  
5 ναϊκῶν αὐτῶν καὶ  
τῶν ἐκ τούτων  
ἐσομένων.  
ζῶσιν

L. 3. α' = τοῦ Φιλοστόργου. α' is thus used instead of the usual β' in certain parts of Asia Minor, notably in the south-west; for Halicarnassus cf. *BMI* 893, 898 and Hirschfeld's note.

The personal name Philostorgos (not in Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*) we do not remember to have seen elsewhere.

We heard a few days later that this stone had been smashed by the villagers.

48. Akçaalan. The interesting epitaph published by Paton in *BCH* XII (1888) 279, no. 3, is built into the house of İzzet Gani at Akçaalan. In ll. 3-4 read τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ | [Ε]ὐκαιρίας, not αὐτ[ο]ῦ Καρίας. The name of the village is given by Paton as Tcherenda, which has sometimes been supposed to preserve the name of Caryanda; this name seems now no longer to be in use.

49. Akçaalan. In the epitaph published by Cousin and Diehl in *BCH* XIV (1890), 119, the wife's name in l. 4 should be restored Ἀνν[ικήτη]; see above p. 103, no. 20. Cousin and Diehl give the name of the village as Ak-shallah.

50. Kuyucak, fifteen minutes S.W. of İslamhaneleri, on a church-window mullion of grey limestone 1.79 m. high; letters 24-45 mm. high.

μν-  
ίσθι-  
τη,  
Κ(ύρι)ε,  
5 ΠΑΡ  
ΔΘ  
ἀμ-  
αρτ-  
ολοῦ  
10 πρεσ(βυτέρου)  
ἀμή-  
ν

Ll. 5-6. The rare name Παρδος is known from *Corp. Inscr. Jud.* I 159 (Rome), and should no doubt be read here in preference to Πάβλου, i.e. Παύλου. Dr. M. Khatzidakis suggests a date in the fifth or sixth century.

51. Dereköy, built into a wall in the yard of the school, a funeral stele 0.69 m. high, 0.31 m. wide, 0.075 m. thick. Letters, much worn, 23-25 mm. high.

Ἀλλέας  
Ἀρχᾶς  
Ὁρθαγόρα

For the rare name Ἀλλέας cf. *Inscr. v. Magnesia* 321. We have not found the name Ἀρχᾶς elsewhere, but Ἀρχῆς (contracted from Ἀρχέας) occurs on Rhodian territory (Fraser-Bean, *Rhodian Peraea* 37, no. 23 (c), l. 28). In l. 3, Ὀρθαγόρα is apparently the patronymic; there is no room on the stone for Ὀρθαγόρα[ς]. The date may be comparatively early.

52. Dereköy, in the wall of the coffee-house by the roadside, ten minutes east of the village, a block broken right and left, now 0.60 m. wide, 0.32 m. high, thickness not ascertainable. Inscription in monumental letters c. 7 cm. high.

ΙΣΑΡ. Ι  
ΑΝΕΚΤ

Apparently the dedication of a building. After *rho* in l. 1 the traces on the stone suggest *phi*; probably [ὁ δεῖνα φιλόκα]ισαρ φι[λόπατρις - - - τὴν στο]άν *vel sim.* ἐκ τ[ῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν].

53. Beypınar, outside the house of Mehmet Muslu, a rectangular block of porous green stone 0.79 m. high, 0.43 m. wide, 0.40 m. thick, found in 1951. Dowel-hole in the under surface, top surface plain. A relief on the inscribed face has been entirely chiselled away. Letters 24 mm. high, very regular, of late Hellenistic date.

Μηνόδοτος  
Μενεσθέως  
χαῖρε

54. Beypınar, together with no. 53, found many years ago, part of a milestone broken in two pieces; combined height of the pieces 1.07 m., diameter 0.38 m. Letters of varying heights.

(a) Upper portion.

οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν  
Φλ. Κοσταντ Κῶ  
Φλ. Κωνστ  
ΤΟΙΩΝΙΟΙΕΥΓΕ Β  
Φλ. Οὐαλ(ερίω) Κωνσταντίω καὶ  
Φλ. Οὐαλ(ερίω) Μα[ξ]ιμιανῶ τοῖς  
ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν

(b) Lower portion.

† ἐπὶ Φλ. Ἀνα-  
στασίου τοῦ  
εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν  
βασιλέως  
Φλ. Ἰωάννης ὁ μεγ-  
λοπρε(πέστατος) κόμ(ης) κ. ὑ-  
πατικός

The stone carries other fragments of writing now unintelligible; the inscription has evidently been erased and reinscribed a number of times. For (b) cf. no. 33a above.

(a) 1, δεσπότες. First declension plural in -ες occurs apparently as early as c. A.D. 200 (Mendel, *Catalogue* no. 992: παροδίτες); cf. Hatzidakis, *Einl. in d. neugriech. Gramm.* 139 f.

Assuming (what is not certain) that the stone has not been carried far from its original

position, we have evidence of a Roman highway passing up the Beypınar valley. For the possibility that it led to the sanctuary of Telmessian Apollo see below, pp. 154 f.; if it continued to the north, it led presumably to the late town on the shore at Yalıkavak (Lower Sandıma).

55. Geriş (Gheresi), from the cemetery, now in the school, inscribed block subsequently cut to form a late column base (or capital). Published without comment by Paton in *BCH* XII (1888), 280, no. 5; we offer a rather more complete text.

[ - - - - - ]  
 [.]CH[. . . . .]ΥΕΙΚΩ[- - c.6 - -]  
 ΗΝ καὶ [- - c.11 - -] αὐτὴν κατ' ἀ[νδ]-  
 ρογενίαν [κα]ὶ Πῶλλα Ἀθηναίου, Δ-  
 ρακοντι[ς . .]ωτου, Ζωσάριν Ἐρω-  
 5 τος, Ἀττέλιν, Ἀμφινόη μόναι,  
 καὶ Κάρπος Σωζομένου, Ἑρμᾶ-  
 ς Εὐτυχᾶ, Κοίντος Γλαύκωνος  
 ἀρχαίρεσσι, καὶ τούτων τῶν  
 τριῶν αἰ[ε]ῖ κατ' ἀνδρογενίαν,  
 10 καὶ Λούκιον Σπέδιον Διό-  
 τειμον μόνον. αἱ ὕ-  
 ποκάτω ὑπόσται ἔστω-  
 σαν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέ-  
 ρη ἀνεξέταστοι

L. 2 fin. The letters ΝΔ were apparently lost when the block was trimmed for re-use.

L. 4. For Ζωσάριν (*i.e.* Ζωσάριον) cf. *BSA* XLVII (1953), 198, no. 41 (Cnidus).

L. 5. Ἀττέλιν (*i.e.* Ἀττέλιον) is nearly certain; the name is unknown to us. Paton reads Ἀττί[ν]η.

L. 8. The word ἀρχαίρεσσι (the reading is correct) seems not to occur elsewhere, and is overlooked in LS<sup>9</sup> and Buck-Petersen, *Reverse Index*. We take it to be a variant form of αἰρεσιάρχαι, 'leaders of the sect, heresiarchs'. The family is no doubt Christian, as is suggested by the names Paula and Sozomenos.

L. 10. We do not understand why Paton prints Σπέ(ν)διον.

LL. 11-14. We understand: 'the spaces directly underneath each tomb shall belong to the owners (of each tomb) absolutely (ἀνεξέταστοι, "without question").'

56. Yalıkavak (Lower Sandıma), recently dug up near the isthmus and about to be built into a house in the village, a plain block 0.65 m. long, 0.27 m. high, 0.17 m. thick. Byzantine letters 8 cm. high.

[ - - θεο]φύλακτον[- - ]

57. Yalıkavak, found with no. 56, a similar block subsequently lost. Copy by a villager.

ΤΟΥCENΞΤΟΟΙΚΟΥ

*i.e.* τοῦς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ.

58. Arapmezarlığı, on the road from Dirmil to Farilya, in the wall of the cemetery; now in a neighbouring house. Block of soft stone, broken on the right, complete on all other sides, 0.34 m. high, 0.33 m. wide, 0.115 m. thick. Letters 20-32 mm. high, of Imperial date.

τὸ ἡρώ[ον το]ῦ[ο ὁ δεῖνα κατε]-  
 σκεύασεν ἐαυ[τοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς]  
 αὐτοῦ Ἐπιγόν[ης τοῦ δεινὸς καὶ τῶν τέ]-  
 κνων (αὐ)τοῦ Θεοδ[- - καὶ τοῦ δεινὸς σὺν γυναι]-



- 5 ξιν αὐτῶν /[- - - - -]  
 ἐν ᾧ οὐδενὶ ἐ[ξέσται ἄλλω τεθῆναι εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἐ]-  
 ξ αὐτῶν αἰεὶ [έσομένοις. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα]  
 ποιήσῃ, ἀ[ποτεῖσῃ τῇ κυρία *vel sim.* Ἀρτέμι]-  
 δι Ἐφεσία [δηνάρια -]

L. 4. του for αὐτοῦ, as in modern Greek, is attested from the sixth century (*IGLS* 651), but can hardly be intentional here.

There is, of course, nothing surprising in the mention of Artemis Ephesia; there was similarly a cult of Artemis Pergaea at Halicarnassus (*BMI* 895).

59. Arapmezarlığı, in the wall of the cemetery, a lintel-block of white marble 0.68 m. long, 0.09 m. high, 0.34 m. thick. Byzantine letters 53 mm. high.

[- - - ἐ]γένετω παρὰ Κω(νσταντίνου) ταπεινοῦ κ(αὶ) ἀμα[ρτωλοῦ - - -]

Inscription recording the construction of a certain building by one Constantine, of Middle Byzantine date according to Dr. Khatzidakis.

60. Lower Göl, over the door of house no. 54, a block 0.16 m. high, more than 1.03 m. long, c. 0.20 m. thick. Elegant letters 36-38 mm. high; branching *sigma*, *upsilon* with curved strokes, *nu* with right-hand upright slightly shorter than the left.

[τῷ δεῖνι - -]ασίας Διονυσίου ἡρω

This inscription can hardly be later than 200 B.C., and is apparently the earliest yet discovered on the territory of Myndus. The name may be [Π]ασίας or [Στ]ασίας.

61. Konel Ada, in the church, a fragment of white marble.



62. Konel Ada, painted *graffito* in the south aisle of the church.

ὁδε ὁ  
 ἀμνός  
 [το]ῦ Θ(εο)ῦ  
 ὁ ἔρων  
 5 τὴν ἀμαρ-  
 τίαν τοῦ  
 κόσμου  
 †

The text is from John 1, 29, with apparently ὁδε for ἰδε.

63. Konel Ada. Ditto.

Χ Ε Θ  
 INI B O  
 Ε Ν Ο  
 Θ Ε Ω  
 Δ Ω Ρ Ο Υ  
 Α Μ Α C Y  
 Β Ι Ο C T E  
 Κ Ν Υ C A  
 Μ Η Ν †

Χ(ριστ)ἔ δ  
 [- - -]  
 INI βο-  
 [ή]θ[ι ποι]-  
 [μ]ένος[ς ?]  
 Θεω-  
 δώρου  
 ἅμα συ(μ)-  
 βίο (κἔ) τέ-  
 κυς. ἅ-  
 μήν †

64. Konel Ada. Ditto.

† ὁ Θεός  
 ἀπα[- -]  
 ΤΥ[.]ο[- - ἄσ]-  
 χολίας, ἅ-  
 5 φεσιν ἅμα-  
 ρτιῶ[ν] δώ-  
 ρισε (ἴ)ωάν-  
 νου ταπι-  
 νοῦ μονα-  
 10 [χ]οῦ. [ἅμ]ήν

Ll. 6-7. δώρισε aorist imperative.

65. Aşağı Mazi Yalısı (Çeşmebaşı), at the house, a block of pale grey-blue limestone dug up in 1950, broken right and left, complete at top and bottom, 0.28 m. high, 0.19 m. wide, 0.15 m. thick. Letters 10-15 mm. high, *omicron* mostly smaller. c. 200 B.C. Squeeze PLATE 13 (f).

[- - -]ΑΝ vac.  
 [- - -]ΙΟΣΙΕΡΟ vac.  
 [- - -]Τῆτράδι αἶρεθέντ[- - -]  
 [- - -]πόνου Διοδώρου[- - -]  
 5 [- - -]Θεοδώρῳ Θεωδώρ[ν -]  
 [- - -]ΤΡΩΝ καλουμένω[ν ? -]  
 [- - -]δωρος Μητροδώρ[ου ? -]  
 [- - -]ἱαντος προσε[- - -]  
 [- - -]νους ἱερούς λιμέν[ας -]  
 10 [- - -]ΤΙΩΝ ἐπὶ ἱεροπ[οι - -]  
 [- - -]μένην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ

L. 1. These letters hardly seem to belong to the main inscription; they are smaller than those in l. 2, and *alpha* has the broken bar, which it has not elsewhere.

L. 2. The letters in this line are rather larger than the rest; it evidently formed a heading.

L. 4. Perhaps -γόνου, e.g. [Ἐπι]γόνου.

L. 6. The first two letters are uncertain, and seem to have been altered; possibly ΤΙΩΝ or ΠΩΝ.

It is unfortunate that so little remains of this inscription, which belongs evidently to the city at Gökbel (see below no. 67). The allusion to the 'Sacred Harbours' (l. 9) is interesting; there is a moderate anchorage at Aşağı Mazi Yalısı (Mahazi Bay), but the principal harbour of the city must have been at Çökertme (Vasilika Bay) a little to the east. By the shore at Aşağı Mazi Yalısı we saw numerous ancient blocks, but nothing apparently *in situ* or suggestive of any particular kind of building.

66. Aşağı Mazi village, in the porch of the house of Ali Cangır, but said to have come from Alâkilise, a rectangular block broken at the top and on the left; present height 0.25 m., present width 0.51 m., thickness not ascertainable. Letters 20-24 mm. high, of Imperial date. In ll. 1-3 a fault in the face of the stone has been avoided by the lapicide.

[----- εἰ δέ τις μετὰ τὸν ἐμὸν] θά      νατον τολμήσι  
[ἕτερον θεῖναι, μήτε γῇ βαπτή μή]τε      θάλασσα πλωτῇ  
[μήτε τέκνων μήτε βίου ἀπόλαυσ]ις,      ἄλλ' ὥλη πανώλη  
[-----]υθοντα καὶ τούτων τὸν  
5 [-----][[. .]] ἐνθήσι τῷ ταμίῳ ✕ σ'  
(leaf)

Ll. 2-3. For a version of this familiar curse at Halicarnassus see *BMI* 918.

L. 5. The extant words (following an erasure of uncertain length) seem to be a later addition.

67. Gökbel village, built into the house of Mustafa Karakuş, a fragment of a block of grey limestone broken on all sides except the left, 0.14 m. high, 0.27 m. wide, 0.18 m. thick. Letters of the second century B.C., 13 mm. high. The stone was found very recently at the small walled site just south of the village; the exact place was pointed out to us a few yards south of the summit. As it is now placed, the first two or three letters of each line are covered by a wooden post, and are legible only with difficulty; they do not appear on the squeeze (*PLATE 15 (d)*).

[----- τὸν δῆ]-  
μον διατελεῖ ἐμ πα[ντὶ καιρῷ λέγων καὶ πράττων καθό]-  
[λω]ς τὰ συμφέροντα Ε[-----]  
[. . .]ς καὶ κεχρύσωκε[ν ----- ὅπως οὖν ὁ δῆ]-  
μος φαίνεται ἀξίας [χάριτας καὶ τιμὰς ἀποδιδούς τοῖς φι]-  
λαγάθως διακειμέν[οις αὐτῷ· δεδόχθαι στεφανῶσαι αὐ]-  
τὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳι κ[αὶ -----]  
[.]αι ἀναγραφάτωσαν ἐν τ[-----]

*vacat*

The decree is of the most ordinary type, but is important as proving, in conjunction with no. 65, the existence of a Greek city at Gökbel in Hellenistic times. For the probability that this is Bargasa see below, p. 165.<sup>227</sup>

68. Ceramus. In the school at Gereme, a fragment of grey limestone chipped off the face of an inscribed block; height 0.125 m., width 0.125 m. Letters reasonably well cut, 15-20 mm. high, of Imperial date.

[ - - ] ἐπὶ ἱερέως [ - - - ]  
[ - - ] ἰς νεωκό[ρ - - - ]  
[ - - - ] ΗΝΟ[ - - - - ]

<sup>227</sup> We understand that L. Robert in 1946 found a fragmentary inscription at Gökbel which may or may not be the same as our no. 67. To an enquiry by letter Professor Robert has not as yet replied; we therefore publish the inscription in case it is new, more especially as we understood it to have been unearthed in 1952. If we are in fact anticipating Professor Robert's publication, we offer our apologies.

This fragment, tiny as it is, supplies two items of information concerning Ceramus which seem to be new. First, the eponymous official was, at least for some purposes and at some periods, a priest. Second, in l. 2, unless appearances are deceptive, we have a note of the city's neocorates. In front of ΙΣ on the stone the extreme tip of a stroke is visible at the level of the top of the line; [δ]ίς and [τρ]ίς are therefore excluded, and the city must have been at least τετράκις νεωκόρος.

69. Ceramus. In the school, four partially fitting fragments of an inscription enclosed in an oval wreath. Late letters varying from 14 to 30 mm. in height.

[-----]  
BH[. . .]OY  
ΠΠ[. . .] Παμ-  
φίλ[ου κα]ὶ τῇ γυνή  
αὐτοῦ Παρθε-  
5 νική· εὐτυ-  
χῶς

In l. 3, ΓΥ only was written. The name Parthenike is new to us.

70. Ceramus. In the school, fragment of a round marble base broken on all sides; maximum height 0.30 m., maximum width 0.35 m. Letters 18-20 mm. high. The inscription is complete at the bottom and on the left in ll. 4-6.

[---] Ι Ο Ι Υ[-----]  
[- c.6 -] ΩΚΑΙΛ[-----]  
[. . .] 'Ε]ρμωδῶρου [- - - - -]  
Ι[. . .] ἱερείας νεωκ[ορ- - - - -]  
5 'Ιεροκλέους τοῦ Μ[-----]  
'Ηλιοδῶρου καὶ Διον[υσ - - -]  
[τ]οῦ Μελανθίου, Λουκ[ιο - -]  
[Ἀπ]ολλωνίου τῶν ὑψ[ύ - - -]  
[. . .] εἰς καὶ ἈΛΛΩΝΜΙ[- - -]

## IDENTIFICATION OF SITES.

### A. THE MAUSOLAN SYNOECISM.

Strabo XIII 611, speaking of the settlement of the Lelegians in the country called Pedasis around Halicarnassus, observes: φασι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ Πηδασίδι) καὶ ὀκτώ πόλεις φέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Λελέγων πρότερον εὐανδρησάντων, ὥστε καὶ τῆς Καρίας κατασχεῖν μέχρι Μύνδου καὶ Βαργυλίων, καὶ τῆς Πισιδίας <sup>228</sup> ἀποτεμέσθαι πολλήν. ὕστερον δὲ . . . ἠφανίσθη τὸ γένος, τῶν δ' ὀκτὼ πόλεων τὰς ἑξ Μαύσωλος εἰς μίαν τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσὸν συνήγαγεν, ὡς Καλλισθένης ἱστορεῖ. Συάγγελα δὲ καὶ Μύνδον διεφύλαξε. This information is deserving of the utmost confidence; the same cannot be said of Pliny's observation concerning Halicarnassus (NH V 107): *sex oppida contributa ei sunt a Magno Alexandro, Theangela, Side, Medmassa, Uranium, Padasum, Telmisum*. As was said above (p. 114) we do not believe in this second concentration; Pliny has carelessly attributed the Mausolan synoecism to Alexander. This has indeed been commonly assumed; but since the most recent discussion in *ATL* I 536 accepts Pliny's evidence as it

<sup>228</sup> Πισιδίας is suspect. In *ATL* I 537, n. 5 it is proposed to read Μιλησίος.



stands, we think it well to give our reasons. Leaving aside the coincidence of the number six, we take it as axiomatic that no Lelegian town incorporated by Mausolus can have been re-incorporated by Alexander, except on the extremely improbable assumption that it had contrived to break away in the meantime; that is, Pliny's towns, if really incorporated by Alexander, must be additional to those synoecised by Mausolus.<sup>229</sup> So far as concerns the first four, this is perfectly possible;<sup>230</sup> but not, we think, for the last two. Pedasa in particular must have been Lelegian, as is plain from Strabo and from the extant remains, and being so close to Halicarnassus<sup>231</sup> cannot conceivably have been omitted from the Mausolan synoecism: in fact, as we know, only Syangela and Myndus were omitted. For the same reason Pedasa is the least likely of all to have succeeded in re-establishing its independence. Telmissus is not such a clear case, but here again we cannot doubt that it was one of the Lelegian cities, and therefore synoecised by Mausolus.<sup>232</sup> We feel, moreover, that on historical grounds the story of Alexander's synoecism is in itself improbable. Alexander passed on from Halicarnassus leaving the city wrecked by his own orders and the acropolis still uncaptured; and he certainly never returned there. By the time the city was in a condition to be synoecised he was in the midst of his eastern campaign, and might well have felt that such a task could wait till he had more leisure to attend to it.<sup>233</sup> Further uncertainty is caused by the fact, recorded by Strabo and Arrian, that Alexander gave back Caria, including specifically Halicarnassus, to the elder Ada with the title of queen; after this simple settlement of the region we should not expect him to interfere further. We prefer therefore to reject the Alexandrian synoecism altogether.

There is, however, one obvious difficulty in supposing that Pliny's six cities were those incorporated by Mausolus. One of them is Theangela, whereas Mausolus Συάγγελα διεφύλαξε. It is generally admitted (except, of course, in *ATL*) that Pliny is in error here; but it is, we think, possible to go further. The notable absentee from Pliny's list (assuming it to refer to Mausolus) is Termera, which was surely one of the eight Lelegian cities.<sup>234</sup> It is very attractive to propose the substitution of Termera for Theangela: the error would be by no means too gross for Pliny. But this is not all. Termera actually occurs three lines lower in Pliny's text: *Myndos . . . Neapolis, Caryanda, Termera libera, Bargylia*. Termera is here out of geographical order, and the monstrous idea that it was a free city under the early Empire is rejected with one voice by modern scholars.<sup>235</sup> Surely the remedy is simple: we have only to transpose Termera and Theangela, and all is well. We have then *Theangela libera*, making Theangela a free city in the first century A.D. There is no difficulty in this. As explained above (p. 115), once the alleged evidence for its absorption in Halicarnassus is discarded, there remains no reason to suppose it was ever other than an independent city. Furthermore, Theangela is thus geographically well placed immediately before Bargylia; its territory, the modern Karaova, was undoubtedly contiguous with that of Bargylia.<sup>236</sup>

We take it, then, that we have in Strabo and Pliny combined the complete list of the eight

<sup>229</sup> This is in fact accepted in *ATL* I 538: see below n. 237. Mausolus did not merely attach the Lelegian towns to Halicarnassus as demes; he was concerned to man the great new city, and the bulk of the Lelegian population was certainly transferred there. The old sites ceased to be inhabited as townships, as is clear from the remains, though perhaps not all entirely deserted.

<sup>230</sup> There were only eight Lelegian towns, but Pliny's towns are not stated to be Lelegian. Side, Medmussa, and Uranium might be claimed as non-Lelegian; Theangela (or at least Syangela) was Lelegian, but was left free by Mausolus.

<sup>231</sup> For the site at Gökçeler see above pp. 123 ff. and below pp. 149 ff.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* 32.

<sup>233</sup> *ATL* I 536 says that 'Alexander was incensed with Halicarnassus and indeed destroyed it after the siege; but he certainly restored it.' We do not know on what authority this last statement is made. For the destruction, cf. p. 91 above.

<sup>234</sup> Jones *CERP* 383, n. 7 suggests that 'the missing sixth city is perhaps Termera'.

<sup>235</sup> Normally, *libera* is either obelised or made to apply (contrary to practice) to *Bargylia*.

<sup>236</sup> Whether the error in Pliny is due to his own carelessness or to a faulty manuscript tradition, we are not concerned to decide. The corruption, in all MSS. but one, of Theangela to Thagela may perhaps help to explain the mistake.

Lelegian cities as recorded by Callisthenes.<sup>237</sup> Our task is now to apportion these among the known sites of Lelegian character on the peninsula. In addition to Myndus at Gümüşlük and Theangela at Etrim, we have eight such sites (described above, pp. 116-127)—that is, ten sites in all. We believe that these will be found to meet the requirements satisfactorily.

We begin with the two that were not incorporated in Halicarnassus. When Strabo (or Callisthenes) says that Mausolus preserved the existence (διεφύλαξε) of Myndus and Syangela, this need not imply that he made no change at all in their condition. We believe that in fact he refounded each on a more impressive scale and on a site more suited to its new form and functions as a Greek city. The two new sites, at Gümüşlük and Etrim, stand respectively at the western and eastern extremities of the Lelegian country, almost exactly equidistant from Halicarnassus.<sup>238</sup>

### 1. Myndus.

As was made clear above (p. 111), the city at Gümüşlük cannot be the Lelegian town of Myndus. Nothing earlier than Mausolus has been found on the site, and it lacks all the characteristic Lelegian features. We have the evidence of Pliny and Stephanus for the one-time existence of an earlier Myndus, apparently distinct from the later city.<sup>239</sup> We believe that this Old Myndus is the Lelegian town which paid one-twelfth of a talent in the Delian League.<sup>240</sup> We seek this town at a modest Lelegian site not far from Gümüşlük. Such a site is that at Bozdağ (Erenmezarlık), described above, p. 118, and we propose with confidence to locate the Lelegian Myndus here.<sup>241</sup>

Ps.-Scylax 99 includes Myndus among the πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες of Caria. Unless we are prepared to abandon the approximately contemporary testimony of Callisthenes that it was one of the eight Lelegian towns, this must be interpreted to refer to the layout of the new city at Gümüşlük on the lines of a Greek polis. It appears from this that the Periplus of Ps.-Scylax is later than the Mausolan synoecism; when it was written the fictitious claim to foundation from Troezen was no doubt already in vogue.

### 2. Syangela-Theangela.

The site of Theangela at Etrim is beyond dispute (above, p. 112); but here again we do not believe that this is the Lelegian town of Syangela. It is distinguished from the Lelegian

<sup>237</sup> It is observed in *ATL* I 552, n. 2 that Pliny's authority for his six cities cannot have been Callisthenes, who would have said Syangela, not Theangela. The substitution of Termira for Theangela obviates this difficulty also. We note further that the editors of *ATL* are hard put to it (*ibid.* 538) to find names for the cities synoecised by Mausolus other than those in Pliny's list, and are driven to include Cindya and even Halicarnassus itself. We cannot agree that this last is implied by Strabo's τὰς εἰς . . . εἰς πᾶν, though the words might conceivably be so interpreted. Halicarnassus cannot have ranked as a Lelegian city in the fourth century. As for Cindya, the evidence suggests that it was absorbed by Bargylia, not by Halicarnassus; see Polybius XVI 12, where Artemis Cindyas is a goddess of Bargylia. This absorption is in fact accepted in *ATL* I 474, 503, 538; cf. Jones, *CERP* 50, 388.

<sup>238</sup> This distance is in fact such that no inhabitant could be too far from the nearest city to ride or walk in with reasonable convenience to exercise his civic functions. Mausolus' cities—Myndus, Halicarnassus, Theangela, Bargylia—Cindya, Mylasa—are remarkably evenly distributed over the countryside.

<sup>239</sup> Pliny *NH* V 107: *Myndus et ubi fuit Palaemyndus*; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Μύνδος': πόλις Καρίας . . . ἐστὶ καὶ πόλις Καρίας ἄλλη Παλαιὰ Μύνδος.

<sup>240</sup> We see no reason why the memory of a Palaemyndus should be preserved if its site was the same as that of the familiar city. For this reason (among others) we cannot agree with the suggestion in *ATL* I 522 that Old Myndus was on the peninsula which closes the harbour at Gümüşlük. For the much-quoted polygonal wall on this peninsula see above pp. 110 f.; even if it be accepted as of Lelegian date, its position is quite unsuited to the defence of a settlement on the peninsula itself. Running down the backbone of the hill, it is intelligible only as the extremity of a larger circuit such as that actually standing on the mainland. Its situation is exactly comparable to that of the wall over the western extension of the acropolis hill at Caunus; see *JHS* LXXIII (1953), 12, fig. 3.

<sup>241</sup> The site at Burgaz might also claim consideration; but the expression Μύνδοι παρὰ Τέρμειρα in the tribute lists is then less intelligible, with the town at Bozdağ intervening.

sites described above first and foremost by its size. None of them is on anything approaching the scale of the city at Etrim. The masonry of the city walls, though reminiscent of the Lelegian style, is stronger and more solid; <sup>242</sup> and the salients on the south and east are likewise of a very much more advanced character. There can, we think, be no question of this powerful fortification, as it stands today, being of old Lelegian construction; we have no hesitation in ascribing it to Mausolus.<sup>243</sup> The question remains, whether he built it on a new site or was merely enlarging an earlier Lelegian town. We take the former view; but several points might appear to support the latter. Certain of the buildings inside the city bear the unmistakable mark of Lelegian construction.<sup>244</sup> But there is nothing remarkable in this: Theangela was unquestionably the successor of Syangela, wherever the site of the latter, and the people would naturally use the building style long familiar to them. Secondly, there seems to be no doubt that archaic Greek statuary was standing at Etrim in Hellenistic times, since these sculptures appear to have come to light at the same spot as Hellenistic inscriptions which were to be set up in the sanctuary of Athena (above, pp. 113 f.). But there is nothing to show that the sanctuary itself was older than the fourth century, or that the statues were not transported, together with the cult, from an earlier site. This we suppose to have been in fact done. There are some traces on the west side of the peak B which might possibly be ascribed to an inner perimeter; we were not able to confirm or disprove this, but the wall in question is not peculiarly Lelegian in style. Finally, we have the remarkable gallery-tomb, with pottery of the late fifth century, described on p. 113. Caution is, we think, necessary in deciding the significance of this tomb, which does not conform to any of the recognised Lelegian types (see p. 166). It is situated well inside the existing wall-circuit, and must also have been inside the circuit of an earlier city on the site, unless that city was very small indeed, or unless peak B was not included in it. This is not decisive: we have tombs inside the outer circuit at Asarlık and at Gürice: but it is at least possible that it was an isolated tomb on the open mountainside, like, for example, the 'Tomb of Lygdamis' on the hill south-east of Bodrum (p. 132). There is accordingly, in our view, nothing that proves the existence of a city at Etrim before the time of Mausolus; and other indications are strongly against such a hypothesis. The surest criterion of occupation in doubtful cases is the pottery, and at Etrim nothing (apart of course from the tomb just mentioned) has been found earlier than the middle fourth century. The absence of any tomb of Lelegian type is also remarkable, to say nothing of the apparent disappearance of the

<sup>242</sup> Their non-Lelegian character was noted by Judeich (*AM* XII (1887), 335) in his description of the walls; Robert, *Coll. Froehn.* 85 n. 2, quotes Judeich and adds: 'il me semble que l'appareil des monuments de Theangela est celui des monuments Cariens de la presqu'île d'Halikarnasse . . . et d'Alazeitin'. This comment holds good for certain of the buildings inside the city, and in a modified degree for the circuit walls also.

<sup>243</sup> Against Judeich's late Hellenistic dating Robert, *op. cit.* 85, notes that the walls were no doubt standing in the late fourth century, when the city withstood a siege by Eupolemus. In the treaty between Eupolemus and Theangela (*Coll. Froehn.* no. 52) it is provided that Eupolemus shall eventually take over τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς ἀκροῦς. Robert, *ibid.* 81-6, understands 'the city and the citadels', identifying the latter with the two peaks A and B. This seems to us mistaken. Πόλις, of course, often denotes the lower, inhabited city as opposed to the fortified acropolis; but at Theangela, as Robert himself emphasises (*ibid.* 82), there was no such lower city; the whole city was evidently within the walls. There is therefore no point in mentioning the two peaks unless they were separately fortified as inner citadels, a question which Robert does not consider. The mere fact that the mountain rises to a double summit is obviously not enough. We saw no evidence of such fortification on A; on the west side of B there is a stretch of wall which might perhaps be so interpreted, and in fact a more recent examination (see p. 171 n. 359) shows that there was a definite inner circuit defending this peak. If B was so fortified, it was doubtless included among the ἀκροῦς; but the points on the site which are most clearly denoted by the term are surely the forts on the subsidiary peaks C and D. The meaning is that no Theangelan garrison shall be maintained in the city after Eupolemus takes over, a point well deserving mention in the treaty; but to provide for his occupying the city, including the double mountain-top, is plainly futile. An exact parallel is afforded in Arrian's account of the siege of Halicarnassus (I 23, 3), where the defenders retire to the fortified posts at the extremities of the city: αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀκρὰν τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπεχώρασαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα, ἀκρὰν οὕτως καλουμένην.

<sup>244</sup> In particular those illustrated by Robert in *Coll. Froehn.* pls. XXVII d, XXVIII h, and in *RA* 1935 II 162, no. 10, and the house described above, p. 114.



presumed Lelegian fortifications. We are therefore disposed to believe that the first occupation of the Etrim site was not earlier than the second quarter of the fourth century.<sup>245</sup>

If the Lelegian Syangela was not at Etrim, it is not difficult to decide where it must have been. There is only one serious possibility—Alâzeytin. This is a suitable site for Syangela, which was evidently a town of modest importance with a royal dynast, paying half a talent in the Delian League (equal to the minimum paid by Termera and Pedasa), and probably possessing a harbour (above, p. 114). Alâzeytin is a quite considerable site, showing archaic and classical habitation, and has no fewer than five 'compound chamber-tumuli', more than any other single site can show. It overlooks the Çiftlik valley, and unless it was a mere goat-herds' town, which the ruins by no means suggest, it must have possessed territory there; but this valley is dominated by the site at Etrim, so that the simultaneous existence of the two towns seems improbable. If Syangela had, as we suspect, some sort of naval tradition, a site fairly close to the sea is at least acceptable.

In view of the cumulative weight of these considerations, we place Syangela at Alâzeytin and Theangela at Etrim. The change of name no doubt accompanied the change of site, both being imposed by Mausolus in accordance with his hellenising policy.<sup>246</sup>

We have now six sites remaining, which we believe to correspond to the six places listed by Pliny—with, of course, the substitution of Termera for Theangela. We proceed to consider these, taking first the two whose sites have, we think, been long since correctly identified, namely Termera and Pedasa.

### 3. *Termera.*

The approximate site is determined by Strabo XIV 657: ἐξῆς (sc. after Halicarnassus) δ' ἐστὶν ἄκρα Τερμέριον Μυνδίων, καθ' ἣν ἀντίκειται τῆς Κώας ἄκρα Σκανδαρία διέχουσα τῆς ἡπείρου σταδίους τετταράκοντα· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ χωρίον Τέρμερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄκρας. The association with Myndus is confirmed by the entry Μύνδιοι παρὰ Τέρμερα in the tribute lists, and by Photius s.v. 'Τερμέρια', who says that Termera was founded ἐν ἄκρῃ τινὶ τῆς Μυνδίας.<sup>247</sup> In the region indicated—the south-west corner of the peninsula—there is only one site that can come in question, namely that at Asarlık described above pp. 116 ff.<sup>248</sup>

Termera was a place of some importance in early times.<sup>249</sup> At the time of the Ionian Revolt, among the ship-captains in the Persian navy seized by Aristagoras (Her. V 37) was a certain Histiaeus son of Tymnes, of Termera.<sup>250</sup> The name of Tymnes occurs also on a fine silver drachma, inscribed on the obverse Τύμνο and on the reverse Τερμερικόν. This coin is dated by Head in *HN*<sup>1</sup> 532 and *BMC Coins, Caria* 176 to c. 480–450 B.C., and it is suggested that it was perhaps struck by a grandson of the Tymnes mentioned by Herodotus. In *HN*<sup>2</sup>, however, the date c. 550–480 is preferred, and Mr. H. Cahn informs us that he would date the coin

<sup>245</sup> The absence of recognisable Roman remains of any kind suggests that under the Empire the inhabitants moved their living-quarters down to the plain—a very understandable proceeding, in view of the arduous ascent to the mountain-top.

<sup>246</sup> Callisthenes, writing c. 330 B.C., still uses the form Syangela; but he is speaking of the Mausolan synoecism and would naturally use the name appropriate at that date: it would be incongruous to speak of Mausolus preserving Theangela. In any case (as may be seen in Turkey to-day) the new name would take time to become generally recognised. There is no epigraphical reference to Syangela that need be later than Mausolus: Σπαγγυλατος in an inscription of Oropus (*AE* 1917, 231, Robert, *Coll. Froehn.* 94, no. 17) is dated to the fourth century, before 338. Conversely, the earliest epigraphical mention of Theangela is in the Eupolemus inscription, which is supposed to date c. 315 B.C.

<sup>247</sup> For Pliny's notice (*NH* V 107) see above pp. 143 f.

<sup>248</sup> The site at Aspat (above, p. 129) shows no evidence of occupation before Christian times, and is not a serious rival candidate. The allusion in *ATL* I 522 to 'the modern town of Asarlık' is an error: Asarlık is the name given to the ancient site, which is now quite deserted.

<sup>249</sup> For the evidence from pottery of occupation at the end of prehistoric times see p. 118.

<sup>250</sup> He is mentioned again in Her. VII 98.



to the end of the sixth century; in this case the Tymnes in question will be identical with the father of Histiaeus. This Tymnes will then in all probability be the Carian whose epitaph came to light recently at the Piraeus Gate in Athens; his death, to judge by the signature of the sculptor Aristocles, may be placed around the end of the sixth century.<sup>251</sup> The inscription Τερμερικόν on the coin is interesting. Evidently the coin is not simply a coin of Termera; <sup>252</sup> it must, we think, be supposed that Tymnes' rule extended over other places as well. We have in fact evidence, if the expression be permissible, of some kind of Termeric union, centred on Termera under the rule of Tymnes.

In the Athenian tribute lists Termera pays in the first and second periods (454-447 B.C.) two and a half talents; for the third period (446-444) evidence is lacking; in the fourth period (443-439) the tribute drops to half a talent. No reason has been suggested for this unusually big reduction; we note, however, that just at this time, in 445 B.C., we have the first appearance in the lists of an entry read as Κἄρες ὧν Τύμνης ἄρχει, paying half a talent. This is likely to be more than coincidence. We are disposed to believe that the 'Termeric union' continued in existence down to 447 B.C., being at that time ruled by Tymnes, doubtless son of Histiaeus and grandson of the Tymnes of the coin.<sup>253</sup> At this date the union broke up and the dynasty came to an end; Tymnes lost Termera, but continued in control of the remainder of the union elsewhere on the peninsula.<sup>254</sup> The combined tributes of his Carians and of Termera, one talent in all, correspond to the earlier payment of two and a half talents by the union; a similar reduction (from two talents to one) is observable at this same time in the tributes of Pedasa and Madnasa.<sup>255</sup> There can be little doubt, we think, of the extent of the territory comprised in the 'Termeric union'. Myndus to the north is separately assessed and continues to pay regularly throughout the first four periods, and was therefore not included; but the area to the north-east around Mūsgebi, the richest part of the peninsula and the present centre of a *nahiye*, is not represented in the tribute lists, in spite of its easy accessibility. This area we believe to have belonged to Telmissus (see below, pp. 153 ff.), which was never assessed by name in the Athenian league. We suggest accordingly that the 'Termeric union' comprised Termera and Telmissus, extending from the west coast to the border of Pedasan territory around Bitez; that in or about 447 B.C. this union broke up, and that Tymnes, expelled from Termera, retired to Telmissus, which he continued to rule down to 425 B.C. or later.<sup>256</sup>

After the Mausolan synoecism, Termera seems to have continued in existence, if only as a fort. Hellenistic sherds are found on the site (above, p. 116). Strabo speaks of χωρίον Τέρμερον in the present tense; as also Suidas in an interesting notice *s.v.* 'Τερμέρια κακά'. περὶ Καρίαν χωρίον Τερμέριον καλεῖται, ὃ ἐχρῶντο οἱ τύραννοι δεσποτηρίῳ. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν τυγχάνον κείται μεταξύ Μήλου (*leg.* Μύνδου) καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ. τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ληιζομένων δυσάλωτων τυγχανόντων λεχθῆναι τοῦτο. Τερμέρια οὖν κακά τὰ μεγάλα κακά. The 'tyrants' are not identified, but it is likely that the Hecatomnids are meant; <sup>257</sup> and it seems to us very probable that this notice preserves a genuine historical fact. The inner citadel at Asarlık may well have continued in use as a guard-house or prison, and may not

<sup>251</sup> See Mr. Threpsiades' communication in the current reports from Greece for the year 1953, esp. *AJA* 1954, 231, pl. 43, 2.

<sup>252</sup> We infer this from the termination -ικόν, which must apparently refer to something other, or more, than the city of Termera: cf. such inscriptions as σωματικόν, Ὀλυμπικόν, ἀρχιερατικόν.

<sup>253</sup> Or identical with the latter, if the later dating of the coin, now abandoned, is right.

<sup>254</sup> The decline in prosperity from this time on, suggested by the sherds at Asarlık (above, pp. 117 f.), may have been a consequence of this break-up.

<sup>255</sup> The union under Tymnes paid in the name of Τερμερῆς. Similarly, Syangela under Pigres pays generally as Συαγγελῆς.

<sup>256</sup> For Tymnes in the 'Carian Syntely' of 425 B.C. see below, pp. 162 f.

<sup>257</sup> This is the view taken by Head, *op. cit.*

have been the only citadel so used; see below, p. 168. From Mausolus' time onwards Termara belonged unquestionably to the territory of Myndus: cf. Strabo and Photius quoted above.<sup>258</sup>

#### 4. Pedasa.

Equally assured, we think, is the location of Pedasa at Gökçeler. A site in the general neighbourhood of Halicarnassus is postulated by Herodotus,<sup>259</sup> Strabo<sup>260</sup> and Pliny;<sup>261</sup> the exact site is indicated with virtual certainty by the discovery close to Gökçeler of building remains and a fragmentary list of dedications to Athena.<sup>262</sup> And in the plain to the south-west, where the territory of Gökçeler must have lain, the village of Bitez appears to preserve the ancient name.<sup>263</sup> The identification is indeed generally accepted to-day;<sup>264</sup> but the subsequent history of the city after Harpagus' campaign is complicated by the existence in Caria of two other places of the same name.<sup>265</sup> The question has been discussed by Ruge in *RE s.v.* 'Pedasa' and in *ATL I* 535-8; but with the majority of the views expressed, particularly in the latter work, we find ourselves obliged to disagree.

A second Pedasa (Πήδασον) is mentioned by Strabo in the same passage concerning the Leleges (XIII 611) as existing in his day ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικέων. This statement is apparently made by Strabo on his own authority, and this rather shadowy πολίχνιον is not certainly referred to elsewhere.

The third Pedasa (Πιδάσσα) is well attested in Milesian inscriptions.<sup>266</sup> It was near enough to Miletus to be incorporated in the city c. 182 B.C., but the exact site has not yet been determined.<sup>266a</sup> We agree with the view expressed in *ATL I* 537 that the foundation of this Pedasa is recorded by Herodotus, who says that the Persians after capturing Miletus in 494 B.C. occupied the city and the plain, but gave the highlands to Carians of Pedasa.<sup>267</sup> These Pedasans were surely transplanted from the neighbourhood of Gökçeler; we feel that when the Halicarnassian Herodotus speaks of Pedasa, very good reason should be shown before supposing that he means any other than Gökçeler.<sup>268</sup>

In the years following the Ionian venture at Sardis in 499 B.C., the Persian general Daurises came south with an army to suppress the Carian rebels. Defeated at the Battle of the Marsyas

<sup>258</sup> The explanation of the proverbial Τερμάρια κακά seems to be uncertain. Suidas' account, which refers it to the sufferings due to the banditry practised by the Termerans, is apparently confirmed by Philip of Theangela and by Photius *s.v.*, who attribute the practice to the eponymous founder Termerus. (The passages are quoted in *FHG IV* 475.) But a different explanation is given by Plutarch, *Thes. II*, who makes it equivalent to 'being paid in one's own coin' or 'given a dose of one's own medicine': (Ἡρακλῆς) τὸν Τέρμερον συρρήξας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέκτενε. ὅφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ Τερμάριον κακὸν ὀνομασθήναι λέγουσι· παίων γάρ, ὡς εἶπκε, κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἐντυγχάνοντος ὁ Τέρμερος ἀπώλλυται. (Not merely 'a misfortune one brings on oneself', as LS<sup>9</sup> *s.v.*, where, moreover, the more usual explanation is disregarded.)

<sup>259</sup> I 175: ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασαῖες οἰκόντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν, τοῖσι ὅπως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδειον ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι τε καὶ τοῖσι περιόικοις, ἡ ἱρεὶς τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίαν ἀνδρῶν μόνοι τε ἀντίσταν χρόνου Ἀρπάγω καὶ πρήγματα παρίσχον πλείστα, ὅρος τεύχισαντες τῶ ὀνομαζέσθαι Ἰσθμῷ. Cf. VIII 104: οἱ δὲ Πηδασαῖες οἰκοῦσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδασαίοις τοῖσι αὐτοῖς συμμέρεται πρήγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ τοῖσι ἀμερικτοῖσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκοῦσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλει τι ἐντός χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱρεὶς αὐτῇ τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφι δὲς ἦδη ἐγένετο.

<sup>260</sup> XIII 611, quoted above, p. 143.

<sup>261</sup> V 107, quoted above, p. 143.

<sup>262</sup> *JHS XVI* (1896), 215-6 no. 4 = *CIG* 2660 = *SGDI* 5731: cf. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 440. Not, as *ATL I* 537, halfway between Gökçeler and Bitez.

<sup>263</sup> Prokesh, *Denkwürdigkeiten III* 441 (c. 1827), gives the form Pedess, the Admiralty Chart Petasa.

<sup>264</sup> Though Ruge in *RE* allows it only 'a certain probability'. Earlier locations of this 'Halicarnassian' Pedasa at Etrium or at Karacahisar no longer need refutation, as these sites are securely assigned respectively to Theangela (above, p. 112) and Hydissus (Robert, *AJA XXXIX* (1935), 339).

<sup>265</sup> We take little account of the variant forms Pedasa, Pedason, Pidasa, which are to all appearances interchangeable. St. Byz. *s.v.* 'Πήγασα' strangely insists that the name should be spelt with a *gamma*.

<sup>266</sup> Cf. *Milet I* 3, 352 ff.

<sup>266a</sup> A discussion of the site is promised by Robert, *Coll. Froehn*, 79, n. 3.

<sup>267</sup> Her. VI 20: τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδωσαν Καροὶ Πηδασαίοις ἐκτεῖσθαι.

<sup>268</sup> The Persian motive was perhaps to divide and so weaken a people who had given them serious trouble in the past (Her. I 175: for V 121 see below).

not far from Tralles, the Carians gathered at Labraunda, where they were joined by a Milesian contingent, but were defeated a second time by the Persians. They recovered again, however: πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμέονται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν (Her. V 119-21). In this text ἐν Πηδάσῳ is a correction, the MSS. having ἐν πιδάσῳι, ἐπὶ δάσῳι, or ἐπὶ λάσσοισι. *ATL* I 537 accepts Wesseling's conjecture ἐπὶ (Μυ)λάσσοισι, supposing the ambush to take place on the Sacred Way from Labraunda to Mylasa: 'the Persians prepared to march ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων: this, from Labraunda, can hardly mean other than along the road to Mylasa'. We cannot believe this view to be right. From Labraunda, of course, the road leads straight to Mylasa, but we can hardly suppose that after the battle the Persians remained idle at Labraunda, instead of marching down to take Mylasa. After the defeat the city can hardly have been defensible, and we must surely suppose that the Persians took it. Secondly, the Persians fell into the ambush *by night*. To allow this to happen on the few hours' march from Labraunda to Mylasa would argue a quite exceptional incompetence on Daurises' part. Thirdly, Herodotus' words πυθόμενοι . . . ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων imply that previously there had been doubt about Daurises' intentions, that is, there was some reasonable alternative open to him. But after the Battle of Labraunda what alternative was there to a march on Mylasa? The Persians could hardly be expected to exploit their victory by turning round and retreating northwards. After the fall of Mylasa, on the other hand, there might well be uncertainty as to Daurises' future plans. Short of going back the way he had come, he might proceed in three directions: north-west towards Miletus, east towards Lagina and the later Stratoniceia, or south-west towards Halicarnassus. And it may be said that in each of these directions there was a Pedasa. The first two are mentioned in *ATL*, without approval, as possibilities; the second is adopted by Ruge in *RE*, though on no stronger grounds than that the Persian route from the north to Labraunda 'führt in die Gegend von Stratonikeia'. The third, which finds no mention in these two works, we should judge to be unquestionably the right solution. Daurises' choice of route is defined by Herodotus in the words ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων. What is the natural meaning of this? There were no doubt Carian settlements of some sort in every direction from Mylasa; but the principal concentration of cities (at least after Mylasa had fallen) was surely that in the Halicarnassian peninsula, the country of the Lelegian octapolis where the notable Carian chieftains were located.<sup>269</sup> The purpose of the Persian expedition was to suppress the revolted Carians; on the last occasion of the sort, the chief resistance to Harpagus had been offered by the Pedasans of Gökçeler; it is surely unlikely that Daurises would turn away leaving this Pedasa unmolested.<sup>270</sup> The country north and west of Gökçeler is very difficult for an army; once the Persians had crossed the Karaova they might easily get benighted, even on what their guides would recommend as a possible day's march.<sup>271</sup> We cannot doubt that 'the road near Pedasa' means the Gökçeler road.<sup>272</sup> As was said above, Pedasa in Herodotus' mouth should be presumed to mean Gökçeler till the contrary is demonstrated.

In the Athenian tribute lists Pedasa pays two talents in the first period (454-1 B.C.), and one talent in the second; after which it drops out, though it is reassessed at half a talent in 425.

<sup>269</sup> Herodotus does not distinguish Carians and Lelegians (cf. I 171).

<sup>270</sup> He might have been provoked by the Milesian intervention at Labraunda to turn against Miletus, but it seems to us quite clear from Herodotus' words that this is excluded. To take the road to the east would be to abandon the expedition with its object unachieved; the opposition was by no means yet suppressed, as the event showed.

<sup>271</sup> The total absence of running water in this region, combined with the mountainous nature of the country, would make a camping site practically impossible to find. We have assumed that the road taken by the Persians followed roughly the course of the modern *chaussée*; if instead they attempted the road along the coast from Sıralık to Torba (above, p. 131), the success of the ambush is even easier to understand.

<sup>272</sup> Since Herodotus (VIII 104) calls the city Πηδάσσα, we should be inclined to read ἐπὶ (Πη)δάσσοισι in the text of V 121, but certainty is impossible.



In *ATL* I 535 it is said that this history makes it practically impossible to locate Pedasa at Gökçeler, and the view is adopted that the 'Milesian' Pedasa is meant.<sup>273</sup> On such a point, the opinion of the editors of *ATL* must carry great weight; yet we find ourselves unconvinced. True, their view makes it easy to understand why Pedasa disappears from the lists after the Peace of Callias, but it does not explain why the city at Gökçeler was omitted. Of the Lelegian cities not only Syangela, Termera, and Madnasa, with substantial tributes, were included, but also such inconsiderable places as Myndus and Uranium;<sup>274</sup> and Pedasa was certainly among the more important of them. The same reasons that make it unlikely that Athens would abandon a handsome tribute from a town so near the sea make it unlikely that she would forgo it in the first place. That Pedasa (= Gökçeler) should drop out early is not, we think, hard to understand. Uranium disappears from the lists at the same time as Pedasa, and at the same time also the tribute of Termera drops to a fifth. The Lelegian cities that continued to pay regularly were Syangela, Myndus, and Madnasa, and of these the first two at least had probably some sort of naval tradition;<sup>275</sup> the others soon lost any interest in the Athenian maritime league, and could not be induced to go on paying. Punitive expeditions against these hilltop towns were, from the Athenian point of view, simply not worth while. We believe that the 'Halicarnassian' Pedasa was in fact assessed from the beginning, with a tribute corresponding well with her standing among the Lelegian cities.

Pedasa makes one more appearance in history. In Polybius XVIII 44, 4 it is among the places from which Philip V was required in 196 B.C. to withdraw his garrisons.<sup>276</sup> In *ATL* I 536, n. 7, it is taken as certain that this is the 'Milesian' Pedasa; Ruge and E. Meyer agree. This may very well be so; but we see no certainty. If Polybius' words ἐλευθέρας ἀφείναι are pressed to their full meaning, the Halicarnassian Pedasa is out of the question; Gökçeler cannot have been an independent city at this time, whereas the 'Milesian' Pedasa apparently was so until about 182 B.C. But on other grounds a Macedonian garrison at Gökçeler seems highly probable. Philip held Miletus, Iasus, and Bargylia; to complete his control of the Iasian Gulf he would require a position on the Halicarnassian peninsula, and for this purpose Gökçeler is admirably suited. It commands Halicarnassus, with the advantage of overlooking the Iasian Gulf as well, and being placed on the neck of the peninsula is well situated to obviate enemy reinforcements sent through Halicarnassus or Myndus. Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen* 71), while not questioning the identification with the 'Milesian' Pedasa, actually remarks it as singular if Philip had no position on the north side of the Ceramic Gulf. Pedasa, we have insisted above, was effectively incorporated in Halicarnassus more than a century and a half before this date; but the sherds at Gökçeler attest some sort of occupation in Hellenistic times (above, p. 124), and nothing is more likely than that the fortification would be maintained as an outpost of Halicarnassus.

##### 5. *Telmissus*.

As in the case of Pedasa, confusion has been caused by the recurrence of the name not far away at Fethiye (Makri) in Lycia, and it is not always clear in the ancient authorities which of the two is meant when Telmissus is named. The uncertainty is complicated by the apparent

<sup>273</sup> With the proviso that the half-talent assessment in 425 may relate to Gökçeler.

<sup>274</sup> Side was not assessed, nor apparently Telmissus.

<sup>275</sup> Pigres, probably of Syangela, at Salamis (above, p. 114); Myndian ship in the Persian fleet (Her. V 33). For Madnasa, see below, p. 155. Termera also continued to pay her reduced tribute, and she too had a captain in the Persian fleet (Her. V 37).

<sup>276</sup> Εὐρωμον δὲ καὶ Πήδασσα καὶ Βαργύλια καὶ τὴν Ἰασκῶν πόλιν (also Abydos, Thasos, Myrina, and Perinthus) ἀλευθεῖται ἀφείναι τὰς φρουράς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταστησάμενον. Cf. Livy XXXIII 30.



fact that divination was practised at both places; the Telmessian diviners had indeed considerable celebrity, and are mentioned with some frequency. We quote the evidence which helps, or may help, in identifying the Lelegian city.<sup>277</sup>

(1) *BMI* 896; *JHS* XVI (1896), 234, no. 36; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1044; Michel 854: a Halicarnassian inscription of c. 300 B.C. in which Ἀπόλλων Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέων delivers an oracular response (ἐχρησεν ὁ θεός) of normal type.

(2) *JHS* XIV (1894), 377; Michel 459: found by Paton built into a house in the village of Belen,<sup>278</sup> and dated to the early second century B.C. This is a decree of the koinon of the Telmessians in honour of a certain Poseideos who εὐσεβῶς μὲν διακείμενος τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην τοῦ γένους Ἀπόλλωνα Τελμισσῆ, φιλοστόργως δὲ τὰ πρὸς πάντας Τελμισσεῖς, καὶ γενόμενος στεφανηφόρος εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως ἐπετέλησεν τὰς θυσίας καὶ ἐκαλλιέρησεν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ Τελμισσέων καὶ τῆς πόλεως. We learn further that the Telmessians possessed the right of *ateleia* κατὰ προτιμήν (*s.v.l.*) and ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, and that the god owned sacred domains (ιερά χωρία).<sup>279</sup>

(3) Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 619: Imperial coin of Halicarnassus, showing a draped male figure holding a branch, and inscribed ΤΕΛΜΙΣΕΥC, with reference presumably to Apollo Telmisseus.

(4) Polemo of Ilium *ap. Phot. Lex. (FHG* III 125, fr. 35; *cf.* IV 394): Τελμισσεῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Καρίᾳ, ἀπέχοντες ἐξήκοντα στάδια Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ. This notice is repeated in *Etym. Magn.* and Suidas *s.v.* 'Τελμισσεῖς'.

(5) Cicero *de div.* I 41, 91: *licet autem videre et genera quaedam et nationes huic scientiae deditas. Telmessus in Caria est, qua in urbe excellit haruspicum disciplina; itemque Elis in Peloponneso familias duas certas habet etc.*

*ibid.* I 42, 94: *Tum Caria tota praecipueque Telmesses, quos ante dixi, quod agros uberrimos maximeque fertiles incolunt, in quibus multa propter fecunditatem fingi gignique possunt, in ostentis animadvertendis diligentes fuerunt.*

(6) Arrian, *Anab.* II 3, 2-4 tells the story of Gordius the Phrygian, on whose plough an eagle perched and remained all day: τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ ὄψει λέναι κοινώσοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεῖου παρὰ τοὺς Τελμισσέας τοὺς μάντεις· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσέας σοφοὺς τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι, καὶ σφισιν ἀπὸ γένους δεδοσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναῖξιν καὶ παισὶ τὴν μαντείαν. προσάγοντα δὲ κώμητι τῶν Τελμισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ ὕδρευομένη καὶ πρὸς ταύτην εἰπεῖν ὅπως οἱ τὸ τοῦ ἀετοῦ ἔσχε· τὴν δὲ, εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους, θύειν κελεῦσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ.

Other references of the classical period are unhelpful for our present purpose, namely:

(7) In Herodotus I, 78 and 84 the Telmessians are consulted on two occasions by the kings of Sardis concerning portents, but no indication is given of their whereabouts.

(8) Aristophanes wrote a play called the *Telmessians*, in which mention was made of divination from entrails (fr. 540 Kock), but again there is nothing to show whether the Carian or the Lycian Telmessus is meant.

(9) Telmessus makes two appearances in the Athenian tribute lists; we agree that, to

<sup>277</sup> Of the various forms attested—Telmessus, Telmessus, Telemessus—we have chosen the first as having the authority of the only strictly local inscription; but the choice has no significance, and in particular the form of the name can never, it seems, be used to distinguish the Carian and Lycian cities.

<sup>278</sup> *ATL* I 554, 'in situ near Pelen' refers presumably to the reported provenience of the stone as learned by Paton: see below. We have not ourselves seen this stone.

<sup>279</sup> In l. 15 of this inscription, ἀποκατέστησε τῷ θεῷ τὴν χώραν ἐξῆς, ὥστε [θ]υσίας καὶ τιμὰς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι συμβέβηκεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, we do not understand ἐξῆς, and wonder if the true reading be not ἐξ ἧς (τάς) τε [θ]υσίας κτλ. In l. 23, [ἀπο-δελιδῶν] is wrongly restored; [δεκνόμενος] or something similar is required.

judge by the contexts in which it occurs, this is almost certainly the Lycian city.<sup>280</sup> Its tribute is one talent.

There are also numerous references in late authors to the Telmessian diviners: see Ruge in *RE* s.v. 'Telmessos (2)'.

Of these notices the first four relate with complete certainty to our Carian Telmissus. We learn with assurance that Telmissus was sixty stades from Halicarnassus, and that after the synoecism it continued to exist, forming within the state of Halicarnassus (τῆς πόλεως) a privileged community centred on a sanctuary of Apollo Telmisseus. This Apollo uttered oracles, possessed sacred lands, and was the founder of a priestly γένος.

The passage of Cicero, no. 5, with its repeated mention of Caria, seems also on the face of it to relate to our Telmissus, and we should have no hesitation in taking it so, but that Ruge in *RE* loc. cit. has claimed that Caria is a mistake on Cicero's part, and that in reality the Lycian Telmessus is meant. In the article in question he makes a courageous attempt to distinguish between the forms of divination practised in the Carian and Lycian towns respectively. He takes as a basis a passage of Tatian (*ad Graecos* 1), where the Telmessians who interpret dreams are contrasted with the Carians who use τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀστρῶν πρόγνωσιν: he then combines this with a notice in Photius s.v. 'Τελμισσεῖς', who writes (following no. 4 above): Τελμισσὸς δὲ πόλις ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἀπὸ Τελμισσοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μιᾶς τῶν Ἀντήνορος θυγατέρων, ἣ ἐμίγη εἰς σκύλακα μεταβαλὼν διὸ καὶ τερασκόπον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, ὥς Διονύσιος ἐν Κτίσεσιν. Ruge accordingly claims that all references to interpretation of dreams and portents are to be related to the Lycian Telmessus, leaving apparently for the Carians only astrology. Since therefore Cicero's Telmessians are *in ostentis animadvertendis diligentes*, their location in Caria must be an error. We cannot enter here into the details of this question, but we confess ourselves unconvinced; such an error on Cicero's part seems to us unlikely,<sup>281</sup> nor do we think it proved that interpretation of portents was confined to the Lycian city. On the other hand, it is clear from the context that Cicero takes the Telmessians as an example of a clan or family (genus) versed in divination, and we know from the inscription no. 2 that there was such a clan (γένος) at our Telmissus. We cannot help believing that Cicero refers to this.

The passage of Arrian, no. 6, is in somewhat similar case. Here again the presence of a portent should, on Ruge's view, indicate the Lycian city. Ruge himself is disposed to believe that the inclusion of the Telmessians is a later addition to the story; whether this be so or not, we note that, as in the case of Cicero, Arrian's account of the μαντικὸν γένος agrees with the information supplied by the inscription no. 2, and strongly suggests that the reference here also is to our Carian Telmissus.

We should therefore prefer to believe that nos. 5 and 6 both relate to the Halicarnassian Telmissus. In this case, we have important information to supplement that already gained. The Lelegian city<sup>282</sup> possessed enough territory to include one or more villages, and the territory belonging to the later *koinon* was of exceptional fertility. It is natural to suppose that the *koinon* also comprised a number of villages apart from Telmissus itself. If we look for such a site at a distance of sixty stades from Halicarnassus, we are led inevitably to the Lelegian town-site

<sup>280</sup> *ATL* I 554: once before Λύκοι καὶ συν(τέλεις), once between Phaselis and Calynda. Telmessus, though of Lycian origin, seems to have held aloof from the rest of Lycia at least until the middle of the fourth century (Theopompus, *FGH*. 115, F 103), so might well be separately assessed.

<sup>281</sup> It is true that the Lycian Telmessus was near the border of Caria and Lycia; but this border was an important one, since Lycia was at this time still independent, whereas Caria was part of a Roman province—a province, moreover, governed by Cicero's brother, to whom the description is not improbably due. The mistake would be the more reprehensible since Telmessus is taken as an outstanding example of a faculty common to all the Carians. For Ruge's second reason for supposing Caria to be an error here, see below in connection with the Karadağ site.

<sup>282</sup> Or the later *koinon*, if Ruge be right in supposing Arrian's account to be of late origin.

at Gürice, to which must have belonged the abundant arable land around Müsgebi and as far as the coast at Yalıcuma. On the evidence presented above, this would seem the natural, or even inescapable conclusion.<sup>283</sup>

If we go further, and search on this territory for the site of the temple and oracle of Apollo, we think naturally first of all of the church and bishopric close to Müsgebi (Episkopi) (p. 129). Too little is now visible on the site (which indeed is not certainly identified) to prove or disprove this suggestion, but it is natural that the religious centre of Christian times should succeed to the religious centre of antiquity.

But another site, at a similar distance from Halicarnassus, but of totally different character, has been confidently proposed and widely accepted. The important inscription no. 2, found by Paton built into a house in Belen village, is stated to have come from a church upon the saddle below Karadağ on the west, where the path leads across from Belen to Göl (p. 123). This church 'is built upon the ruins of a Carian or Hellenic building, of large roughly-squared stones, with the broad draft down the angles which is characteristic of the pre-Mausolan masonry of this neighbourhood'.<sup>284</sup> On the strength of this evidence Paton and Myres concluded that the church marks the site of the temple of Telmessian Apollo, in which case Telmissus can hardly be other than the double town-site on Karadağ, half an hour's climb up the mountain from the church. This case is persuasive,<sup>285</sup> and if the resulting identification were more satisfactory, we should feel bound to concur. But there are obvious difficulties. In particular, as Ruge observes, Cicero's description of the Carian Telmessus 'passt absolut nicht' to the wild and arid mountain-sides of Karadağ; there is, indeed, no spot on the whole peninsula to which that description is less applicable. Ruge concludes that Cicero must be in error; it should, we think, be seriously considered whether the error be not rather in the identification. The case rests upon two items of evidence: the Carian or Hellenic ruins under the church, and the provenience of the inscription. With regard to the former, we were not ourselves able to confirm the existence of this earlier building;<sup>286</sup> the church appeared to us to be constructed mainly of ancient blocks taken no doubt from the neighbouring fort,<sup>287</sup> and we wonder if the reported Carian or Hellenic ruins also may not be merely the blocks of this fort. The vertical draft-lines at the corners are surely more suggestive of fortification-works than of either the walls or the foundations of a temple. Nevertheless, if the decree of the Telmessians really came from this site, we must in spite of all difficulties accept the location of the temple here. With abundant supplies of squared blocks close at hand, it is not likely that the inscribed stone should have been brought from far afield for the construction of the church. Paton speaks quite definitely on this point, and had evidently no reason to doubt the information;<sup>288</sup> all the same, we have suffered often enough ourselves from inaccurate and irresponsible information of provenience to feel that doubt is perhaps permissible. If our alternative location of the temple on the site of the later bishopric be correct, we have only to suppose that some confusion arose, or some careless statement was made, as to which of the two *kilise* was the true source of the inscription. There is no difficulty at all in supposing that the stone may have been carried

<sup>283</sup> Neither Cicero nor Arrian makes any mention of Apollo, for whom at Telmissus the two inscriptions and the coin are the only evidence. In Cicero's case this is natural, as he is concerned to give a rational explanation of the Carians' powers of divination: having these rich lands, in which many strange things are liable to germinate, they are familiar with the phenomena of nature. In general, it seems that the Telmessians' divinatory faculties made more impression in antiquity than the oracular powers of Apollo.

<sup>284</sup> Paton-Myres, *JHS* XIV (1894), 373.

<sup>285</sup> It is accepted by Kiepert, by Ruge in *RE*, and in *ATL* I 554.

<sup>286</sup> The site is now very thickly overgrown; more was perhaps visible sixty years ago.

<sup>287</sup> See above, p. 123. This fort is, we imagine, that shown on Admiralty Chart 1546; Paton and Myres make no reference to it, and take the ruins on Karadağ to be the fort shown on the chart.

<sup>288</sup> He did not, of course, see the stone at the church himself.



from near Müsgebi to Belen for the construction of the house. Alternatively, the temple of Apollo may have been in the neighbourhood of Beyyinar, where there are some ancient remains, including the two inscriptions, a milestone and a Hellenistic epitaph, nos. 54 and 53, above (pp. 129, 138 f.).

We are therefore disposed to believe that the Lelegian town of Telmissus should be located at Gürice, which answers excellently to the requirements of the documentary evidence.

#### 6, 7, 8. *Madnasa, Uranium, Side.*

For the last three Lelegian cities we have the three sites at Karadağ, Göl, and Burgaz, but for the apportionment of these there is little or no precise evidence. There is, however, perhaps enough probability to justify a tentative identification. We note first the ancient testimony apart from Pliny.

Madnasa (Medmasa)<sup>289</sup> was evidently a place of some little consequence. It is recorded by Hecataeus *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Μέδμασσα', and in the Athenian tribute lists it begins with a tribute of two talents later reduced to one, which it continues to pay regularly at least down to 432 B.C.

Uranium appears in the tribute lists, with a small tribute, in the first period (454-1 B.C.), then again in 425 B.C. in a 'Carian syntely' (see below, pp. 162 f.). Diodorus Siculus V 23 records that during the Carian thalassocracy after the Trojan War Syme was occupied by Carians: ὕστερον δ' αὐχμῶν γενομένων ἐφυγον ἐκ τῆς νήσου, καὶ κατῴκησαν τὸ καλούμενον Οὐράνιον. This is presumably the same place: even if καλούμενον must imply that the name was in use in Diodorus' own time, there is no reason why it should not have been preserved after the place itself ceased to be inhabited.

Side is presumably identical with Stephanus' Σίβδα, πόλις Καρίας. It does not appear in the tribute lists and is not otherwise mentioned.

Of our three sites, that at Karadağ is by far the least accessible, and is cut off from the sea on all sides. It is much the most likely of the three to have escaped assessment by the Athenians, and we are strongly inclined to identify it with Side. Of the two remaining sites, Göl is a more considerable place than Burgaz, and it commands the excellent harbour of Türkbükü; it may well, we think, have come into the one-talent class, and we propose with some confidence to place Madnasa here. We suggested above in connection with Pedasa that the cities which, like Madnasa, continued to pay their tribute regularly after the first two periods were those which had ships on the sea; and Göl looks the most maritime in character of all the Lelegian sites.<sup>290</sup> Burgaz remains for Uranium, and the site seems quite satisfactory. It commands the plain and *iskele* of Yalıkavak; but as a harbour Yalıkavak is far inferior to Türkbükü, being much exposed to the prevailing north-west wind (*meltem*).<sup>291</sup> A small tribute, soon discontinued, seems perfectly appropriate.

#### B. CARYANDA.

The site of Caryanda is a long-standing enigma. It is sensibly discussed in *ATL* I 498 though without the advantage of actual knowledge of the localities concerned. As we have ourselves visited the places in question, a fresh attempt to clear up the confusion is perhaps justified.

<sup>289</sup> The identity of these names is universally accepted and hardly needs justification. *Mednassa* and *Methmassa* are in fact variant readings in Pliny.

<sup>290</sup> For the connection of Madnasa with Caryanda see below, p. 158.

<sup>291</sup> See the descriptions of the two bays in *Mediterranean Pilot* (7th ed. 1941), pp. 313-14.



We transcribe, for convenience, the relevant ancient texts.

Ps.-Scylax 99 (going south) lists the Greek cities of Caria—Heracleia, Miletus, Myndus, Halicarnassus—then passes to the islands: Κάλυμνα νῆσος, Καρύανδα νῆσος καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν (οὔτοι Κῆρες), νῆσος Κῶς καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός. In this text Καρύανδα is a correction; the principal MS. has Κρυϊνδα, the others Κρυϊνδα.<sup>292</sup> No island of this name is otherwise known, and there seems no reasonable doubt that Caryanda is meant.

In the tribute lists Caryanda appears, paying regularly, with a tribute of one-twelfth of a talent, raised to one-sixth in 425 B.C.

Strabo XIV 658: εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἡ Μύνδος λιμένα ἔχουσα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Βαργύλια, καὶ αὕτη πόλις· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ Καρύανδα λίμνη καὶ νῆσος ὁμώνυμος ταύτῃ, ἣν ὥκουσιν Καρυανδεῖς. In this passage the most recent editions give λιμὴν after Καρύανδα without comment; but it appears from the notes in the editions of Koraes (1815-19) and Kramer (1852) that the MS. reading is λίμνη.<sup>293</sup>

Mela I 85 (going north): *trans Halicarnason illa sunt: litus Leuca, urbes Myndos, <sup>294</sup> (C)aryanda, Neapolis, sinus Iasius et Basilicus.*

Pliny, *NH* V 107 (going north): *inde Myndos et ubi fuit Palaemyndus, Nariandos, Neapolis, Caryanda, Theangela <sup>295</sup> libera, Bargylia et (a quo sinus Iasius) oppidum Iasus.*

*ibid.* 134 (in a list of islands) after Cos: *hinc Caryanda cum oppido, nec procul ab Halicarnaso Pidossus. in Ceramico autem sinu . . .* (for the list that follows see below, p. 160).

Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* 'Καρύανδα', πόλις καὶ λίμνη ὁμώνυμος πλησίον Μύνδου καὶ Κῶ. 'Ἐκαταῖος Καρύανδαν αὐτὴν φησι. Here again λίμνη is altered to λιμὴν by the editors.<sup>296</sup>

Apart from these passages, the few references to Caryanda are all early. The Caryandan Scylax in the time of Darius I is well known (*Her.* I 44); in *CIG* 4702 we have Στράτων Καρυανδ(εύς) in a list of dedicators in Egypt *c.* 360 B.C.; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8963 (Peiraeus, mid iv B.C.) and Maiuri, *Nuova Sill.* 541 (Cos, iv-iii B.C.) are epitaphs of Caryandans. The rare coins of Caryanda are dated to 'the third century or earlier' (Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 612). After this time Caryanda disappears from all but the texts of the geographers.

This evidence, we think, presents a perfectly consistent picture. First and foremost, one thing is absolutely certain, namely that *two* sites are required, an early island site and a later site on the mainland. Strabo indeed tells us as much; and any other supposition will inevitably involve rejecting a considerable part of the evidence. Our most informative witnesses, Ps.-Scylax and Strabo, are fortunately the most reputable, and we look first to their testimony. Ps.-Scylax is clear and definite: Caryanda is an island with a city and harbour, exactly like Cos which immediately follows. Strabo agrees: there is an island called Caryanda, where the Caryandans used to live. So far we are surely on firm ground.<sup>297</sup> But it is further clear from Strabo that the Caryandans are no longer in their island, but are living (unless they have ceased to exist altogether) beside a Lake Caryanda, obviously on the mainland. One more

<sup>292</sup> For this information we are gratefully indebted to Mr. Aubrey Diller. It appears that Müller's note in *GGM* I 73 is incorrect.

<sup>293</sup> The change to λιμὴν involves the further alteration of ταύτῃ, *e.g.* ὁμώνυμος ταύτῃ ὥκουσιν Koraes; ὁμώνυμος ταύτῃ, ἣν ὥκουσιν Müller (Didot 1877); Meineke's Teubner text (following the Vatican epitome) omits ταύτῃ. *ATL loc. cit.* follows Meineke. Newton points out that all MSS. of Strabo and Steph. Byz. have λίμνη (*Halicarnassus* II 599), and Chandler does not seem to have questioned the reading λίμνη.

<sup>294</sup> Corrected from *Myridos*.

<sup>295</sup> MSS. *Termera*: see above, p. 144.

<sup>296</sup> *ATL loc. cit.* accepts Jacoby's conjecture πόλις καὶ λιμ(ήν καὶ) νῆ(ος) ὁμώνυμος.

<sup>297</sup> In the face of this evidence, it is strange that scholars (including even so good a judge as Robert: see *Rev. Phil.* LXII (1936), 283) should so often have sought the classical Caryanda on the Carian mainland. R. Kiepert's suggestion in *FOA* VIII, Text 7, that the Caryandans may have had country houses and farms on the island, and that the name of the city was eventually transmitted to the island, seems an almost exact inversion of the actual course of events. *ATL loc. cit.* rightly insists on an island site, but leaves the evidence for a mainland site (Strabo, Mela, Pliny) in the air.

fact we gather from Strabo: there was no city of Caryanda on the mainland. This appears not merely from his mentioning only Καρύανδα λίμνη, but even more clearly from the words Βαργύλια, καὶ αὕτη πόλις: Myndus and Bargylia are cities, Caryanda by evident implication is not. Pliny also has heard of the two sites, island (with city) and mainland; Mela knows only one, apparently the later one on the mainland.<sup>298</sup>

On the evidence as we have it, the island site included a harbour, λιμὴν, the mainland site included a lake, λίμνη. For the latter we have the unanimous authority of the MSS. of Strabo and Stephanus, and we see no reason to distrust it. The phrasing in Stephanus seems to show that he took this part of his notice from Strabo, in which case the reading λίμνη in Strabo must go back at least to early Byzantine times. The two words are, of course, easily confused, and an early corruption in Strabo might readily be accepted if any good reason were shown; we see no reason at all, and prefer to take the texts as they stand.<sup>299</sup>

We look therefore for an island with a city and harbour, and for a lake, without a regular city, on the mainland. Postponing for the moment the location of the island, we consider first the mainland site. Concerning the position of this, our authorities are unanimous: it was between Myndus and Bargylia.<sup>300</sup> In this area there is one obvious lake—that which gives its name to the village of Göl, though it is now little more than a marsh. According to the evidence, this should be Lake Caryanda. Fairly early in the Hellenistic period the Caryandans abandoned their island city and settled here, around Aşağı (Lower) Göl and Türkbükü, giving to the lake the name of their old city. From this time on they are citizens of Myndus; the coins of Caryanda cease, and the ethnic no longer appears in inscriptions or in literature. We feel no doubt that this is what actually happened. The Mausolan synoecism must have left a considerable vacuum on the peninsula, and the Caryandans merely moved into the vacancy created by the abolition of the Lelegian city which we identify with Madnasa. Myndus—itsself, as we know, underpopulated<sup>301</sup>—would no doubt be ready and willing to admit this accession of man-power. Positive evidence of connection between Caryanda and Göl exists in the coin found by Paton, and (on our view) in the close association of Madnasa and Caryanda in the tribute lists (below, n. 306).<sup>302</sup>

This, we believe, is the conclusion demanded by the evidence. Before reaching it, we considered carefully the claims of the site at Sıralık favoured by Kiepert. This has sherds beginning in the middle Hellenistic period, and walls of similar date (above, p. 132). Lake

<sup>298</sup> He calls it a city, *urbs*; this is no doubt a mere assumption on his part: he would know there was at one time a city: there is no trace elsewhere of a city of Caryanda in Hellenistic or later times. Incidentally, it is perhaps not certain that Mela mentions Caryanda at all; it would presumably be possible to read <N>aruanda, corresponding to Pliny's Nariandos. Stephanus' account is confused: see below n. 300.

<sup>299</sup> The only reason offered (to our knowledge) for changing to λιμὴν is the mention of a harbour by Ps.-Scylax (see Kramer's note *ad loc.*), but this is clearly wrong-headed: Strabo's λίμνη is expressly distinguished from the island recorded by Ps.-Scylax.

<sup>300</sup> Strabo, *loc. cit.*, Mela, *loc. cit.*, Pliny V 107. Stephanus' evidence is neither one thing nor the other; he seems to have taken his facts from a variety of sources, and he certainly did not realise that two sites were in question. He has consulted Hecataeus; λίμνη δακτύλιος is apparently from Strabo; πόλις may be his own invention or may be from Ps.-Scylax or Mela; πηλοστον Μόνδου καὶ Κῶ might be from Hecataeus, as suggested in *ATL* I 498, but need not be so; both names may be taken from the extant authorities quoted above.

<sup>301</sup> Cf. the story of Diogenes quoted above, p. 111.

<sup>302</sup> This settlement at Lower Göl has, of course, no connection with the Lelegian site on the hill above, but was centred on the low ground by the shore, where later a considerable Byzantine town grew up. The Lelegian city at Göl was identified with Caryanda by Paton and Myres on the strength chiefly of a coin of Caryanda found on the shore close by (*JHS* XIV 375 f.). This identification (which has met with considerable approval, e.g. from Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 612, Robert, *Rev. Phil.* 1936, 283, *Coll. Froehn.* 84 n. 2) is in our view out of the question; first, because an island site is absolutely demanded for the early Caryanda (so *ATL loc. cit.*), and second, because the city at Göl is clearly one of the synoecised Lelegian towns, whereas Caryanda was not among the eight names recorded, as we believe, by Callisthenes, and is shown to have survived the synoecism by its mention in Ps.-Scylax (see above, p. 145). The lake lends no support, being connected in the authorities only with the later Caryanda. The coin is too portable an object to be relied on in isolation, but may well have come across with the settlers from the island.

Caryanda must then be identified with a small lake called Inegöl some distance to the east of Güvercinlik, towards Mumcular; though now insignificant, this was formerly, as it appears, of more consequence.<sup>303</sup> But this view seems to us on all grounds inferior to that proposed above. Sıralık and Inegöl are unreasonably far apart, and the lake is hardly describable as between Myndus and Bargylia. It must have lain in the territory either of Theangela or of Bargylia; we must then suppose that one of these cities, in admitting the Caryandans to citizenship, permitted them to occupy a considerable area of its territory and to fortify the hill at Sıralık. A simple settlement on the depopulated Myndian peninsula at Lower Göl seems incomparably more probable.

A further suggestion seems justified by the evidence. Pliny and Mela place Neapolis next to Caryanda, and a coin in the British Museum appears to describe the same place as Νεάπολις Μυν(δίων).<sup>304</sup> Bearing in mind the cardinal fact of the underpopulation of Myndus and its territory, we find it hard to imagine the emergence in Hellenistic times of a 'Neapolis of the Myndians' except as the result of just such a settlement as we suppose to have been made at Göl; we suspect that this Neapolis is no other than the transplanted Caryanda, whose former standing would explain the privilege of a special coinage. The two names in Pliny and Mela are then virtually in apposition, and the difference of order (Neapolis-Caryanda in Pliny, Caryanda-Neapolis in Mela) is naturally explained. Since the coin is unique, it is unlikely that many were struck in the name of this Neapolis; the types have nothing in common with the coins of Caryanda, but the head of Apollo is similar to that on contemporary coins of Myndus.

We turn now to the question of the early island city of Caryanda. For the location of this we have the evidence of Ps.-Scylax, who names it after Calymna and before Cos, and of Pliny, who (going in the opposite direction) names it after Cos. Stephanus also has πλησίον Μύνδου καὶ Κῶ, though he does not actually mention an island.<sup>305</sup> On this testimony we should naturally look first in the neighbourhood of Cos. From Strabo, on the other hand, it might naturally be understood that he placed the island, as he certainly placed the lake, between Myndus and Bargylia; the word μεταξύ undoubtedly seems to refer to both. In this uncertainty it is suggested in *ATL loc. cit.* that 'a decision might be reached by an examination of the islands of H. Apostoli and Karabağlar, perhaps of Pserimo also'. We have visited, together or singly, all these three islands, but the results are not particularly encouraging. Pserimos is most naturally suggested by the text of Ps.-Scylax; but this seems excluded, not only because the island contains no discoverable Carian town-site, but also because its present name is apparently ancient (see above, p. 128). For Çatallaradası (Karabağlar) see the description above, p. 128; it offers no city and nothing more than a very moderate anchorage. The associations of Caryanda in the tribute lists are also against a location in this neighbourhood; not only is Caryanda constantly associated with Madnasa, but it is equally constantly dissociated from Myndus.<sup>306</sup> The order of mention in Ps.-Scylax is not to be relied on, since: (1) his list of islands between Samos and Nisyros is selective, not exhaustive; there is therefore

<sup>303</sup> It is mentioned by the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi in the seventeenth century, who speaks of gardens and orchards and a considerable population dwelling around. We are indebted for this information to the Educational Officer at Bodrum, Bay Necati Çavdar; we have not ourselves seen this lake, nor do we know its exact location. It seems certain that there is no other lake whatsoever in the region in question except that at Göl.

<sup>304</sup> *BMC Cat. Caria* lxx, 140, pl. XXIII 1; second or first century A.D. *Obv.* Head of Apollo. *Rev.* Lyre; NE ΑΠ ΟΑΙ ΜΥΝ ΚΟΑΒΑ (cf. Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 623). The reading ΜΥΝ is said to be 'not quite certain', though it appears perfectly clear in the photograph. ΚΟΑΒΑ is supposed to represent a magistrate's name: Colbasa in Pisidia struck coins under the middle Empire, but it has never, so far as we know, been suggested that our coin may belong to it.

<sup>305</sup> Unless the text be altered; see above, n. 296.

<sup>306</sup> See *ATL* I. Caryanda is next to Madnasa in lists 3, 12, 13, 23, and next but one in list 5; only in list 12 is it anywhere near Myndus.



no guarantee that all three were bunched together; (2) he names, for example, the Rhodian islands in the order Chalce, Telos, Casos, Carpathos; (3) if his order were stressed, Caryanda could hardly be other than Pserimos, which is in our opinion excluded. The notices in Pliny, *NH* V 134 and in Stephanus, which also associate Caryanda with Cos, are presumably based on no more than the order of names in Ps.-Scylax, and need have no independent authority.

We prefer therefore to take Strabo as guide, and look for Caryanda Island between Myndus and Bargylia. With Lake Caryanda fixed at Göl, this is surely the most natural area of search. Apart from numerous insignificant islets, there are only two islands in this region which can reasonably come in question, namely Konel Ada (H. Apostoli) and Salihadası. The choice must rest between these two.

Konel Ada is in some ways attractive; in particular, it is the nearest island to Göl, and its position agrees well with the general impression one gains of Caryanda's Aegean associations. Paying only 500 dr. in the Delian League, Caryanda cannot have been a large city, and no very substantial remains need be expected to be visible. Nevertheless, the existing ruins on Konel Ada are certainly very scanty (above, p. 131), and the surface sherds are apparently Hellenistic. Above all, the island totally lacks anything that could fairly be described as a harbour.<sup>307</sup>

Salihadası is rather more distant from Göl (though the bay of Türkbükü looks towards it) and is perhaps a little far up the Iasian Gulf; but in other respects it has undoubted advantages. Though as yet very inadequately explored, it contains at least a walled site of fair extent and of an appropriate date (above, p. 132), below which there is a sheltered anchorage on the side of the isthmus towards the mainland. Caryanda was in fact located at one time by Kiepert on Salihadası, and is so marked on Admiralty Chart 1546; but this is said in *ATL* I 498 to be absolutely excluded, for two reasons: (a) it is too far from Cos, (b) Salihadası (formerly Taramdos) 'is the ancient Taramptos, and as such appears in Ag in addition to Karyanda'. As explained above, the distance from Cos does not seem to us a serious difficulty. The other point is more debatable. Assuming that Taramptos does in fact figure in Ag,<sup>308</sup> is it to be identified with Tarandos? The identification rests solely on the similarity of name; Taramptos is known only from a single inscription, dated c. 300 B.C., in which a citizen of Halicarnassus possesses a field ἐν Ταρόμπτωι,<sup>309</sup> and from this it is restored in the assessment of 425 B.C. (Ag). There is no indication as to where or what kind of a place it was.<sup>310</sup> We are far from sure that 'Taramptos' would naturally change to 'Tarandos'; it seems to us that Torba is at least as likely to be its modern representative.<sup>311</sup> Torba was certainly Halicarnassian, whereas Taramdos, if not independent, must surely have belonged to Bargylia.<sup>312</sup> We are accordingly not convinced that Salihadası is excluded for these reasons; we think it on the present evidence to be on the whole the most likely site for early Caryanda. A final decision must wait upon further investigation of the island, which the dense scrub at present renders impossible.

<sup>307</sup> We take it that λιμήν in Ps.-Scylax means no more than a decent anchorage, not necessarily harbour-works: for a periphus this would be the essential information; but he is not consistent in mentioning or omitting this item. Konel is a very rocky island, and not easy to land on except in the early morning calm; if it can be said to have a λιμήν, the term virtually ceases to have any meaning.

<sup>308</sup> On this point see below, p. 163.

<sup>309</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1044, l. 18.

<sup>310</sup> The statement in *JHS* XIV 375 that 'the ancient name of Tarandos was certainly Taramptos, for which there is no alternative site' (our italics) seems strangely inaccurate; if Taramptos is not Tarandos, it may have been anywhere on the whole peninsula not unduly far from Halicarnassus. It may in fact have been no more than a farm.

<sup>311</sup> Tara(m)p might easily, with the help of a simple Turkicisms, have finally become Torba ('Bag'); other forms quoted are Durvanda and Trupada (*Med. Pilot* IV (1918), 366), of which the second (?= Turpada, 'Turnip Island') could well be corrupted from Taramptos.

<sup>312</sup> So indeed it is taken to be in *ATL* III 210 f. ('by apotaxis from Bargylia'). We hesitate to attach significance to the 'Karandakia Rocks' south of Salihadası and close to Sıralık (Admiralty Chart 1546); it seems doubtful whether the name has any genuine historical basis.



One further point remains. The *Stadiasmus* 285 records a Panormus eighty stades from Myndus. Müller, in *GGM* I 500, takes the view that this is identical with Caryanda, and locates it at Paşalimanı (wrongly identified on Kiepert's map). We have no particular feelings on this point, but note that Göl would be equally possible, as 80 stades leads to a point about half-way between the two; and Türkbükü is the better harbour.

### C. OTHER IDENTIFICATIONS AROUND THE MYNDUS PENINSULA.

#### 1. *Termile*.

Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Τέρμερα', πόλις Καρίας . . . Τερμίλην δ' ἐξῆς παραθήσομαι, ἑτέραν ἔχουσαν γραφήν, τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν ὡς οἶμαι. It has been proposed<sup>313</sup> to identify this Termile with Dirmil (described above, p. 130) on the strength of the similarity of name. We regard this as in the last degree dubious, not merely because there are other places of the name Dirmil in Turkey, but chiefly because we much doubt that a town of Termile ever existed. Under 'Τέρμερα', πόλις Λυκίας Stephanus notes: ὁ πολίτης Τερμερεύς. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ Τερμίλας αὐτοῦς καλεῖ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ.<sup>314</sup> From this it seems probable that he equated Τέρμερα with Τέρμερα (in which he was surely right), and Τερμίλη, misunderstood from Herodotus, with both. Nothing whatever is known of Termile or of Telmera from any other source.<sup>315</sup>

#### 2. *Peleia*.

We refer the reader to *ATL* I 533, to which we have nothing to add. We have the gravest doubts as to the location at Pelen (properly Belen), which seems to us a wrong type of identification by similarity of name.

#### 3. *Pliny's Islands*.

Pliny, *NH* V 128-140, gives a long list of islands off the coast of Asia. In 134, after Cos, Caryanda, and Pidossus near Halicarnassus, he continues: in *Ceramico autem sinu Priaponesos, Hipponesos, Pserima, Lampsä, Aemynthus, Passala, Crusa, Pyrrhaeciusa, Sepiusa, Melano, paulumque a continente distans quae vocata est Cinaedopolis*. He then passes to Ionia. In *ATL* I 513 this passage is said to be 'either corrupt or garbled'. It is certainly garbled to the extent that in *Ceramico sinu* is not strictly accurate: there are not nearly eleven islands in the Ceramic Gulf; moreover, the one or two known names in this list are located outside that gulf, whereas the known islands in the gulf (Arconnesos, Cedreae) do not appear in the list here. Off the west end of the Myndus peninsula, however, there is a crowd of small islands, and we presume that Pliny's list relates, at least in the main, to these. Pserima, the modern Pserimos (above, p. 128), is in fact the largest of them; we take this identification to be certain.

One other name is approximately located, but it fits very badly into the list. Passala is known from Stephanus *s.v.* as Μυλασέων ἐπίνειον, which places it at or near the head of the Iasian Gulf,<sup>316</sup> and from a corrupt entry in the *Stadiasmus* 291: οἰκεῖται κατέναντι Πάσσαλα πηγῇ. † σθερεστον ἀποβῆναι εἰς Μύλασσαν σταδ. κ'. Müller *GGM* I 501 reads κείται

<sup>313</sup> *JHS* XVI 208; accepted by Kiepert.

<sup>314</sup> Her. i. 173, where Termilac is recorded as the old name of the Lycians, without reference to Termera. Stephanus knows Τερμίλη as a name for Lycia.

<sup>315</sup> Except that *Telmera* is a variant reading for *Termera* in Pliny, *NH* V 107. If a name must be found for Dirmil, Pliny's Nariandos is available, but there is no positive evidence for an identification. Nariandos seems to be otherwise unknown; for the Ναριανδῆς in the neighbourhood of Stratoniceia see Robert, *Et. Anat.* 569.

<sup>316</sup> The modern port is Küllük.

κατέναντι (Ῥίου) Πάσσαλα πηγή· ἔνθεν ἐστὶν ἀποβῆναι κτλ.<sup>317</sup> *ATL* I 506, s.v. 'Κρουσῆς' proposes to read νῆσος for πηγή on the strength of Pliny's notice, supposing the island of Passala to be now absorbed into the mainland. It seems, however, improbable that Mylasa would have its seaport on an island, and we therefore doubt very much whether the port of Mylasa can really come in question in this list; we note that Stephanus records Πάταλος, νῆσος παρακειμένη τῇ Καρίᾳ, and suspect that this may be the true name of Pliny's Passala.<sup>318</sup> It lay presumably with the rest near the west end of the peninsula.

Of the other names only Crusa is known at all; it is restored with great probability in the tribute assessment of 425 B.C. (*ATL* I 447, 506). The syntely in which it occurs is discussed below (pp. 163 f.); we suppose it, like the others in Pliny's list, to have lain close to the Myndus peninsula. Its occurrence in the tribute lists suggests it was one of the larger of these islands, such as Konel Ada or Çatallaradası, both of which have ancient remains (above pp. 128, 158 f.) and are no doubt included somewhere in Pliny's list. We note the name Kruso given to two islets near the south end of Çatallaradası in the *Mediterranean Pilot* and on Admiralty Chart 1604; if this name represents a genuine tradition, we may suppose that it applied in antiquity to Çatallar and its small neighbours, surviving for the latter after the larger island acquired its descriptive Turkish name.

One further proposal has been made. Kiepert suggested that *Lampsä*, *Aemyndus* was a corruption of *Lampsimandus*, a name which occurs in a variety of forms (though not in this particular one) in the Athenian tribute lists. We have nothing to add to what is said in *ATL* I 513.<sup>319</sup>

#### 4. The Headlands.

The principal evidence is in Strabo XIV 657: ἐξῆς (sc. after Halicarnassus) δ' ἐστὶν ἄκρα Τερμέριον Μυνδίων, καθ' ἣν ἀντίκειται τῆς Κώας ἄκρα Σκανδαρία διέχουσα τῆς ἡπείρου σταδίους τετταράκοντα· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ χωρίον Τέρμερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄκρας; and 658: ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς ἡπείρου κατὰ τὴν Μυνδίαν Ἀστυπάλαια ἐστὶν ἄκρα καὶ Ζεφύριον· εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἡ Μύνδος. In the same neighbourhood Ptolemy records a C. Scopias.

The identification of these headlands is in practice more difficult than might be expected; Kiepert's arrangement is criticised by Ruge in *RE* s.v. 'Termerion', but neither it nor Ruge's own seems to us satisfactory. Kiepert's arrangement is as follows: Termerium = Aspat

<sup>317</sup> The figure K' is also wrong; as pointed out in *GGM* loc. cit. and in *ATL* I 506 n. 1, the correct figure 80 is recorded by Pausanias VIII 10, 4.

This passage of the *Stadiasmus* is full of difficulty. The MS. has (according to Müller's notes): 288, ἀπὸ Βαρβυλίων εἰς Ἰάσον σταδίοι σκ' (? measured by following the ancient coast all round the 'Little Sea'; the direct crossing is barely 50 stades): 289, ἀπὸ Ἰάσου εἰς ἀκρωτήριον Ποσειδίου σταδίοι ρκ' (really about 220): 290, ἀπὸ Ἰάσου εἰς τὴν Ἀκρίταν σταδίοι σμ': 291, οἰκεῖται κατάναντι Πάσσαλα πηγή κτλ. As a connected passage this will not hang together. If Acritia is Agathemerus' Arcitis, the modern Arki east of Patmos, the figure 240 stades from Iasus is little more than half the true distance; Müller accordingly reads Ποσειδίου for Ἰάσου in 290, but believes that this section is a later addition. We strongly suspect the same of 291, for the following reasons. (1) If Passala the port of Mylasa was mentioned in the original text, it should have come between Bargylia and Iasus. (2) Notes of this kind are unusual in this part of the *Stadiasmus*, which consists in general of a mere list of places and distances. (3) If we suppose a reader's marginal note, illegible handwriting will explain the corruption. (4) Such a note will also account for the abbreviation σταδ.; elsewhere in this passage σταδίοι is written in full. If 290 and 291 are omitted, the catalogue proceeds in straightforward fashion, Bargylia—Iasus—C. Poseidion—Panormus—Miletus. But even if added later, the note is not for that reason devoid of all value; it is a confirmation of Stephanus' note on Passala. In this case the corruption must apparently extend to πηγή, which can hardly be right; if a correction must be found, we are tempted to suggest <καὶ ναυ>πηγία. Other explanations of the passage are possible, but hardly attractive. E.g. Passala might be identified with Pliny's island and placed in the neighbourhood of Acritia; the rest of 291 is then a confusion with Stephanus' Passala, the port of Mylasa. But the drawbacks to this are obvious.

<sup>318</sup> It is identified by Meineke, *ad loc.*, most unconvincingly, with Patara in Lycia.

<sup>319</sup> *Aemyndus* is very likely to be corrupt; it has a peculiarly unconvincing look. We cannot, however, approve the suggestion there made to suppose a lacuna and read, e.g. *Lampsimandus*; inde sinus Iasicus et in continent)e Myndus; it is surely unlikely that Pliny would interrupt his catalogue of islands to name a city on the mainland which he has already recorded in its proper place, unless for some special purpose. We see no such purpose here.

(Çiftkalesi); Astypalaea = Kocaburun (Petra); Scopias = Sağıralaca Burun (Arkialla); Zephyrium = the headland immediately south of Myndus.

Strabo's location of Termerium is precise, but corresponds indifferently to the geographical facts. Scandaria is unquestionably Kumburnu, the northernmost point of Cos; opposite this on the mainland, across the Cos Channel, is the fine outstanding headland of Kocaburun. This should naturally be Termerium; but the Cos Channel is in fact only three miles wide instead of five. Aspat is just about the required distance from Kumburnu and is nearer to the site of Termera at Asarlık, but is much less prominent and is not properly described as 'opposite Scandaria'.<sup>320</sup> We think the description of position in Strabo more significant than the estimate of distance, and agree with Ruge in identifying Termerium with Kocaburun. Alternatively, and perhaps better, ἄκρα Τερμέριον may be the whole of the south-west tip of the peninsula, from Fenerburnu (Hussein Pt.) to Kocaburun.<sup>321</sup>

Ruge thereupon identifies Astypalaea with Sağıralaca (Arkialla); but this is hardly satisfactory. Between Strabo's mention of Termerium and that of Astypalaea and Zephyrium there intervenes a page concerning Cos; it seems to us therefore unnatural to locate Astypalaea at a point so very near Termerium and so far from Zephyrium, which is evidently close to Myndus. We note that Zephyrium is not called a headland by Strabo—indeed, his language suggests rather that it was not; we should therefore be disposed to identify Astypalaea with the prominent headland just south of Myndus, and to suppose that Zephyrium is some feature on or close to this headland.<sup>322</sup>

Scopias appears to us unidentifiable. Its position in relation to Halicarnassus and Myndus, as given by Ptolemy, is shown on the sketch-map in *ATL* I 559; it is obviously useless for a precise identification, but suggests the south-west corner of the peninsula.<sup>323</sup>

For the *litus Leuca* mentioned by Mela I 85 between Halicarnassus and Myndus, we have no certain identification to offer; but we note that the name Akyerler ('White Places') is given locally to the spot on the beach at the SW point of the Termerian promontory where we noted building traces and a bucranium altar (p. 129), and the beach just east of Fenerburnu shows as a white streak from the sea.

#### D. THE 'CARIAN SYNTELY' OF 425 B.C.

In the assessment list for the year 425 B.C. appears an entry which is restored as follows in *ATL* I.<sup>324</sup> The amount of the tribute is missing.

111	[Συναγγελῆς]	[Κ]ροσῆ[ς]
	[Ἄμ]υ[νανδῆς]	Ὀρανι[ῆτα]ι
	[Κᾱ]ρ[ες ἡδὺν]	ταύτεσι [σ]ύμπ[ας ἡο]
	[Τ]ύμν[ες ἀρχεῖ]	119 φόρος ἐτάχθε
115	[Τ]άραμ[πτος]	

This highly skilful restoration is the fruit of long study, and (with the exception of the first two lines) we accept it as substantially correct. The attempt made in *ATL* to plot the

<sup>320</sup> It is observed in *ATL* I 522 that no cape west of Petra can be described as opposite Kumburnu; we do not understand this, and suspect that 'east of Petra' was intended.

<sup>321</sup> Fenerburnu is regarded in the *Mediterranean Pilot* as the north-west entrance-point to the Cos Channel, Kocaburun as the north-eastern entrance point.

<sup>322</sup> Kiepert interpreted the name Astypalaea as 'Erniedrigung' (from the Phoenician), with reference to the low isthmus between the lofty cape and the high ground on the mainland; this description would apply equally to the cape south of Myndus but not (as Ruge supposed) to Sağıralaca, which is flat and featureless.

<sup>323</sup> The relative positions are then more or less correct, but the compass-points are turned through an angle of about 90°.

<sup>324</sup> P. 447, with pl. XXIII; cf. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica* 119 ff.



syntely on the map is, however, in our opinion, much less successful. Taramptos, equated with Tarandos (Salihadası), is made the starting-point, and the syntely is taken to be 'either a group centred on the Iasian Gulf and including Mylasa, or one bestriding the peninsula between the Iasian and Ceramic Gulfs.'<sup>325</sup> The following locations are finally adopted, more or less tentatively: Syangela at Etrim; Amyranda at Alâzeytin (?); Tymnes in the interior at Ulaş (Casossus) between Mylasa and Hydissus (?); Taramptos at Salihadası; Crusa at the head of the Iasian Gulf (?); Uranium at Sıralık, which for greater convenience is made an inland site.<sup>326</sup> This group straggles over a good deal of country. If the first two names were omitted, it would be a good deal more compact, and the evidence for these is in fact as slight as it could be;<sup>327</sup> we should prefer to discard them. But even the resulting group is far from satisfactory. Tymnes is not well placed so far inland, considering that he and his Carians first appear in the lists at the time when the other inland tributaries (e.g. Killara, Hydissus) are dropping out. Moreover, some at least of the proposed locations are certainly wrong. Uranium cannot have been at Sıralık, where nothing is found earlier than Hellenistic; nor (we think) can the island of Crusa have been anywhere near the head of the Iasian Gulf.<sup>328</sup>

We should prefer to start from Uranium, the only absolutely certain name on this part of the stone. This was one of the eight Lelegian cities, and was accordingly on or near the Myndus peninsula.<sup>329</sup> Crusa in l. 116 is also nearly certain, and this, too, we suppose to have lain off the coast of the same peninsula.<sup>330</sup> This, then, is the region in which we should look for the syntely. The restoration of ll. 113-15 has been much discussed, but assuming [Kḗ]ρ[ε]ς ὦν Τύμνης ἔρχεται to be right, we note that the name of Tymnes is associated, two generations earlier, with Termera; our views have been explained above.<sup>331</sup> Taramptos we feel to be very uncertain. The restoration is hardly assured, though we have no alternative to offer; the possibility of an unknown name cannot be disregarded, especially in Ag, where so many small places are assessed for the first time.<sup>332</sup> Nor are we convinced of the equation Taramptos = Tarandos.<sup>333</sup> Taramptos may in fact have been anywhere not far from Halicarnassus.<sup>334</sup>

We take it, then, that this Carian syntely covered most of the Myndus peninsula other than those places individually assessed, together with one or more of the adjacent islands. Two of the names (Crusa and Taramptos) appear for the first time; one (Uranium) reappears after a long period of non-payment. For the missing names at the beginning (ll. 111-12, and possibly more), we look naturally in the same region. The cities separately assessed in 425 are Halicarnassus, Pedasa, Termera, Myndus, and of the islands Caryanda and Lepsimandus; these are therefore excluded. At the head of the syntely, instead of Syangela, we should not hesitate to place Madnasa, which can hardly have been omitted; but for the other name or names we are reduced to the barest conjecture.<sup>335</sup>

<sup>325</sup> *Op. cit.* 553, with map on p. 554.

<sup>326</sup> *ATL* III 211 n. 77.

<sup>327</sup> Of the *upsilon* in l. 112 nothing is now to be seen on the stone.

<sup>328</sup> See above, p. 161. There are in fact no islands at the head of the gulf; Crusa is supposed in *ATL* to have been, like Passala, absorbed since antiquity by the alluvial advance of the coast-line. If Taramptos is Salihadası, the largest island in the Iasian Gulf, and if Pliny's list extends to the head of this gulf, it is curious that Taramptos is not named in it.

<sup>329</sup> Whether or not our suggested location at Burgaz be correct; see above, p. 155.

<sup>330</sup> Above, p. 161.

<sup>331</sup> See p. 147. Robert's ingenious suggestion, for ll. 114-5, [Κ]ύμνης [ισσῆς] π[ρὸς] Μ[υδον] (*Rev. Phil.* LXII (1936), 282), would also suit our location of the syntely; but it is declared epigraphically impossible, on the grounds that l. 115 cannot have contained more than nine letters: part of the tenth letter, if it existed, should be visible on the stone. The earlier suggestion [Σ]ύμνης [ρα] (see *ATL* I 553), i.e. Symbra in western Lycia (see most recently *JHS* LXXIII (1953), 26), is naturally no longer maintained.

<sup>332</sup> The first preserved letter in l. 115 might be *gamma* or *delta* equally with *alpha*.

<sup>333</sup> See above, p. 159.

<sup>334</sup> For the single inscription in which Taramptos is named, see above, p. 159. There is no indication as to what sort of a place it was.

<sup>335</sup> Nariandos is available, or another of Pliny's islands; Side may have been assessed for the first time. In l. 112 it seems that the bottom extremity of an upright stroke was formerly visible in the third place; [Π]ά[ρ]ος, or perhaps [Ν]α[ρ]ος, would meet the requirements. But such speculations are hardly profitable.





FIG. 14.—SUGGESTED LOCATIONS ON THE PENINSULA.

## E. EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.

1. *Amynanda*.

This city appears in the tribute lists with Syangela, Syangela being apparently the senior partner (above, p. 114). After this it totally disappears. With Syangela at Alâzeytin, Amynanda may perhaps have been on the coast, either at Kargıcık or at Alâkilise (p. 134).

2. *Bargasa*.

For the two cities of this name see *ATL* I 531. We agree that the Pargasa of the tribute lists is to be identified with the Bargasa mentioned by Strabo XIV 656, together with Ceramus, as *πολίχνια ὑπὲρ θαλάττης*. For the precise location Strabo tells us only that these places are between Cnidus and Halicarnassus; but Ceramus is fixed beyond doubt at Ören, so that Bargasa should be somewhere west of this. The site at Gökbel has been proposed,<sup>336</sup> in spite of some doubt whether the extant ruins are of sufficient consequence to represent a city; since it now appears from the new inscription no. 67 that there was in fact a Greek city on the hilltop just south of the village of Gökbel, the identification gains greatly in probability. Conforming excellently as it does to such evidence as is available, it should, we think, now be accepted.

FIG. 14 shows the identifications that we propose.

## TOMB TYPES

All the ancient tombs known to us on the peninsula have been referred to in the preceding sections. The majority of them fall into a few distinct classes,<sup>337</sup> whose distribution and dating form the subject of this short section; but some of the most remarkable of the complex constructions evade this classification and are not considered here. Despite the example of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, above-ground architectural tombs of Hellenistic and Roman date are rarer on this peninsula than in other parts of Western Caria, whereas underground tombs cut in the rock (below, p. 167) are very common where softer rocks come to the surface. We have not attempted a serious study of the problems of the construction, development, and external connections of the Lelegian tombs; such a study must go hand in hand with that of the domestic architecture of the Lelegians and would require the clearing of fallen masonry and a far closer investigation of the existing remains than we could undertake.<sup>338</sup>

*Chamber Tumuli.*

These consist of a built rectangular chamber with a Lelegian vault and a dromos, covered by a mound of loosely piled stones which is retained round the edge by a low wall curvilinear in plan. They are normally found in the vicinity of Lelegian sites.<sup>339</sup> The earliest dated tombs

<sup>336</sup> On Kiepert's map; approved in *ATL* loc. cit. Robert, *Coll. Froehn*, 84, n. 2 says the site is 'entièrement incertain', though he seems to consider Gökbel a possibility.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. Paton and Myres' classification of the tombs, *JHS* XVI 242 ff.

<sup>338</sup> F. P. Johnson has justly drawn attention to the startling resemblance (which cannot be explained solely by similar physical and geological conditions) between the Lelegian architecture here and the Dryopian constructions at Styra and on Mt. Okha in Southern Euboea (*AJA* 1925, 398 ff.); the Hellenistic date that he there suggests for the houses at Alâzeytin hardly seems tenable, however. In addition to similar wall construction, roofing, and doors the Styra dragon house also has loophole windows near the lower corners of the two long rooms (cf. the farmhouse near Bodrum, pp. 132 f.). There can be no doubt that these monuments on the Halicarnassus peninsula were among the ruins attributed by Strabo to the Leleges (VII 321, XIII 611); but Strabo's assertion that the Lelegian monuments were encountered all over Caria, and house ruins at least in the Milesia as well, does not entirely accord with the distinctive character of the architectural remains on the Halicarnassus peninsula. Cf. Paton and Myres, *JHS* XVI 268 f.

<sup>339</sup> Asarlık (p. 118), Gökçeler (p. 125), Burgaz (p. 120), and perhaps on the Kaplan Dağ. We cannot say whether the built chambers at Gürcice (p. 121) and by the farmhouse SE of Bodrum (pp. 133 f.) were covered by mounds; those at Etrim (p. 114) seem not to have been.

of this class, at Asarlık, yielded pottery going back to Protogeometric.<sup>340</sup> We have shown reason for dating chamber tumuli at Gökçeler in Late Geometric or early archaic times (p. 125), and Paton and Myres have remarked a development at Asarlık which seems to lead towards the regular masonry and capping of the classical tomb at Burgaz.<sup>341</sup> The Burgaz tomb (p. 120) is probably to be dated around the fifth century,<sup>342</sup> and this date may be regarded as a rough terminus for the Lelegian chamber tumuli.

#### *Tomb Enclosures.*

Walled enclosures containing cist- and bun-graves have been discovered by Paton at Asarlık,<sup>343</sup> one with graves containing a submycenaean stirrup vase and sherds with concentric circles; a similar enclosure discovered by Paton at Mandrais near Geriş (p. 130) yielded a fragment of relief pithos of c. 600 B.C.<sup>344</sup>

#### *'Compound Tumuli'.*

The circular constructions of this rare group can be divided into two classes. In the first (cf. FIG. 12) two more or less circular eccentric wall rings have been laid out on such a plan that they converge in one part in a single wall of diminishing thickness, while on the other side, where they diverge, the intervening space is divided by short radial walls into wedge-shaped compartments of irregular plan which communicated by low doors with the central area. The outermost face of the ring stands vertical, but all enclosed wall faces have an inward inclination or curve to facilitate the vaulting of the chambers and passages; the face of the inner ring fronting on the central area also seems to be inclined inwards in the same way, and Myres therefore proposed a restoration with a dome in Lelegian vaulting over the whole circle. The second class has a simple ring wall of a uniform thickness of about two metres, with chambers attached to it or interrupting it; here also the inner face of the ring is inclined inwards. The only examples of this second class known to us are in the newly discovered cemetery at Alâzeytin (pp. 125 ff., nos. 1 and 4, with the bastard form no. 2). Eccentric compound tumuli, on the other hand, have been noticed at Geriş, above the Karadağ site, and on the Kaplan Dağ (pp. 120, 123, 131), at Gökçeler,<sup>345</sup> at Alâzeytin (pp. 125 ff., nos. 3 and 6), and above Halicarnassus (FIG. 12, p. 132); and Maiuri attributed to this class a construction photographed by the Italian cruise in 1921 and located by him below Alâzeytin (p. 127). There is no clear evidence that compound tumuli of this sort are found east of Alâzeytin and the Kaplan Dağ—the tumuli seen by Paton at Cindya, Ceramus, and immediately above Miletus cannot be classified, and Guidi seems to be mistaken in locating at Iasus the construction which appears in the Italians' photograph;<sup>346</sup> we need therefore not hesitate to regard these compound tumuli as a speciality of Lelegian architectural design. Myres' assumption that the whole circle was roofed over relies on the inward inclination of the inner face of the ring and the evidence of a first-storey corridor in the big tumulus (e) at Gökçeler. Paton, however, disagreed, pointing out that the

<sup>340</sup> Cf. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 218 ff. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien* 70 f., stresses the relationship with Mycenaean tholos tombs.

<sup>341</sup> *JHS* XVI 246 f.

<sup>342</sup> *JHS* VIII 81; Paton found fragments of marble and an Attic sherd, perhaps RF, inside the tomb. Cf. also the tomb at Etrim (PLATE 16 (c)) now dated about the late fifth century (p. 113).

<sup>343</sup> *JHS* VIII 73 f. Cf. *JHS* XVI 243 ff.

<sup>344</sup> *JHS* VIII 78 fig. 26.

<sup>345</sup> *JHS* VIII 248 ff. (a)-(e).

<sup>346</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 354, fig. 9, identified by Guidi as a tomb of Lelego-Carian type in the necropolis on the seashore at Iasus, and *ibid.* 439, fig. 47 by Maiuri as a compound tumulus at the back (?) of the valley of the bay of 'Gören-kuiu' below Alâzeytin. Despite the superficial differences, we find it impossible to believe that the two illustrations have not come from one negative. The photograph shows what appears to be the thick part of the ring of a compound tumulus; and in Guidi's print (where the background is printed stronger) it is evidently situated on a hill slope high above a valley. Guidi's description bears no relation to the construction illustrated, and he is clearly mistaken in his identification of the photograph; Maiuri's location could fit the surroundings, and the position near Alâzeytin may therefore be accepted.

amount of debris found inside these circles is not sufficient to tally with a collapsed dome, and that the cognate circle (f) at Gökçeler, which is more than fifty metres in diameter, cannot possibly have been roofed.<sup>347</sup> The new evidence seems rather to reinforce Paton's objections; the normal internal diameter of the rings (12-16 m.) seems now to be considerably greater than Myres was reckoning, while the loose stones now lying inside the central areas do not appear to have had the shaping that would be required for a dome of this size; and the plan of the new tomb no. 4 at Alâzeytin (FIG. 11) seems incompatible with the roofing of the whole circle.

For the dating of the compound tumuli there is next to no evidence. Their masonry resembles that of the dwellings preserved on the Lelegian town sites, and they are in the majority of cases situated near Lelegian towns; so they are almost certainly to be regarded as pre-Mausolan. They seem to stand apart from the cemeteries with early chamber tombs, and do not (like some of the tombs of other types) seem to be attached to ancient farmhouses. They are universally interpreted as tomb monuments. But apart from the trench, roofed with stone slabs, seen by Paton and Myres inside the Karadağ tumulus (b), we know of no installations or finds in the compounds which might serve to elucidate their purpose, and have been tempted to wonder whether they may not rather be the shielings of Lelegian shepherds and goatherds; the stout ring wall would give security against thieves, the inward inclination of the inner face would allow no foothold for goats to jump up, and the vaulted chambers would provide pens and shelter in bad weather.

#### *Rock-cut Tombs.*

Rock-cut tombs of late date are abundant at Halicarnassus and around the bays and valleys leading to the coasts. The dominant forms are the simple gallery or tunnel, which frequently occurs in series of three or four in a row,<sup>348</sup> and the rock chamber in which small cubicles (both single and double) were cut as required at the sides and back.<sup>349</sup> These groups and multiple tombs are no doubt family sepulchres. Drum-shaped marble funerary altars, generally adorned with bucrania and festoons, are very common in the SW of Caria and the adjacent islands. Maiuri assumed that those at Halicarnassus owe their origin to imitation, if not import, from Cos,<sup>350</sup> but their use seems to have been as widespread on the mainland as in the islands.<sup>351</sup> Elsewhere they have been found in association with built architectural tombs, and sometimes in position on a shelf over the entrance.<sup>352</sup> We noted a similar shelf on the front of at least one rock-cut tomb, and are inclined on the Halicarnassus peninsula to associate these altars with rock-cut tombs.

The class of tombs with sarcophagi cut in the rock within the chamber is rare here; we only know of the examples we have discovered, one at Gürice (p. 121, FIG. 8, PLATE 17 (d)) and two at Kuyucak (p. 129) and Beleniçi (pp. 128 f.) in the vicinity of Asarlık. The arrangement of the sarcophagi is precisely that of the terracotta grave cists in a chamber tomb (D) excavated by Paton at Asarlık, which yielded a Geometric or early archaic potsherd;<sup>353</sup> and since the three known tombs under discussion here can well be related to Lelegian towns it seems not unlikely that they are earlier than the other rock-cut tombs and should be assigned to archaic or classical times.

<sup>347</sup> *JHS* XVI 251, n. 1.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. the Carian series, *JHS* XVI 260, fig. 40, which has a more elaborate façade than any we have seen on the peninsula.

<sup>349</sup> Cf. p. 131, n. 198; *JHS* XVI 262, figs. 43-4 (Farilya); *ÖJh* VI Beibl. 101 ff., figs. 24-31 (Halicarnassus).

<sup>350</sup> *Ann.* IV-V 472.

<sup>351</sup> Besides the inscribed altars and base mentioned above we have seen a considerable number of uninscribed altars.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. Hamilton, *Researches* II 43, Texier, *Description* III 176, pl. 104 (Cnidus); *Antiquities of Ionia* V 23, pls. 44-5, Ross, *Reisen* III 73 (Lindus).

<sup>353</sup> *JHS* VIII 72, figs. 14-15. Rock-cut tombs of this sort are not uncommon at Caunus and in Lycia.



## PATTERN OF OCCUPATION

The whole of Western Caria seems to be singularly poor in remains of prehistoric occupation. The great void that the east coast of the Aegean presents in the maps of Bronze Age settlement in Asia Minor is, of course, primarily due to the lack of excavation, and there is in fact evidence that the northern and central sectors of the coast were fairly densely inhabited. But our reconnaissances of the Halicarnassian and Cnidian peninsulas have convinced us that south of Miletus the prehistoric settlement was sparser than in the richer coastal lands to the north. The only prehistoric site hitherto noted on the Halicarnassus Peninsula, apart from the indication of settlement at the end of the submycenaean phase at Asarlık (p. 118), is that at Bozdağ (p. 118); and we can add nothing more than some uncertain evidence from Halicarnassus (p. 94) and Burgaz (p. 119) and a single chip of obsidian found at Göl (p. 122).

In early historical times there were flourishing settlements at Halicarnassus and on the hilltop town sites which we have described, though only the cemeteries of Asarlık (p. 118) and Gökçeler (p. 125) show positive evidence of occupation in the first centuries of the Iron Age. Each of these Lelegian towns controlled a modest but sufficient area of arable territory on the level ground below, and an abundance of pasture on the high ground. Their way of life must have been very similar to that which obtains today; the high-lying villages such as Çirkan, Geriş, Farilya are now almost deserted in the hot weather, when the inhabitants—contrary to the normal *yayla* system—move down to summer quarters in the plains.<sup>354</sup> This pattern endured until the time of Mausolus, who undid it almost at one stroke by abolishing the autonomous Lelegian towns and building the new πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες—Myndus, Theangela, and the remodelled capital of Halicarnassus—in which the Lelegians were enrolled as citizens.

There are signs that the old hilltop sites did not all remain thereafter utterly deserted. At Gökçeler there seems to have been a resettlement, and at Asarlık and Alâzeytin at least we have noted traces of later habitation. At a number of these sites—notably Burgaz, Göl, Gürice, Alâzeytin, and less strikingly at Bozdağ—a remarkable feature is a tower on the extreme summit constructed in regular ashlar, which contrasts sharply with the general style of the Lelegian masonry and is strongly suggestive of a later addition to the original layout. An explanation of these is perhaps afforded by the tradition (above, p. 148) that the citadel at Termera was used by 'the tyrants' as a prison. This may well have a real historical basis: the forced removal of the Lelegian population to Halicarnassus was no doubt as unpopular as such measures usually are, and it is easy to imagine that Mausolus, or his successors, found it necessary to establish police posts to prevent attempts to re-occupy the old towns, and to maintain the peace generally.<sup>355</sup>

Village life must have continued in the Hellenistic period; but Hellenistic epitaphs are rare in the countryside, and there is no doubt that the dominant role was assumed by the three cities and that a large part of the population was concentrated inside them. With the settled conditions of Roman rule security from attack became a less important consideration, and we find a new pattern of country life in which the *amoenitates camporum* and the *maritima* played their part; this pattern is attested by the debris of Roman habitation and the rock-cut tombs that fringe the valley bottoms and the breezy bays of the northern coast, and it seems to have per-

<sup>354</sup> To this general statement an exception must be made in the case of the site on Karadağ, which possesses no arable territory at all and has no modern counterpart; its occupants must have lived by pasture alone. The site at Göl, which we equate with Madnasa, commands a certain area of good land by the shore and lake, but it is impossible to doubt that its inhabitants, like their modern successors, were largely interested in the sea.

<sup>355</sup> The little fort at Dirmil may also have served such a purpose.

sisted in Byzantine times until unsettled conditions again drove the population to find shelter in villages laid inland or on the mountain slopes.

### DATE OF THE SYNOECISM

Pottery of the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. is relatively abundant on the Lelegian town sites, and later pottery is almost negligible in quantity there. Among this classical pottery we found a small number of fragments which must be dated in the second rather than the first quarter of the fourth century.<sup>356</sup> On the new foundations at Myndus and Theangela we found a number of sherds that are to be dated to the second quarter, and distinctly before the middle, of the century;<sup>357</sup> and at a distant tower of the Mausolan fortifications of Halicarnassus we picked up a sherd that can hardly come down far into the second quarter of the century (p. 90, PLATE 14 (a) 1). The final eviction of the Lelegians from their old towns may, of course, have been protracted, and there is some evidence for thinking that Termera may have been garrisoned by Mausolus after the synoecism (p. 168), so that a certain overlap is possible between the earliest occupation on the new sites and the latest on the old. But on the archaeological evidence a date c. 370–365 B.C. for the realisation of the synoecism should not be far astray, and this would fit well with the known date of the synoecism on the island of Cos (366/5 B.C.), which is hardly likely to have been unconnected with the activity of Mausolus at Halicarnassus. The erection of the best part of twenty kilometres of fortifications and many public buildings on the new sites must have involved Mausolus in heavy expenditure, of which perhaps we hear the echoes in his fraudulent demands on the Mylasians and the extortions practised on his subjects.<sup>358</sup> The opening of the greenstone quarries at Koyunbaba north of Myndus (p. 130) is perhaps to be regarded as a direct reflection of the intensity of his building programme. In what we should naturally expect to be the first works—his palace and the fortifications at Halicarnassus—the green stone does not appear to have been used at all. But the rock of Göktepe is too soft to be durable, and the hard limestone of the mountain-side is laborious to work; and no doubt Mausolus found that a ready supply of satisfactory building material could be more economically maintained by shipment from the quarries beyond Myndus. So in his late work—the Mausoleum—and in the fortifications of Myndus the green stone was extensively used.

G. E. BEAN

J. M. COOK

*Note by Mr. W. H. Plommer on the Ionic Capital (Above, p. 95, FIG. 15, PLATE 12 (a-b)).*

In the absence of an abacus, the upper surface apparently measures some 70 by 43 cm. The height from the soffit to this upper surface is 28 cm., of which the volute member accounts for 13 and the ovolo member (generally called the 'echinus' these days) for 15.

The capital was meant to be seen from the front alone. Not merely is the back too rough to have had even painted volutes, but the carving on the echinus ceases abruptly the moment this passes under the volute member.

The following features are all in various ways distinctive. The corners of the upper 'shelf', the substitute for an abacus, fall well outside the eyes of the volutes, while these in their turn

<sup>356</sup> Especially at Asarlık (pp. 117 f.) and Gürice (p. 121).

<sup>357</sup> See pp. 110 f. and 114.

<sup>358</sup> Ps.-Arist. *Oecon.* II 14–15; Polyaeus, *Strat.* VII 23, 1. The *tetrapylon* at Theangela (pp. 113 f., FIG. 4), if a part of the original design, is an outstanding example of Mausolus' strategical foresight.

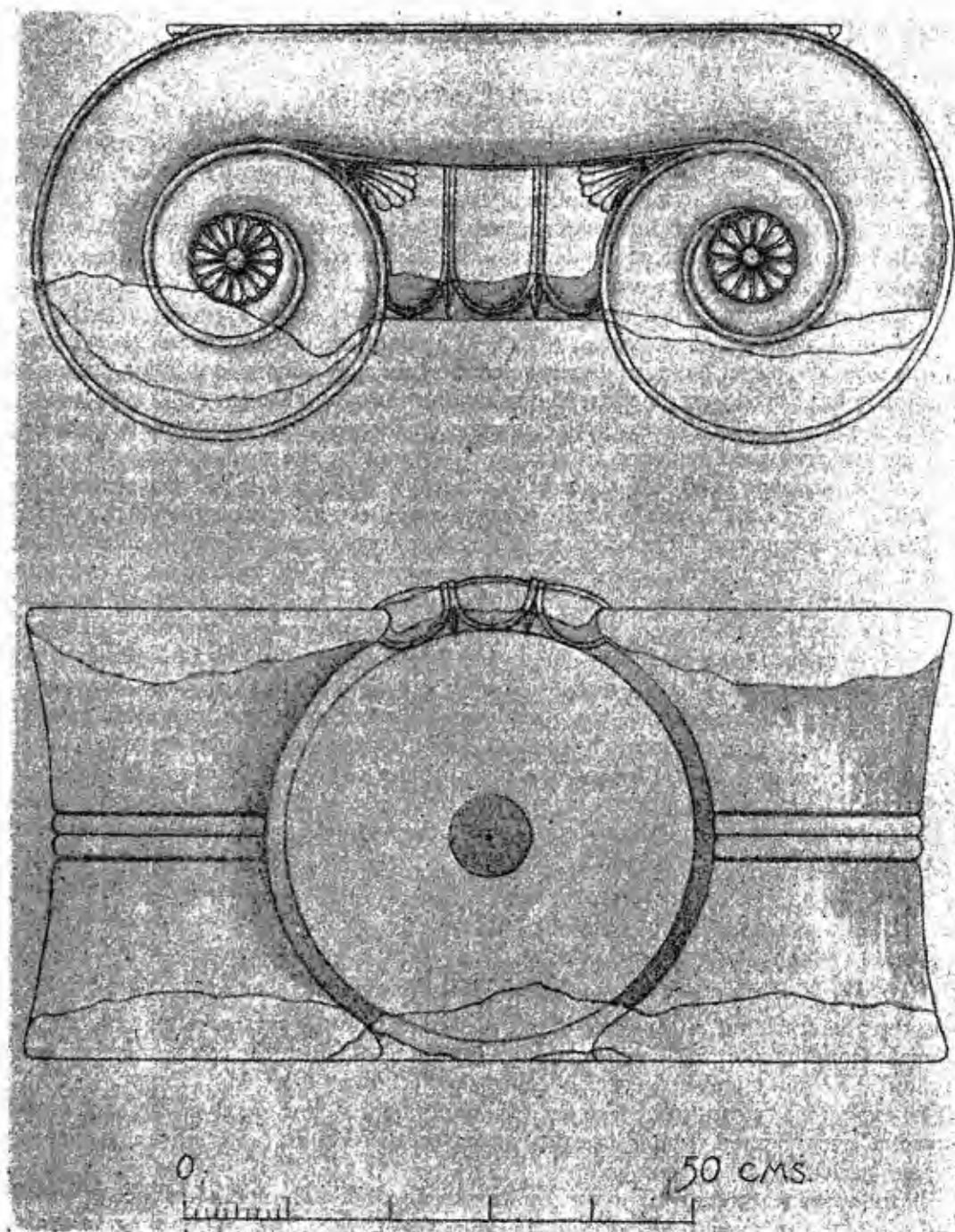


FIG. 15.—HALICARNASSUS: IONIC CAPITAL.  
(By Mr. R. V. Nicholls.)



appear to have fallen just outside the edges of the shaft. The *canalis* is convex, and bordered by a roll. The eyes are fairly large, and treated as rosettes, the one of twelve, the other of fifteen (not sixteen!) petals. The *pulvinus* is well pinched in the centre (perhaps a little more so than appears in Mr. Nicholls' drawing, FIG. 15, and with more 'flaring' ends) and encircled there by two adjacent rolls. There appear to have been no empty spaces, and there were perhaps no palmettes (such as are shown on FIG. 15) between the echinus and the lower edge of the *canalis*.

The echinus was apparently a single carved ovolo, with no subsidiary moulding. Even so, it was unusually lofty, and so hemmed in by the volutes that it had room on the front for only three carved eggs, as opposed to the normal five found for instance on the Propylaea. Indeed, its unencumbered front is considerably narrower than either of the volutes, in this resembling many Attic examples of the earlier fifth century (Puchstein, *Das Ionische Kapitell*, figs. 2-9). But its treatment, as one big carved moulding closely pressed against the *canalis*, is not Athenian but genuinely Asiatic. The closest parallel I know, carved with three eggs in the front and higher than the volute member surmounting it, is the echinus from the fourth-century temple of Ephesus (Wood, *Ephesus* 196: Robertson, fig. 63).

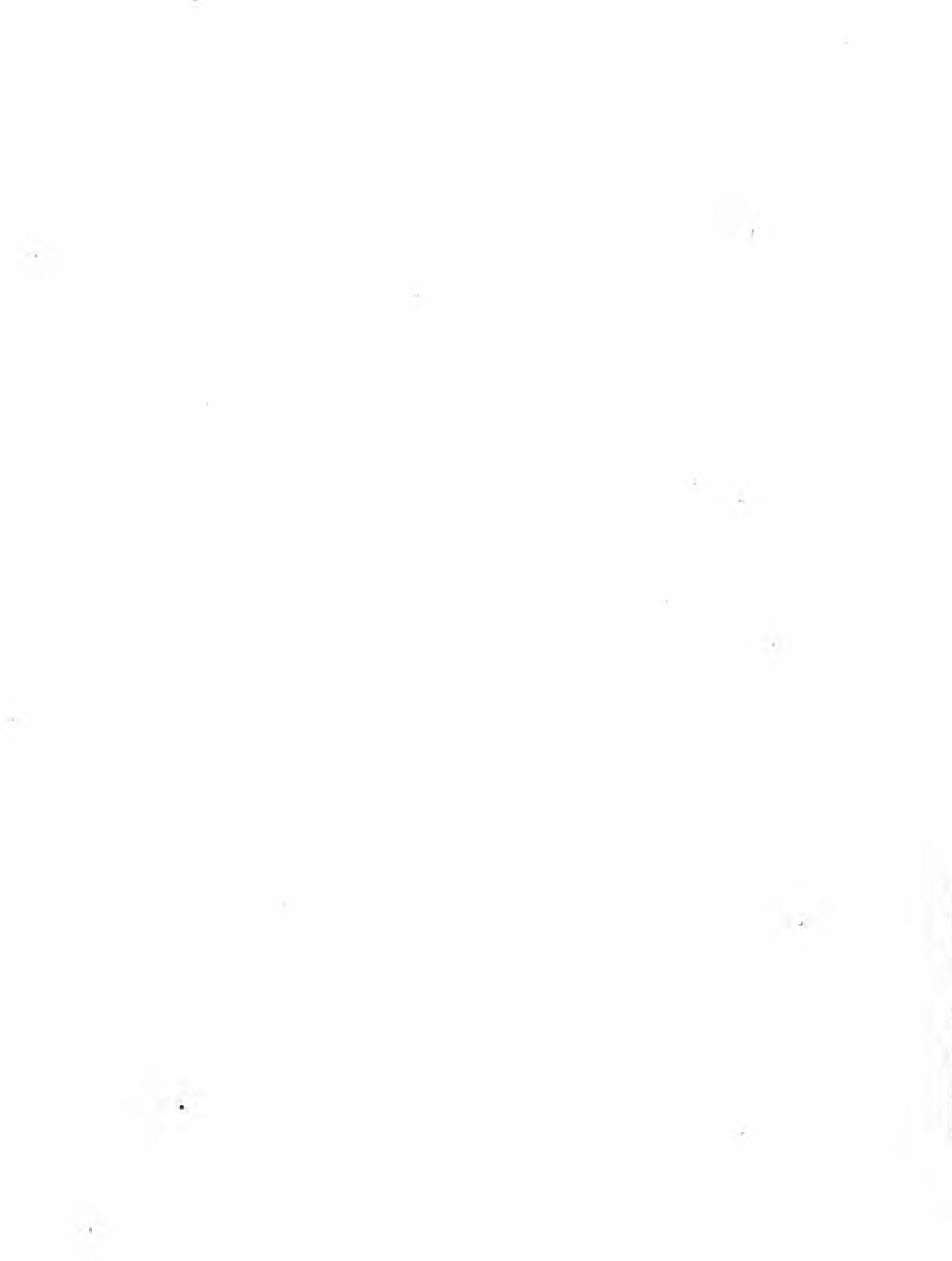
Lacking an abacus, our capital comes in a small group of examples, whose other members all seem datable to the earlier fifth century (Dinsmoor 136-7). Of these the nearest to it both in place and time is perhaps the capital from Samos, Möbius, *AM* 1927, pl. XXVII top. But the best known are from Locri, and are even closer to our capital in several respects, the convex *canalis*, the roll border, the profile and extent of the pseudo-abacus, and the rosettes in the eyes. Rosettes of similar size appear also on the capitals Puchstein, fig. 8, and Möbius, *Beil.* XIX 2. Older rosettes, such as those on the capital Möbius, *Beil.* XIX 1 and, of course, the capitals of sixth-century Ephesus, are proportionately far larger. But all seem to have had eight petals only; and the number and asymmetry of the petals on our rosettes appear to be unique. The pinched *pulvinus* points to a date some way down in the fifth century, and the treatment of the encircling rolls (though their number and placing are unusual) recalls the *pulvinus* in the Propylaea (c. 435 B.C.). On the other hand, the roll bordering the *canalis*, here and at Locri, looks more archaic, and savours more of those capitals which Möbius (*op. cit.* 167 ff.) would place in the decades after 500.

In its main lines, then, this is the sort of capital we might expect a Greek of Asia Minor to have designed at any time between 500 and 450. But how can we explain the difference between its eyes, or the roughness of the back? If, as is said, it had a smooth unbroken upper surface, it cannot surely have been votive. If from a building, why should it have had a rough back and yet have crowned a free-standing shaft? It could, perhaps, have been a trial block, on which to test various effects before executing the final capitals—in this analogous, for all we know, to the famous Corinthian capital at Epidaurus. Of actual buildings it could have adorned, a stage building seems to me the most likely—the only place that I can imagine for both free-standing columns and roughly finished rear faces on the capitals. At the same time the scale seems too big for the low colonnades of the earliest proscenia we know. For a capital 28 cm. (one foot?) high implies a shaft of some fifteen feet.

W. H. P.

<sup>359</sup> Bean and Miss A. Akarca spent a week at Etrim in September 1955. This visit made possible a more complete examination of the site of Theangela; and we hope to give a plan of the site in our concluding article on the West Carian coast.





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## MYCENAE 1939-1954

### PART I. PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1954

(PLATES 18-31)

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

THE British excavations of Mycenae in 1954 were conducted with research grants from the American Philosophical Society and Bollingen Foundation and with contributions from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the British Academy, and the British School at Athens, under whose auspices the work was carried out. The Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton has again provided an ideal base for preparing the material for publication.

The work began on June 21st and ceased on August 16th, but the next days up to August 21st were spent in studying and photographing the finds and transporting them to the Nauplia Museum. As before, the inscribed clay tablets and the carved ivories were taken to the National Museum at Athens, to the Director of which, Dr. Karouzos, we owe our best thanks for his friendly help, and the other finds to Nauplia.

The staff of the excavation, in addition to my wife, who again took charge of the records, and myself, consisted of Lord William Taylour of Trinity College, Cambridge, Mrs. R. Stillwell, Miss Elizabeth Wace of Newnham College, Cambridge, Mr. T. Leslie Shear, Jr., of Lawrenceville School, Miss Mary Pym of Girton College, Cambridge, Mr. Herschel Shepard of Princeton University, who was architect, Miss B. Kistruck of Edinburgh University, and Miss Helen Higson of Newnham College, Cambridge. Mr. Geoffrey Woodhead of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, spent several days with us and also Mr. Coldstream of King's College, Cambridge, and Shrewsbury School. Mrs. T. Leslie Shear paid us many visits. The British School lent us equipment, including a theodolite, and Mr. J. M. Cook, the Director, and Mr. Boardman, the Assistant-Director, gave us every support and help, and Mrs. Rabnett, the Secretary, as before, made all administrative and financial matters easy for us. The photography was again successfully undertaken by Miss Wace and Mr. Shear. Orestes Dases was foreman and Arghyris Marines was a skilful and competent technician.

The Greek Ministry of Education generously renewed the permit, and the Anastelosis Section under Professor Orlandos and Mr. Stikas, which was at work reconstructing part of the Palace and consolidating the Cyclopean Walls, helped us in many ways. Dr. Papademetriou was the official representative of the Ministry, and both he and his partner in the excavation of the Middle Helladic Grave Circle, Professor George Mylonas, gave us much friendly and courteous help. The Nomarch of Argolis and all the Greek authorities most kindly assisted in every way they could. With the approval of the churchwardens we re-whitewashed the church of the Panagia on the ridge above the Treasury of Atreus so that it was fresh for the annual festival on August 15th.

The principal objectives of the season were: the excavation of the Citadel House within the Acropolis between the South House and Tsountas' House; the clearing of the face of the Cyclopean Wall immediately west of the South House; supplementary work round the Tomb of Aegisthus and the Lion Tomb and in the Cyclopean Terrace Building; the continuation



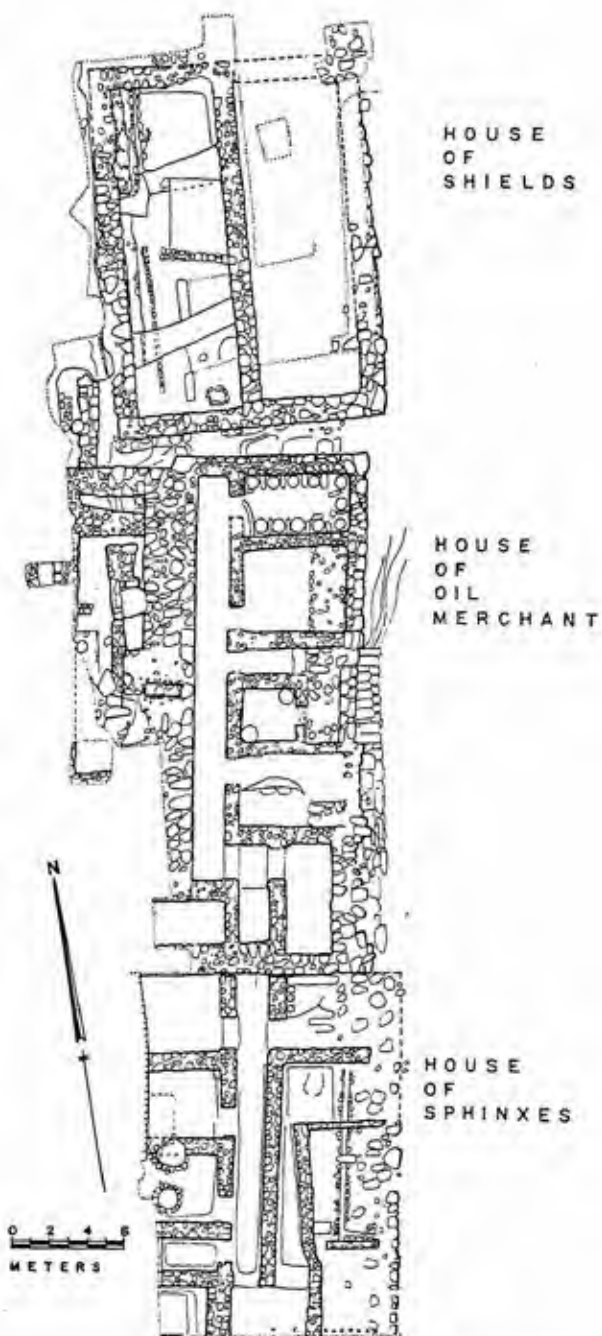


FIG. 1.—MYCENAE: HOUSES, SKETCH PLAN.

of the excavation of the House of Shields, the House of the Oil Merchant, and the House of Sphinxes, FIG. 1. We had hoped to resume work in the Prehistoric Cemetery north-west of the Lion Gate, but this area was occupied by the operations of the Anastelosis Section, which found a disturbed grave at the north-west corner of the bastion to the west of the Lion Gate. This tomb probably was part of the Prehistoric Cemetery.

This report and Part III were both written at Princeton during the winter of 1954-55 while I was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study. It has been read by my wife and our daughter, who have much improved it, but the responsibility for it remains mine. Mr. Herschel Shepard has drawn out the plans for publication.

## 2. CITADEL HOUSE

This name has been given provisionally to the house which lies in the space between the South House<sup>1</sup> and Tsountas' House<sup>2</sup> within the Citadel. Whether it is all one house remains to be seen. Certainly part of the South House lies under the northern part of the area. More cannot be said at present. We began to explore this area in 1953 by clearing away the herbage and brushwood that covered its surface and removing some of the larger stones. This year we began the excavation of the whole area. Since it is a slope running down from east to west, we began the excavation on the east. Here the site is about on the same level as the top of the Hellenistic Chambers, just south of the top of the Ramp.<sup>3</sup> On the west, the site is on a level with the top of the ruined Cyclopean wall in its present state. We thus preferred to begin at the highest point, especially since that connects more naturally with the southern part of the area cleared by Schliemann in 1876<sup>4</sup> and the northern side of the area cleared by Tsountas in 1886.<sup>5</sup>

Just below the surface in this eastern part we found the ruins of Hellenistic buildings. These seem to have had elaborate provision for water, for several water channels of tiles run about the area. In the centre of the east are the remains of a latrine with tile drains running from it. Another latrine with two floors was found on the northern edge below the remains of the ruined foundations of a guard hut marked by Steffen on his plan.<sup>6</sup> On the southern edge, partly broken away by Tsountas' excavation, are ruins of an olive press. These Hellenistic ruins deserve further study and exploration, and we hope to continue our work upon them this next season and then to publish a plan of them. They show at least two building stages. Quantities of tiles were found among them, and much pottery of the usual Hellenistic types, mostly apparently of the third and second centuries B.C. The most interesting small find is a terracotta figurine of a seated monkey which is unfortunately headless. It does not seem to be of Mycenaean manufacture, but is probably an import, perhaps from the Hellenistic East. It does not, however, look Egyptian. On the back is the inscription ΚΟΤΙΩΝΟC ΠΙΘΑ[κος].

Since the rock of the Citadel rises steeply both to the north underneath the Hellenistic Chambers south of the Ramp and on the east side of Tsountas' House, we were not surprised to find rock only a little way beneath the Hellenistic buildings. On the northern side of the site, just below the latrine under the guard house ruins, we found almost immediately below the Hellenistic buildings a ruined Mycenaean storeroom, PLATE 20, a; FIG. 2. Little debris intervenes between it and the Hellenistic level. The storeroom itself is cut out of the rock slope on its east side and also apparently for part of its south side. On the north and west it was built up with

<sup>1</sup> BSA XXV 86 ff.; Wace, *Mycenae* 66.

<sup>2</sup> BSA XXV, pl. I (30-5), 68 f.

<sup>3</sup> PAE 1886, 74 ff., pl. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Wace, *Mycenae* 66 f.

<sup>5</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Plan C; Steffen, *Karten v. Myk.* pl. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Karten von Mykenai*, pl. 2, 'Grundmauern aus späterer Zeit'.

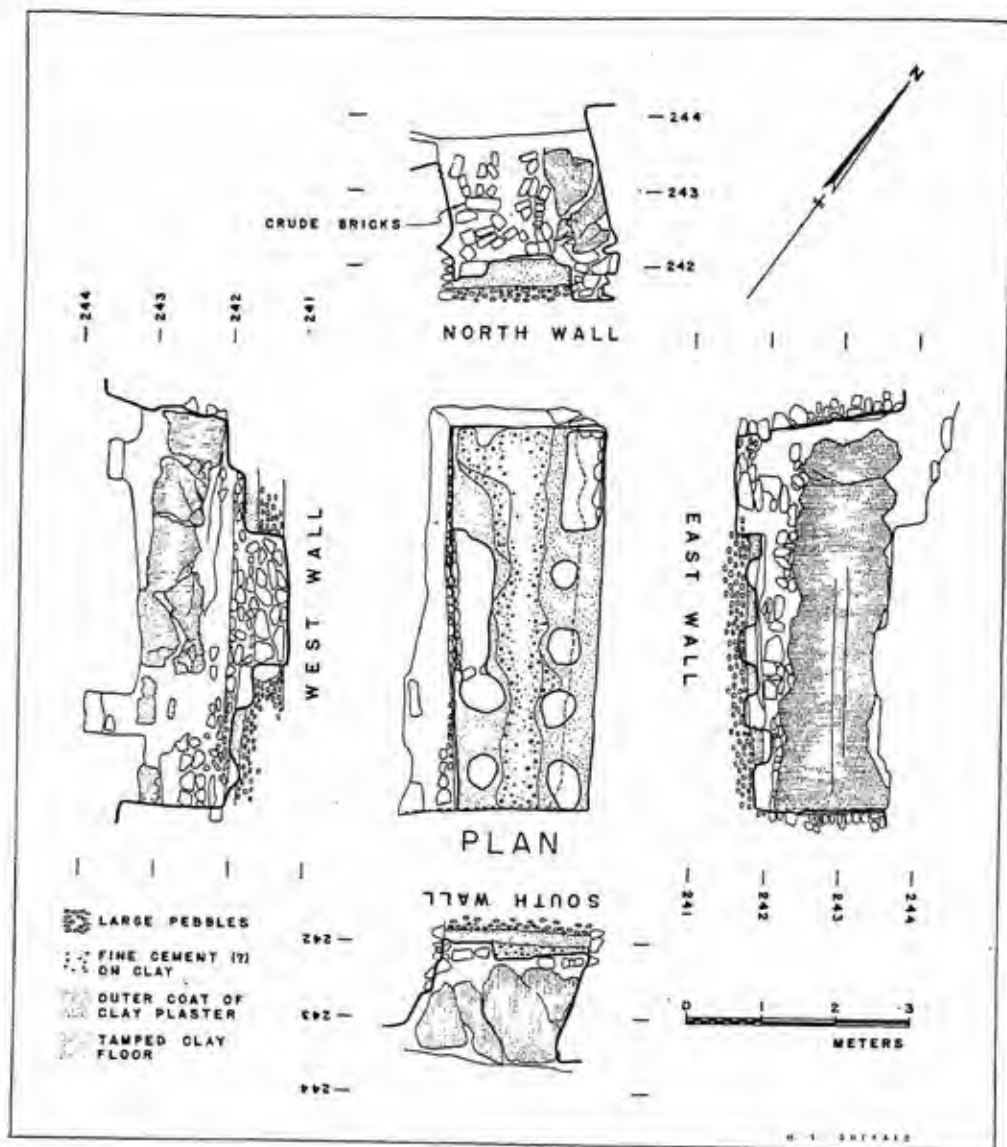


FIG. 2.—MYCENAE: CITADEL HOUSE, STOREROOM.

crude brick. The walls, whether of rock or of crude brick, were covered with a layer of clay plaster well mixed with chaff. Incised in the plaster of the eastern side are two horizontal lines. The floor of clay was laid over a layer of pebbles and had been renewed once with another layer of clay. In the floor there had been two rows of five emplacements each to hold large storage jars. Among the ruins many fragments of storage vessels were found, and we were able to put together one which is of a tub-like shape, PLATE 20, *d*. Also in the ruins were the fragments of an amphora not of Mycenaean fabric, PLATE 20, *b*. It is pale buff in colour and of a sandy clay with a smoothed surface. On one side just below the shoulder can be seen painted in red after the vessel was fired a double-axe or butterfly sign. This is not known in the Linear B Script, but does occur among the signs on vases found in Cyprus and the Levant. Four amphorae of this type were found in the Menidi Tomb, and two were found by Tsountas in Tomb 58 at Mycenae in 1892.<sup>7</sup> One of these and all four of the Menidi examples have signs incised on the handles.<sup>8</sup> Amphorae of this shape have been claimed as Egyptian, and the shape certainly occurs in Egypt.<sup>9</sup> Whether this actual example is Egyptian remains uncertain. The specimens found at Amarna apparently are not inscribed. The red mark painted on this vase hints rather in the direction of Cyprus or Syria, and it is possible therefore that this was a common shape for a wine jar in the Levant. Thus we must for the time being leave the actual provenance of this example an open question. It might perhaps be of Syrian fabric, and we might imagine that Mycenaean merchants imported wines from Syria.

The storeroom was in use up to the fall of Mycenae, for also in the burnt debris which filled it, we found some L.H. IIIC pottery, notably the deep bowl shown in PLATE 20, *c*. The base of this is unluckily lost, but the shape is typical of the period, and the painted decoration which is in a reddish lustrous paint is characteristic of the L.H. IIIC period and can be compared with that of other vases from Mycenae also found within the Citadel.<sup>10</sup>

The evidence from the Granary and the section by the Lion Gate showed that the destruction of Mycenae had taken place after the L.H. IIIC style had developed.<sup>11</sup> The presence of this bowl in the store room apparently at the time of its ruin may thus be taken as confirmation of the date of the destruction of Mycenae. L.H. IIIB apparently was still current at the end of the thirteenth century. Thus the looting and burning of Mycenae after the development of the L.H. IIIC style may provisionally be placed towards the end of the twelfth century.

Outside the Citadel by this site and the South House we cleared some twenty metres of the face of the Cyclopean Wall at the request of the Greek Archaeological authorities. The Cyclopean Wall at this point is founded on the rock. The wall is roughly coursed, and each course is about one metre high. The joints between the large blocks were packed with the yellow clay from Plesia or Longaki and small stones. We observed that here too the lowest blocks seem to have been set on the rock which had been roughly levelled. On the rock was laid a layer of clay and small stones. Then apparently the Cyclopean blocks were placed on

<sup>7</sup> Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca* 56, 76, nos. 92 f., 153 f. There are only two from Tomb 58 at Mycenae. The other number, 4695, given by Pendlebury, is an error, for that is a vase from Aphidna, *AM* 1896, pl. 14 (4, 5).

<sup>8</sup> Tsountas-Manatt, *Myc. Age* 268; Bennett, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* Vol. 97, 437.

<sup>9</sup> Peet-Woolley, *City of Akhenaten* I, pls. LI, LII. Miss Olga Tuftnell has kindly given me the following notes on this type of amphora in Palestine and Syria. Our jar is very like one from Tomb 501 at Lachish (*Lachish* IV, pl. 87: 1019), where the type is rare (*Lachish* II, pl. LVII B). The seals in the tomb include one of Amenhotep III, and the maximum range for the tomb is about 1400-1275 B.C. The Lachish jar has, however, a more curved and wider body than ours. The eighty jars in the depot at Ras Shamra (Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II, fig. 86: 7) are of the same family and are dated about 1425-1350 B.C. Another jar from Qraye (*Bull. Mus. Beyrouth* III, pl. XI g) is dated to the mid-fifteenth century, but the group was not homogeneous and contained Ramesside scarabs. The best parallel seems to be a form published by Macdonald, Starkey, and Harding in *Beth-Pelet* II, pl. LXXXVI 47 H 6 from grave 962 which also contained a scarab of Ramesses II.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. *BSA* XXV 25, fig. 7 *d*.

<sup>11</sup> *BSA* XXV 29.



this bed and rocked until they settled comfortably into the clay and provided a firm base for the upper courses. The deposit in front of the wall face was mainly Hellenistic, and is probably therefore to be attributed to the last three centuries B.C., when the lower town was laid out and enclosed by a fortification wall.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. THE LION TOMB

Stamatakes reported in 1878<sup>13</sup> that in the course of his work at Mycenae after the close of Schliemann's excavations he found the remains of a low wall which had encircled the top of the Lion Tomb. He found a similar wall round the ruined beehive tomb at the Argive Heraeum.<sup>14</sup> He concluded that it had surrounded the base of a mound of earth which would have originally covered the top of the tholos. In both cases, the Lion Tomb and the Argive Heraeum Tomb, the upper part of the tholos would have projected above the surface of the sloping hillside. In both cases the low wall would have served to hold up the base of such a mound of earth. It would have resembled the low wall which Pausanias<sup>15</sup> describes as encircling the Tomb of Aipyros γῆς χῶμα οὐ μέγα λίθου κρηπίδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον. In the case of the Treasury of Atreus<sup>16</sup> there is a mound of earth heaped over the top of the dome which projects above the hillside like a small tumulus. This mound was not supported by a circular wall but by an oblique wall on each side, north and south, of the dromos and of the tholos. The 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' seems to have been covered by a mound, for, before it was first excavated by Veli Pasha, Gell<sup>17</sup> noted a tumulus at that spot which he said was 'either a tumulus or the covering of another chamber like the treasury'. The low wall of poros which supported the east side of that mound has been found and is described in Part IV by Lord William Taylour below.<sup>18</sup>

It seemed therefore desirable to test Stamatakes' report and to see whether any remains of his circular wall could still be found. We accordingly made tests in the summer of 1954, both on the east and on the west of the tholos of the Lion Tomb as excavated by Tsountas.<sup>19</sup> On the east side we found traces of Tsountas' dump from the tomb overlying some Hellenistic debris. On the west side we found several sherds of L.H. I and II pottery as well as some L.H. III sherds. On neither side, however, did we find any sign of such a wall as Stamatakes reported. He can hardly have been mistaken, and we must therefore conclude that the stones of the wall he saw have been removed since 1878. The land on either side of the tomb is cultivated, and it is possible that the owner may have removed the stones to facilitate cultivation, and at the same time perhaps to provide himself with useful building material. There is no reason to reject Stamatakes' observations, for we now have enough evidence<sup>20</sup> to lead us to believe that the dome of practically every tholos tomb projected tumulus-like above the hillside and was covered with a mound of earth which was supported at its foot by a low retaining wall according to Pausanias' description of the Tomb of Aipyros.

### 4. THE HOUSE OF SHIELDS (PLATE 18; FIG. 3)

We continued the exploration of this building, and in particular tried to find the line of its western and northern walls. We cleared the outside face of the southern wall along the narrow passage or lane which separates this building from the northern wall of the House of

<sup>12</sup> BSA XXV 415 ff.

<sup>14</sup> AM, loc. cit.; BSA XXV 330, pl. LIV.

<sup>16</sup> Wace, Mycenae 125 f., figs. 8, 9.

<sup>18</sup> P. 209; JHS LXXIV (1953), 170.

<sup>20</sup> Compare the Bodia tholoi; Valmin, Swedish Messenian Expedition 207.

<sup>13</sup> AM 1878, 273.

<sup>15</sup> VIII 16. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Itinerary, pl. 3.

<sup>19</sup> BSA XXV 325 f., pl. LIII.

the Oil Merchant (PLATE 21, *b*). We traced the line of the west wall which had been much plundered and damaged in Hellenistic times when a house was built over the western part. The west wall runs close in front of the face of the soft rock, which has been cut back to make room. The building did not have a basement, but stood on an artificial terrace supported on west, south, and east by stout walls built in a Cyclopean manner with fairly large blocks. The area enclosed by the walls was filled with small stones, earth, broken pottery, and other debris. On the top of this, clay floors were laid. The whole building was divided into two rooms by a central wall running from north to south along a line slightly east of its centre. In the eastern room we found nothing. Its floor had lain too close below the surface, and the space was badly denuded. The path for tourists visiting the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' ran across it, and it had also been cultivated. The site rises to the west and to the north with the natural slope of the hillside, and thus on these sides there was a greater depth of soil. The west room also had suffered from denudation, but we found parts of its floor of clay still *in situ*, and we were able



FIG. 3.—MYCENAE: KEY TO PLANS OF HOUSES, PLATES 18 AND 19.

to trace the east wall, which divides it from the east room. We also traced the line of the north wall and, in spite of the Hellenistic plundering and disturbance, managed to follow the line of the west wall with its heavy stone foundations on a ledge of the soft rock, which here rises rather steeply towards the west. To the west of the western wall are some ruins of a Hellenistic house built above the ruins of the Mycenaean building. Owing to its proximity to the modern high road, not much is left of the Hellenistic house. There are some broken walls and part of a cement floor, which may have been a latrine, for there is a cesspit beneath it dug down into the soft rock.

The construction of the west room was that known in other Mycenaean buildings (PLATE 21, *a*). The foundations of the walls were solidly built with large blocks of stone laid on the rock, and from this the stone base of the upper walls rose about 1.00 m. above the floor level. The upper parts of the walls were of crude brick strengthened with timber framework. In the remains of the west and east walls we can still observe the chases for anchoring the lower part of the timber framework in the stone base. The lines of the horizontal and vertical beams can still be traced. Along the inside of the west wall ran a bench of clay or crude brick about 0.30 m. high. Its front was marked by a line of stones. The south-west angle of the building was a stout pier of rubble and clay originally apparently bound with timber. We have not yet been able to fix definitely the place of the door of this west room, though it was apparently in the north wall. There seems to have been a small door from it into the east room towards the

north end of the dividing wall. Further exploration in and around the building is needed to clear up these structural points.

In 1953 in the southern part of the west room we had found a great number of pieces of carved ivory inlay, probably from furniture, wooden boxes, and so on. With the ivory pieces were also several stone vases. These, both the ivory inlays and the stone vases, were found towards the western side of the room, which in that southern part has been badly damaged in Hellenistic times. Part of the Hellenistic building, a broken wall, still stood above the middle of the west room. In the northern part of the west room we found more stone vases and more ivory inlays, mostly along the line of the clay bench on the inside of the west wall. They lay in a deposit of soft black earth and carbonised and decayed matter which lay along the west wall and failed in the eastern part of the room. In all, about twenty-five stone vases were found, and most of them had been broken and in some cases even disintegrated by the violence of the fire which had destroyed the building. The number will be verified when all the fragments have been studied and joined as far as possible. The vases were all worked with a hollow tubular drill, probably a hollow reed, working with sand and water. With this implement the interiors of the vases were gradually drilled out, and the cores resulting from the drill work were broken away. One of the finest vases is a tall jar, PLATE 23, *a*, of *lapis Lacedaemonius*, green porphyry, which is found only at Krokeai, midway between Sparta and Gytheion. This stone was very popular with the Mycenaeans for stone vases, and many fragments of stone vases of it have been found at Mycenae and other Late Helladic sites. From Mycenae, for instance, is the fine rhyton from the Rhyton Well.<sup>21</sup> The stone is, as Pausanias<sup>22</sup> says, not found in layers in a quarry but in the form of large nodules, and this year we found such a nodule by the ruins of Tsountas' House within the citadel, PLATE 23, *c*. From this nodule pieces had been broken off for working, and an unfinished saw cut shows that plans had been made to cut off yet another piece as raw material. The Mycenaeans carried this stone with them to Knossos, where it was used for gems. Evans also found a store of blocks of it at Knossos in the Lapidary's workshop,<sup>23</sup> which dates from Late Minoan II, the period of Mainland influence. This vase from the House of Shields had been shattered by the fire, but fortunately we found all pieces of it. In the rim holes are bored which indicate that a mouthpiece of some kind, either of the same or of some other material, had been attached. The drill holes, PLATE 23, *b*, still clearly visible on the inside, show the method by which this and other stone vases were made.

Another fine vase is a small ovoid rhyton of steatite, FIG. 4. The outside of this is carved in melon-like sections. The sections are decorated alternately with incisions of a herring-bone type and with a pattern of shallow drilled holes which originally were meant to be filled with precious or semi-precious inlay. In the outlet at the base there was a fragment of corroded green metal, probably silver alloyed with copper, a favourite material with the Mycenaeans. There are holes bored in the rim at the top which indicate that a mouthpiece of some kind was attached. The mouthpiece was probably also of the same alloyed silver, and would no doubt have had the shape of the faience mouthpiece of the ostrich egg rhyton from the Fifth Shaft Grave.<sup>24</sup>

There are two fine jars of serpentine, PLATE 24, *a*, of a baggy type which had lids. The handles of the lids are usually made separately and inserted. Two vases more or less complete are of limestone, PLATE 24, *b*, which naturally had suffered in the fire. These are spheroid,

<sup>21</sup> BSA XXIV 201, pl. XI; Wace, *Mycenae* 68, fig. 86.

<sup>22</sup> III 21. 4. Pausanias describes the nodules as being like river stones, τοῖς ποταμίοις ὁμοῦντες, which Frazer translates as 'pebbles'. In RE s.v. 'Krokeai', it is suggested incorrectly, that the stone was first used in Roman times and is *verde antico*.

<sup>23</sup> Evans, *P. of M.* III 269, IV 898.

<sup>24</sup> Bossert, *Art of Ancient Crete*, fig. 49.

and their necks and mouthpieces were made separately. There are holes bored in the rims of the vases and in the lower edge of the mouthpiece so that they can be attached easily. It was the practice to make the mouthpieces of stone vases of this shape separately, because if the vase had been made in one piece it would have been extremely awkward to manipulate the drill successfully through the narrow neck.

The two vases, PLATE 24, *c*, which have resisted the fire successfully are two of a kind of 'pudding stone' which have thicker walls and are much heavier than the majority. These also probably had necks and mouthpieces made separately.

The ivory inlays were found more in the southern part of the room, while the stone vases were found more towards the northern end. Prominent among the ivory inlays was a group of



FIG. 4.—MYCENAE: HOUSE OF SHIELDS, STEATITE RHYTON.

small pieces carved to represent helmets (of leather probably) protected with rows of boar's tusks, PLATE 25, *c*. A number of these were found close together, and so probably had all been used to decorate a small wooden box or perhaps a piece of furniture. Some of the inlays are in relief, others are engraved flat pieces. In every case the helmet shows parallel rows of cut boar's tusks arranged round the conical helmet, some curving this way and some the other, as Homer says ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα. On the top is a circular disc, and from this a heavy plume, probably of horsehair, hangs down the back, and so recalls the great plume of Hector's helmet which frightened Astyanax. The helmets all have cheek pieces which are rather wide in proportion to the rest of the helmet.

Some ivory bars fitted with tenons and sockets and decorated with the Mycenaean triglyph pattern carved in relief, PLATE 26, *a-b*, probably formed part of small boxes for jewellery and other precious things. The delicacy of the carving and the neatness and skill with which they were made are characteristically Mycenaean.



The most remarkable ivories were fragmentary discs with two holes pierced through the centre and provided with four small feet. We have the remains of at least three of these, but unfortunately none is complete. The photograph, PLATE 25, *a-b*, with the restored drawing shows what they are like. They consist of a disc of ivory about 0.12 m. in diameter with a border of raised discs running round the edge. Within this border is another similar border making a quatrefoil pattern. In each angle of the quatrefoil is a smooth round boss under which, on the back of the disc, is a small, round, tapered foot, very carefully fitted with socket and tenon and fastened with a small ivory peg. In the centre are two holes about 0.01 m. in diameter bored right through the ivory disc. These ivories are most neatly and delicately worked, but we have as yet no idea of their purpose. Apparently nothing like them is known.<sup>25</sup> In Tomb 81 at Mycenae in 1895 Tsountas found a curious bronze disc (National Museum, No. 3120) which resembles two of these ivories set back to back. Unfortunately it has never been published, and so has aroused no discussion. We see no reason to suppose that these ivories are not the products of Mycenaean craftsmanship.

With the carved ivory inlays we also found many pieces of small objects of wood. One or two of these pieces still had set in them fragments of ivory inlay, and had probably belonged to small pieces of furniture. We also found several fragments of carved woodwork. These had all been burnt in the fire which destroyed the house, and had been practically converted into charcoal. When found they were soft and brittle, but our staff were able to adapt a method to consolidate and preserve them. Examples of them are shown in the photograph and in the drawing in PLATE 27, *a-b*. One piece with a well-designed scroll pattern on two adjoining sides seems to be from the corner of a small box. Other pieces probably come from similar boxes. It is interesting to note that these pieces of wood were carefully designed and made with tenons and sockets and peg holes so that they could be neatly and quickly fitted together. They indicate that the standard of Mycenaean cabinet-making was high. This is the first time that it has proved possible to find and preserve burnt wood in excavations at Mycenae.

In the northern part of the west room we found three early Geometric graves, which are published by Mr. Desborough below in Part V.

We have called this building the House of Shields from the number of miniature figure-of-eight shields in ivory found in it in 1953. The further exploration of its ruins and its plan with two long, parallel rooms built on an artificial terrace supported by heavy walls of a Cyclopean type do not suggest that it was a private house. In any case it is in plan and design radically different from its neighbours, the House of the Oil Merchant and the House of Sphinxes, which are both basement houses and seem to have been private residences for comparatively wealthy persons. What the purpose of this building, the House of Shields, was we cannot yet conjecture. At all events it does not seem to have had any religious purpose. It had an upper floor, though we have not discovered the site of the staircase which must have led up to it, and it had contained furniture of carved wood elaborately decorated with carved ivory inlays.

## 5. HOUSE OF THE OIL MERCHANT

Mr. Ventris and Mr. Chadwick report that a tablet found at Pylos in 1954 proves that the commodity sign on the tablet<sup>26</sup> found in Room 1 of this house, where the large storage pithoi

<sup>25</sup> Mr. Ventris calls my attention to a fragment of bone from Tomb 7 at Dendra which Persson (*New Tombs at Dendra*, 36 f., fig. 36 (4)) thought might be a part of a sword hilt. From his illustration it looks as though it might be a fragment of a disc like ours.

<sup>26</sup> Bennett, *ProcAmPhilSoc* Vol. 97, 428 (No. Fo 101), 446 ff.

were, stands for olive oil. This justifies the name given to this house and agrees with the oily state of the large stirrup jars found in the corridor just outside the door of Room 1. This combination of epigraphic and archaeological evidence is most satisfactory.

This year (1954) we cleared the western part of the house, which, as stated, lies on a terrace built on the rising ground to the west of the basement, with a floor level some 3 m. higher than that of the basement. The depth of earth over the ruins was very shallow, and the Mycenaean walls had been damaged by Hellenistic over-building. Thus the plan, PLATE 19, of the ruins as revealed gives little or no idea of what the main part of this house was like.

The north wall along the south side of the lane which separates this house from the House of Shields has a setback, and at that point a large stone is set into the wall foundation at about the level of the top of the terrace on which the first floor of the house must have stood. This may be the threshold of the main floor of the house, since it lies close to the north end of the corridor. We were unable to disengage the west wall of the house completely, although we believe that the line indicated on the plan is correct. The line of oleanders which runs along the east side of the modern high road impinges almost directly on it, and further excavation along this side would not only be inconvenient but might also be dangerous.

Among the foundations towards the north end of this terrace, which is supported by the west wall of the main corridor of the basement, we found many fragments of plain L.H. III pottery. In the west part of the lane outside the north wall and to the west of the threshold at the setback we found many fragments of undecorated L.H. III pottery, to a large extent plain kylikes. These perhaps are the remains of drinking-vessels broken while in use in the house. The fragments thereafter would have been thrown out into the lane, a common practice in the Near East still today. Nothing was found either among these or among the fragments found among the foundations of the west terrace to disagree with the date already suggested for the house from the vases found in Room 4 in the basement, L.H. IIIB.<sup>27</sup> This date agrees with the pottery found in Room 1 of the House of Sphinxes in 1953 and with pottery found in the same house in 1954.

## 6. THE HOUSE OF SPHINXES

This house<sup>28</sup> is presumably slightly later in date than the House of the Oil Merchant because it abuts against the south wall of that house. It stands at a somewhat lower level. It is a basement house, and the floors are cut out of the soft rock and levelled off with a Cyclopean supporting wall (now much ruined) on the east. Thus on the west the depth of the deposit above the rock floor rises to about 3 m., whereas on the east by the ruined Cyclopean supporting wall the average depth is not much over  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. Since the site slopes from west to east, it has been much denuded and has suffered also from cultivation. On the west just below the surface are the ruins of a Hellenistic building, perhaps a house, but most of this has disappeared, except portions lying immediately east of the oleanders that here line the east side of the modern high-road. The Hellenistic ruins consist mainly of a few broken and inorganic walls. The only piece of any size is a stretch of wall running from north to south on the western edge of the excavation. Part of this is covered with strong cement and had at its eastern foot the remains of a stoutly built cement floor, PLATE 31, *a*, which was drained by a cesspit sunk deep through the mound of debris consisting of the ruins of the Mycenaean house into the rock floor below. This seems to have been a latrine so far as we can tell. There is another cesspit immediately to the south. See Section, FIG. 5.

Below the surface and Hellenistic layers was the debris of the Mycenaean house, which

<sup>27</sup> See p. 187 below, and *BSA* XLVIII 13, pl. G *b, d*.

<sup>28</sup> *BSA* XLIX 238 ff.

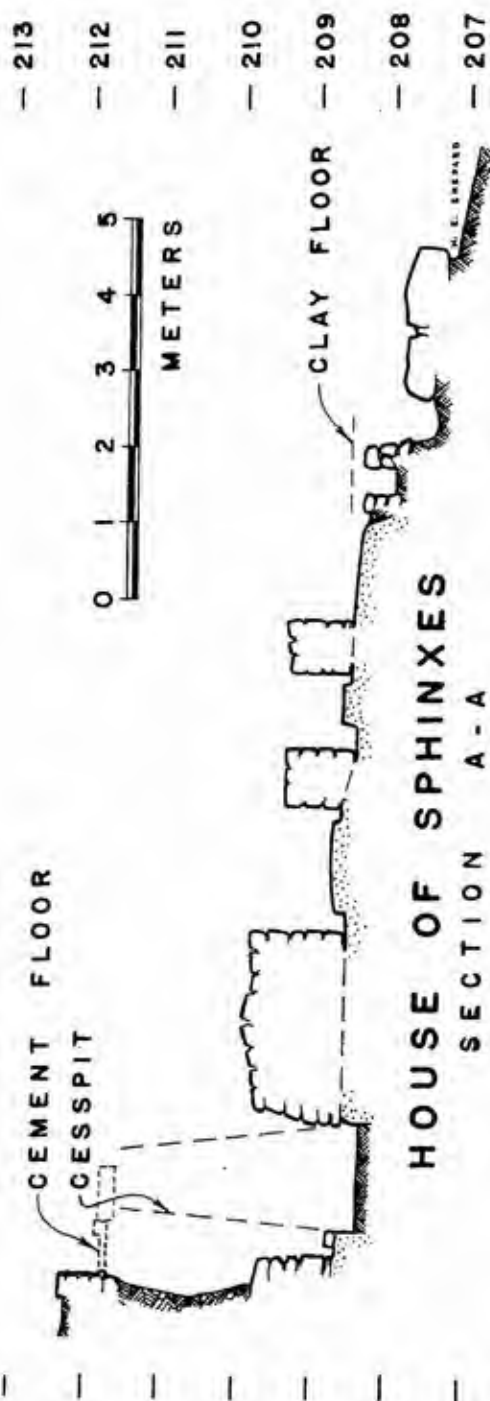


FIG. 5.

consisted of decomposed and burnt crude brick, broken cement flooring, carbonised wood, and some large store jars, all of which seemed to have formed part of the upper storey (there may even have been two storeys), which collapsed into the basement beneath when the house was destroyed by fire.

The plan, PLATES 18, 22, shows that the basement consisted of a long corridor running north and south with a series of rooms opening out on either side. We have numbered the rooms on the east with odd numbers and those on the west with even numbers, beginning in both cases at the north. Room 1 was discovered in 1952 and excavated in 1953.<sup>29</sup> The room which lies to its south presents strange features which cannot yet be explained. It has obviously undergone alterations. Its original west wall is undoubtedly that which runs straight along the east side of the corridor and is, like all the other main walls, founded in a shallow trench cut in the rock. The room has running along its east side just within the Cyclopean supporting wall a stone-lined drain which runs southwards for some distance, parallel to the Cyclopean wall, and then turns eastwards through the wall. The foundation of part of the south wall now destroyed can be seen in its shallow trench in the rock. Within this room another wall was built not parallel to the west wall and apparently with little if any regard to the plan of the house as a whole. There is a light east-west wall at its north end. The question of its purpose must be left for further exploration and study. Of the rooms on the west side of the corridor, Room 2 yielded many carved ivories in 1953, and in it we found more carved ivories this year. Since these ivories lay in the fallen debris, we assume that they had formed part of the decoration of furniture which had stood on the upper floors. In Room 4, PLATE 31, *d*, we found on the floor in the south-west corner of the excavated part four large jars, all probably for domestic use as water jars and the like. The wall between Room 4 and Room 6 had been ruined towards the west by the cesspit from the Hellenistic latrine, and the other cesspit had disturbed the debris in the southern part of the room. In Rooms 4, 6, 8, and 10, and in the adjoining part of the corridor, we found a number of vases, nearly all of plain domestic ware, PLATES 28-29. On the floor of Room 4 lay two amphorae for liquids and two open jars for dry substances such as grains. In Room 6 were two amphorae and a hydria. In Room 8 were a number of drinking-cups of finer fabric, PLATE 29, *a*. In the same room and in the corridor were ladles and strainers obviously intended for cooking or similar domestic purposes, PLATE 29, *b-c*. A few of the vases seem to be unused. Some of them were in the debris fallen from the upper storey, and others lay on the rock floors. In Room 10 was a L.H. IIIB piriform jar, PLATE 31, *c*, much discoloured by fire, which presumably was in use in the house at the time of its destruction. It confirms the date for the house indicated by the vases found in Room 1 in 1953.<sup>30</sup>

The rock floors of the rooms are remarkably level. On the west side from Room 2 at the north end to Room 8 at the south end the levels of the floors differ by only a centimetre or two.<sup>31</sup> Room 8 is shorter than the other rooms, and in Room 10 the rock floor is at a higher level than elsewhere. This seems to indicate that the plan of the house was here adapted to the conformation of the ground.

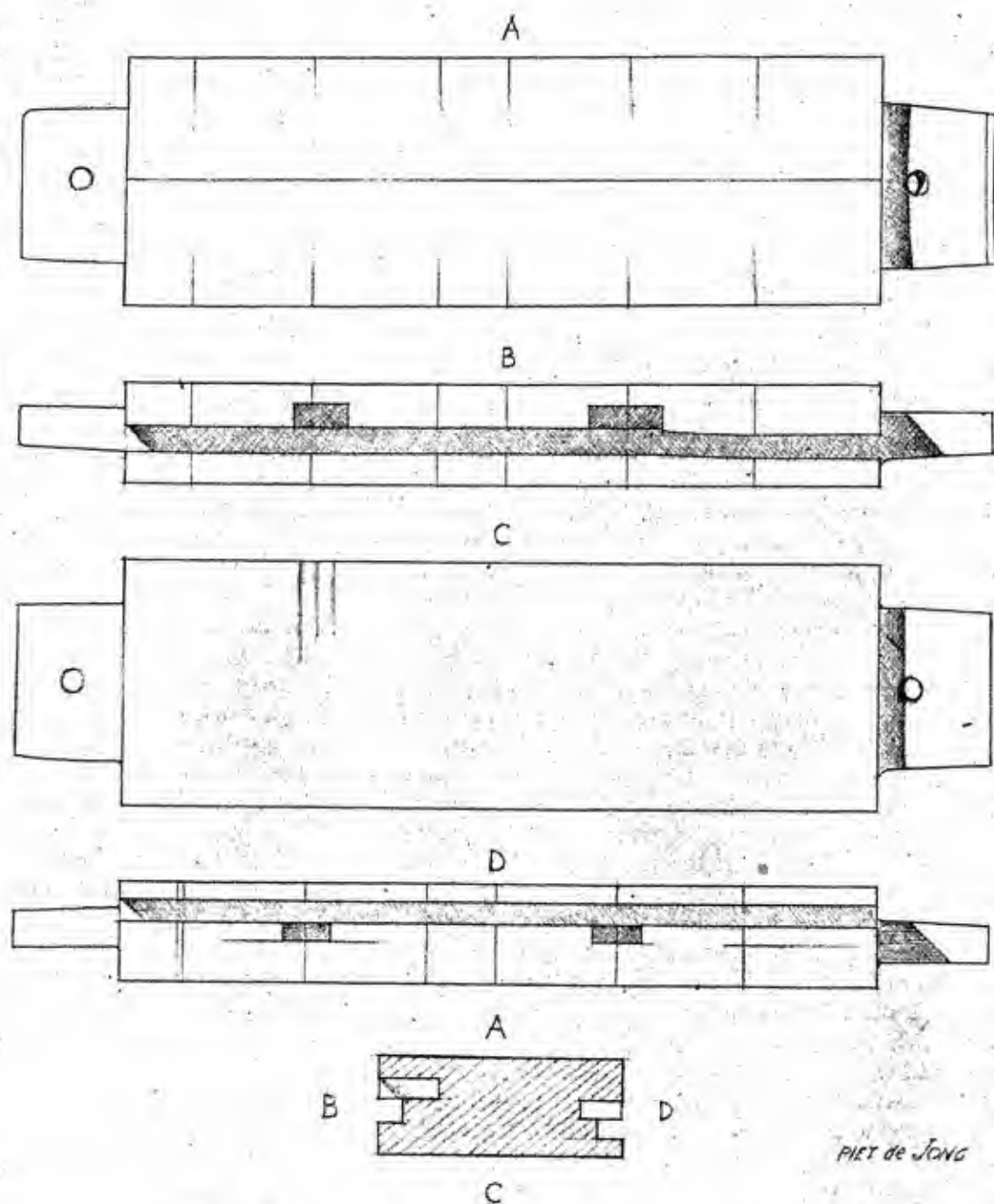
The ivories found in Room 2 and also in Room 4 were not as numerous as those found in the same rooms in 1953, but there were several remarkable pieces. From the point of view of artistic execution the finest is a much-damaged plaque with two lions in low relief, PLATE 31, *b*. The observation of the muscular strength of the beasts is admirable, and the drawing of the lion's head is exquisite. There are three half-columns with removable capitals of a 'proto-Doric' type. These are the halves of faceted columns. Each has five whole facets and two half facets, giving twelve facets for a whole column. There is a low torus at the base. On their

<sup>29</sup> *BSA* XLVIII 14, XLIX 239.

<sup>30</sup> *BSA* XLIX, pl. 31 *b*.

<sup>31</sup> I owe this observation to Mr. Herschel Shepard.





PIET de JONG

FIG. 6.—MYCENAE: HOUSE OF SPHINXES, IVORY BAR.

backs the setting-out lines by which they were measured off are still clearly visible. They are 0.55 m. high, and are larger than most of the ivory model columns we have found, PLATE 30, *a*. Whether these model columns were used for decoration or for some other purpose we cannot tell. It is interesting, however, in this connection to note that in A.D. 840 Einhart sent to Vulfinus ivory models of classical columns made after Vitruvius' description.<sup>32</sup> There are also two small semi-columns of ivory of the Lion Gate type which had been attached to a wooden backing with ivory pegs, PLATE 30, *b*.

The ivy leaf of ivory, PLATE 30, *c*, is remarkable for its size, 0.17 m. long. It must have been cut from an exceptional tusk and have been used as inlay in a large piece of furniture such as a chair-back. Other ornaments of ivory are some fine model shells which also have holes for attachment to a backing of some kind, PLATE 30, *d*.

A noteworthy piece of ivory is the bar shown in FIG. 6, which is remarkably well preserved and has a tenon at each end. As the drawing shows, it has on each of its four sides setting-out lines, all most clearly marked and measured. It was presumably meant to be used in the making of some object, perhaps a small box, of ivory. The setting-out lines indicate that the object, whatever it was, had been most carefully planned and that the various component pieces had been so designed that they would fit together accurately. This again bears witness to the skill and care with which the Mycenaean craftsmen and artists worked. Nothing apparently was taken in hand without a planned design having been made beforehand.

In Room 6, in the space between the two cesspits, we found ten clay tablets with incised inscriptions in the Linear B Mycenaean script. Several of them give a list of a number of seeds or plants which may have been used as condiments. The list includes sesame, coriander, celery, fennel, cumin. Another tablet gives a list of vases, but we do not know whether they were of metal or clay. Perhaps this list might record some of the vases found in the next room. Another tablet lists various foods, such as olives and figs. It is most fortunate that these tablets<sup>33</sup> escaped destruction when the Hellenistic cesspits were dug. They had all been baked by the fire which destroyed the house, and from their position in the debris had probably, like some of the vases and the ivories, been on an upper floor and had fallen with the burning debris into the basement. In Room 8 we found, apparently also fallen from an upper floor, a quantity of carbonised seeds and grains. A sample has been submitted to Dr. Hans Helbaek of Copenhagen, who reports that they are vetches, chick peas, and lentils. It would have been too much to expect that they would have corresponded with the plants mentioned on the tablets.

In Room 2 we found a quantity of pieces of pumice stone, none of them very big. This must have been imported, probably from Thera or Melos. What it was used for we cannot guess, and we cannot find any record of pumice stone having been found at other Mycenaean sites in remains of this period, L.H. IIIB.

We were unable to find the western wall of this house because of the nearness of the modern high-road. The depth of the excavation on this side is about 3 m., and its edge runs just by the oleanders that fringe the road. There is so much traffic along the road, and the heavy omnibuses full of tourists cause so much vibration, that it was felt to be dangerous to dig too near the road. We have requested the Greek Archaeological Service to take steps to strut this bank so that we can dig out with safety the rest of Room 6 at least and see whether it contains any more tablets.

A. J. B. WACE

<sup>32</sup> J. von Schlosser, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der karolingischen Kunst*, (*Quellenschriften*, new ser. IV), Vienna, 1892, 6. I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor Panofsky.

<sup>33</sup> The tablets are to be published by Dr. Emmett L. Bennett, in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.

## MYCENAE 1939-1954

### PART II. THE PREHISTORIC CEMETERY: GRAVES BELOW THE HOUSE OF THE WARRIOR VASE

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The exploration of the Grave Circle within the Cyclopean Walls near the Lion Gate, which we began in 1920, resulted in the discovery or identification of several groups of graves,<sup>1</sup> which led us to the conclusion that a Prehistoric Cemetery had lain on the hillside at this point before the fortifications were constructed and that the Shaft Graves were a group of royal graves enclosed within that cemetery.

In 1939, following a suggestion made by Tsountas, we explored the area to the north-west of the Lion Gate outside the walls and found there fifteen graves<sup>2</sup> belonging to the Prehistoric Cemetery which was in use from Middle Helladic to Late Helladic II times. Subsequent exploration outside the walls in this region has resulted in the discovery of yet more graves, and those so far noted and explored outside the walls now number forty.<sup>3</sup> To these we should probably add one more, a disturbed grave found recently by the Anastelosis Section of the Greek Archaeological Service in its operations at the north-west angle of the bastion on the west of the entrance to the Lion Gate. Within the walls we have the following groups:<sup>4</sup>

- A. The Six Shaft Graves.
- B. The Skeletons found by Schliemann on the rock east of Shaft Grave III.
- C. The Four Graves found by Stamatakes in the east part of the Grave Circle.
- D. The Shaft Grave below the Granary.
- E. The Middle Helladic Graves below the Ramp House.
- F. The Middle Helladic Grave below the South House.
- G. The possible Grave between Shaft Grave VI and the West Basement of the Granary.

Another possible grave was the Golden Treasure<sup>5</sup> found just to the south of the Grave Circle by Schliemann's surveyor, and there are one or two other indications of possible graves.<sup>6</sup> Tsountas indicated<sup>7</sup> that he thought there might be other graves south of the Grave Circle under the houses that occupy this area. We felt that more exploration here would be useful, and accordingly we decided to investigate the soft rock underneath the House of the Warrior Vase, the largest area in that region still unexamined. We carried out this work in the summer of 1950. The excavation was in charge first of Mr. Sinclair Hood and then of Miss Marigold Pakenham-Walsh, whose report follows. Schliemann had dug out the basement of this house down to its rock floor, but had not examined it for possible graves. This we undertook.

<sup>1</sup> *BSA* XXV 118, XLV 206.

<sup>2</sup> *BSA* XLV 208 f.

<sup>3</sup> *BSA* XLVIII 7 f, XLIX 232 f; *JHS* LXXI (1951), 254.

<sup>4</sup> *BSA* XLV 206; Wace, *Mycenae* 61.

<sup>5</sup> H. Thomas, *BSA* XXXIX 65 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *BSA* XLV 207.

<sup>7</sup> Tsountas-Manatt, *Myc. Age* 114.

It will be seen from the report that part of the Prehistoric Cemetery certainly lay beneath this house also. We can thus continue the list just given above with:

H. The Sixteen Graves beneath the House of the Warrior Vase. From the sum of this evidence we can deduce that the Prehistoric Cemetery in this area within the walls extended from the Lion Gate to the South House. So with the two parts, now divided by the course of the Cyclopean Walls, we see that the Prehistoric Cemetery was large. The number of children's graves, both within and without the walls, suggests that the rate of infant mortality in the Middle Helladic and early Late Helladic period was high.<sup>8</sup> It is now clear that the Royal Grave Circle was not an isolated group of graves, but part of a large cemetery which must have been in use from Middle Helladic times down to the building of the Cyclopean Walls, for no grave demonstrably later than L.H. II has been found in either part of the cemetery, either within or without the walls, except for the L.H. IIIC grave<sup>9</sup> found on the northern edge by the East-West Middle Helladic Wall close to two late Geometric graves.

A. J. B. W.

#### THE GRAVES H.

The part of the Prehistoric Cemetery lying under the House of the Warrior Vase was excavated during the 1950 campaign. Sixteen probable graves were plotted and explored. Most of them were empty or contained only a few fragments of pottery, which was hardly surprising, as they would probably have been disturbed during the laying of the foundations of the house or later when the house was excavated by Schliemann.

Room 50, the north-western room, was excavated first, see the Plan in FIG. 1. It contained twelve possible graves. One of them was a shaft running under the south wall of the room into the passage beyond. From the small size of the skeletons found in the graves it would seem that this part of the cemetery must have been devoted to children. In Room 50 we found the following graves:

1. Small irregular cutting in rock. L. c. 0.65 m., W. 0.82 m., D. (= Depth in this and following descriptions) c. 0.20 m. This was completely empty.

1c. Small irregular cutting in rock. L. c. 0.83 m., W. 0.47 m., D. 0.20 m. This, too, was empty.

1b and 2. After the removal of a pile of large stones, probably part of the covering, it was found that these formed a single grave with the floor at about the same level throughout, although the surface level at the east end was considerably higher than at the west. L. 0.70 m., greatest W. 1.30 m., D. 0.24 m. in 1b and 0.40 m. in 2. The loose fill contained scattered bones of one or perhaps two children. In 1b there was a coarse jar of Middle Helladic ware containing the cranium, vertebrae, and leg and arm bones of an infant which had obviously been deposited in a contracted position. This may have been a family grave used for several successive child burials.

*Finds, Pottery:*—

(a) Jar, one handle, coarse domestic ware; broken and incomplete, FIG. 2. H. c. 0.30 m., greatest W. c. 0.23 m., W. of base 0.08 m. Middle Helladic fabric. This contained the infant skeleton mentioned above.

(b) Miscellaneous sherds of coarse domestic ware, including some possibly Middle Helladic, but mainly Late Helladic; one sherd possibly of Late Helladic stippled pattern ware.

3. Small and very shallow cutting in rock, D. 0.02 m., covered by a roughly dressed flat stone. Despite the extreme shallowness of the depression, the fact that the fill contained a few small bones and two fragmentary coarse sherds suggests that this was a disturbed grave.

4. An irregularly shaped pit rounded at one end (D. c. 0.23 m.) containing a few small bones, one vertebra, and parts of a skull, probably of an infant.

<sup>8</sup> Mylonas in *Eleusiniaka* by K. Kourouniotes 36 ff.; *AE* 1954, 36 f.

<sup>9</sup> *BSA* XLIX 259 ff.



*Finds, Pottery :—*

- (a) Three sherds of Middle Helladic ware with dark matt paint.
- (b) One Late Helladic painted sherd.
- (c) Base of a plain Late Helladic kylix.

5. Small irregular pit. L. 0.50 m., W. 0.45 m., D. 0.18 m. The loose fill yielded one small bone—possibly from an infant's leg—and several minute and indistinguishable sherds.

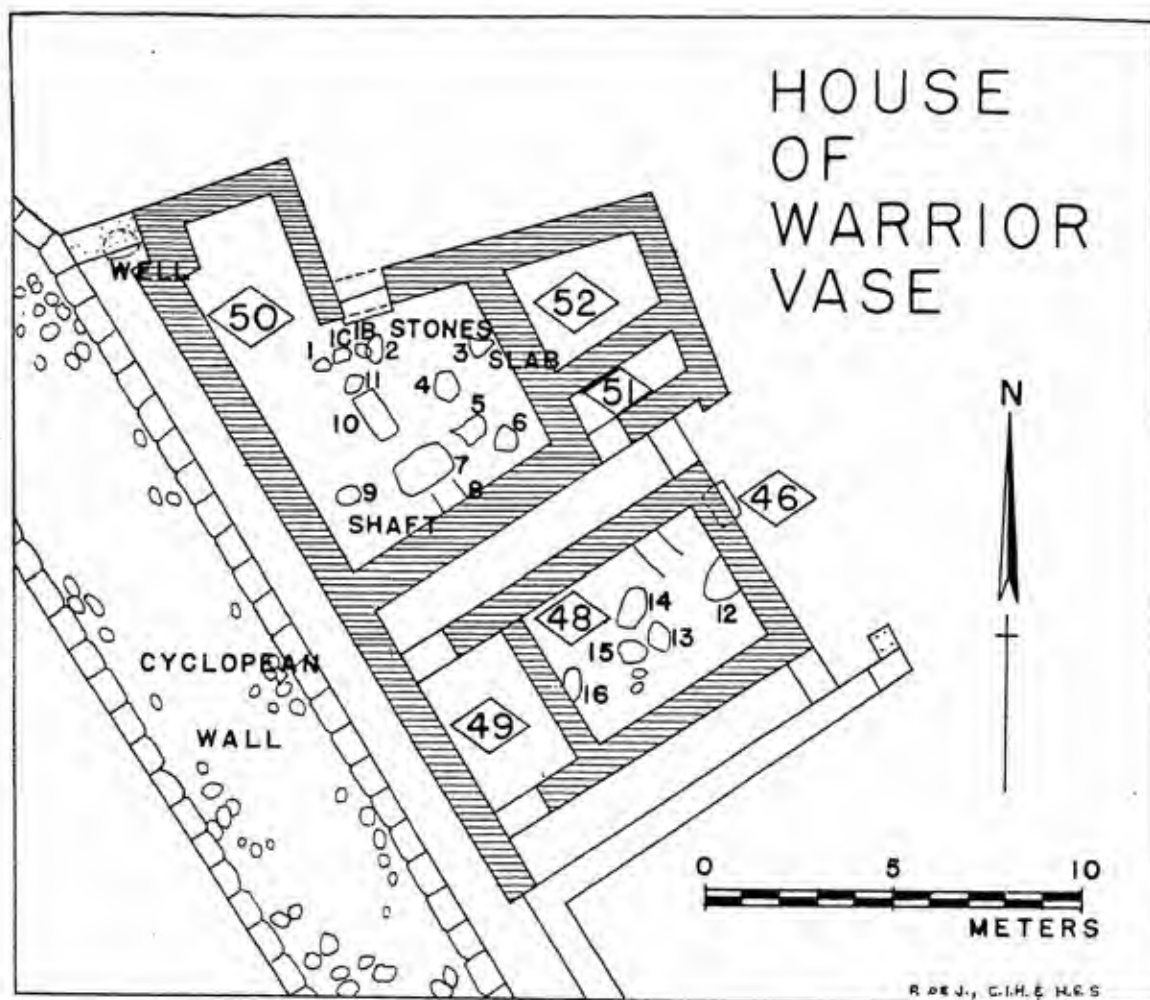


FIG. 1.—HOUSE OF WARRIOR VASE, PLAN OF GRAVES.

- 6. Small irregular pit, possibly a grave.
- 7. Rectangular pit. L. 1.80 m., W. 1.20 m. The floor was on two levels with a shallow step from one to the other. Empty save for one small piece of bronze.
- 8. Possible shaft grave running under south-east wall of Room 50 and probably joining with a cutting observed on the outside of this wall, though this could not be verified.
- 9. Small roundish depression, perhaps a grave.

10. Roughly rectangular pit. L.  $\epsilon$ . 1.65 m., W. 0.55 m., D. varies from 0.08 to 0.23 m. near north end. This end was filled with several large stones, one of which was roughly dressed and may originally have formed a covering slab.  
*Finds, Pottery* :—

Forty-eight sherds from Middle to Late Helladic, including :

- (a) One piece of L.H. II, Ephyræan.
- (b) One piece of L.H. II with stippled pattern.

11. Rock-cut grave, roughly 0.50 m. in diameter, D. 0.24 m. Quite empty.



FIG. 2.—HOUSE OF WARRIOR VASE, MIDDLE HELLADIC BURIAL JAR.

In Room 48 five possible graves were plotted, but these had been cleared either during the building of the house or in earlier excavations. The rock slopes steeply down from the east wall of this room.

12. Cutting under the east wall. L. 0.75 m., W. 0.94 m., D.  $\epsilon$ . 0.20 m.  
*Finds, Pottery* :—

The sherds included two fairly large pieces of Middle Helladic Matt-painted ware and one piece with a Late Helladic murex pattern, but most pieces were of coarse plain ware.

13, 14, 15. Irregular depressions, perhaps traces of graves broken away in building the house.

16. Cutting in rock under the west wall. W.  $\epsilon$ . 0.43 m., L. from wall face 0.68 m.  
*Finds, Pottery* :—

- (a) A few Matt-painted and Minyan Middle Helladic sherds.
- (b) One L.H. I sherd with a fragmentary plant pattern painted in red.

Rooms 51 and 52 were also cleared down to the rock, but yielded no traces of any graves.

The passage between Rooms 50 and 48 was also cleared, but the cutting of the drain which ran down this passage had interfered with any possible grave pits. Part of a L.H. III terracotta figurine was found in the fill of the drain.

M. PAKENHAM-WALSH

## MYCENAE 1939-1954

### PART III. NOTES ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE 'TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA'

(PLATES 32-35)

In 1950 the Anastelosis Section of the Greek Archaeological Service began the restoration of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra', FIG., PLATE 35. In view of our previous researches on the tomb, Dr. Papademetriou and the Anastelosis Section invited us to observe the work and to collaborate by a careful examination of the threshold and other points. Dr. Papademetriou<sup>1</sup> has already published an account of the work himself, and the following notes with the plan and photographs are offered as a supplement to what he has written. We are much indebted to him for his friendly help.

#### I. THE THRESHOLD

As described in our previous account<sup>2</sup> of the tomb and as seen in Mr. de Jong's plan, this consists of two blocks of conglomerate set in a shallow trench cut in the rock floor of the doorway. The two blocks met with an oblique joint in the centre, so that one block could be inserted from one side and the other from the other side. Thus the oblique joint would be tight and the other ends of the threshold blocks would fit snugly against the side walls of the doorway and so make the threshold true and solid. By lateral pressure, especially from the east side (because much water collects in the hillside there), the side walls of the doorway had moved inwards towards one another. This pressure caused the inner ends of the two threshold blocks to rise so that they formed a kind of inverted V. They must have been in that position for a long time. After the Anastelosis Section had removed the threshold blocks we cleared<sup>3</sup> the trench in which they had lain and the drain which passes beneath them in the hope that something might be discovered to help in the dating of the tomb. The earth was all carefully sifted, but nothing of importance came to light. A certain number of potsherds were found, and none of those identifiable was later than L.H. II. One was a fragment of a cup of the Vaphio shape. The earth under the threshold, and the drain, especially the part immediately north of the threshold, seemed to have been disturbed. There was a fair amount of gold leaf, all in smallish fragments, mixed with the earth, but it is, of course, undatable. It may be compared with the similar scraps of gold leaf found under the threshold of the Treasury of Atreus<sup>4</sup> and, like that, may perhaps be regarded as decorator's waste. In 1922 in the holes in the threshold blocks of this tomb we found some thin gold leaf much crumpled.

<sup>1</sup> *AE* 1948-1949 (published 1951), Παράρτημα 43 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *BSA* XXV 357 ff., pl. LVIII; Wace, *Mycenae* 35 ff., fig. 6.

<sup>3</sup> This work was carried out by Miss Marigold Pakenham-Walsh, Miss Margaret Dow, and Miss Elizabeth Wace. I have written this account with the aid of the plans and photographs made at the time. My original notebook was lost in passing my papers through the Egyptian Censorship when I left Alexandria University in 1952. Miss Pakenham-Walsh, Miss Dow, and Miss Wace have read this account and checked it with their own notes. I am also much indebted for helpful criticism and comments to my wife, Professor Stillwell, Mr. Herschel Shepard, and other friends, but the responsibility, of course, remains mine.

When it had completed its work in the dromos, the Anastelosis Section replaced the threshold blocks, but in order to make the blocks lie flat their edges were redressed.

<sup>4</sup> *BSA* XXV 357.

The drain as seen in the plan (PLATE 35) runs from a catch pit more or less in the centre of the tomb to the entrance of the dromos. There it passes under the blocking wall of cut poros blocks and out into the open ground beyond. As shown in the plan (PLATE 35), the drain is cut out in the rock floor and lined with blocks of stone. It was roofed with slabs laid horizontally across the side walls, as can be seen in the photograph in PLATE 32, *a*. It is 0.75 m. deep, and about 0.35 m. wide externally. The stone lining is about 0.15 m. high.



FIG. 1.—MYCENAE: 'TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA', DROMOS AND FAÇADE AFTER RESTORATION.

When completed the drain was apparently packed with yellow clay. The existence of the drain, like the corresponding drain in the Tomb of Aegisthus,<sup>5</sup> shows that the builders of the tomb knew of the presence of water in the soft rock, especially on the east side. They thus took steps to try to keep the tomb dry. This tomb and the Tomb of Aegisthus, as can be seen by observation of the contours in PLATE 35, were constructed at the head of a small valley, which here runs southwards from the ridge running westwards from the Lion Gate. The head of this valley was a natural place for water to collect before running southwards to the bottom of the dip or valley, which here separates the citadel hill from the northern part of the Panagia or Atreus ridge to the west.

<sup>5</sup> *BSA* XXV 297 f., pl. XLVI.



## II. THE DROMOS

1. *The East Wall.* This wall is built throughout of ashlar conglomerate, and many of the blocks are sawn, though the majority are, as usual, hammer dressed. This had been for many years in a dangerous state, and the Greek Archaeological Service had supported it with heavy baulks and struts of timber laid across the dromos. The wall was inclining inwards owing to the pressure of the water collecting in the hillside behind it. The Anastelosis Section, therefore, in 1950 began to take down the upper part of the east wall <sup>6</sup> so that steps could be taken to make it waterproof behind and to re-erect the original conglomerate blocks vertically so that the wall would no longer require to be strutted. The whole of the upper part of the wall was, therefore, dismantled block by block, and the blocks as they were removed were carefully numbered and arranged so that when the rebuilding began they could easily be replaced in their original positions. It was found that behind the conglomerate blocks that form the face of the wall there was a heavy filling of rubble mixed freely with the yellow clay from Plesia or Longaki which the Mycenaean builders used as a kind of mortar. In this rubble filling, at a distance of about 1.50 m. from the facing of conglomerate, a wall of rubble came to light, also well packed with clay, PLATE 32, *b*. This wall supports the inner part of the rubble filling. Its purpose, presumably, was to prevent the rubble filling from pressing against the back of the conglomerate facing, and also with the clay mortar to keep the backing of the wall as dry as possible. We have noted in the case of the Treasury of Atreus how somewhat similar steps were taken to protect and waterproof the inside of the dromos walls.<sup>7</sup> In this case, however, the waterproofing was insufficient, and water collected in the rubble filling, which, as stated, threatened the stability of the whole wall and caused the conglomerate facing to incline inwards in a dangerous fashion. In the clay packing of this wall Dr. Papademetriou's men found much gold leaf, including some fragments of rosettes. He suggests that the gold leaf came from graves of the Geometric Period, like those found by Dr. Evangelides <sup>8</sup> a little to the north-east of the tomb. It is difficult, however, to see how gold leaf from Geometric graves can have infiltrated into the clay mortar of a wall in the rubble backing of the dromos of the Tomb of Clytemnestra, which dates no later than L.H. III. Some other explanation must be sought. Fragments of loose gold leaf are often found in the earth and other debris in ruined tholos tombs, but why gold leaf should be present in the clay mortar is a mystery.

2. *The West Wall.* Since there is no accumulation of water behind this wall, its structure of ashlar work in conglomerate has remained untouched in modern times. That it, like the east wall, was intact in Hellenistic times is proved by the front row of seats of the Hellenistic theatre which ran right across the dromos, PLATE 33, *a*. The semicircle of seats was complete when Schliemann in 1876 <sup>9</sup> began to dig out the dromos in order to try to obtain access to the tholos itself through the doorway. As he dug down in the dromos his operations began to undermine the theatre seats, which stood above the dromos. This was the cause of a quarrel between Schliemann and Stamatakes.<sup>10</sup> The latter wished to try to preserve the seats *in situ*. Schliemann, as always, anxious to reach virgin soil, dug steadily downwards. Stamatakes attempted to support the seats, but his efforts failed. Owing to the continuous downward digging, the seat blocks were undermined and collapsed. Some of these blocks can still be seen lying outside the dromos to the south-east.

As Dr. Papademetriou <sup>11</sup> has pointed out, examination of the west dromos wall reveals

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Papademetriou (*op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*) by a slip calls this the west wall.

<sup>7</sup> Wace, *Mycenae* 123 f.

<sup>8</sup> *AE* 1912, 127 f.

<sup>9</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae* 118 f.

<sup>10</sup> This was told me by Mrs. Schliemann when she visited our excavations at Mycenae in 1920.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* 43 f.

a remarkable peculiarity, PLATE 33, *b*. The courses of the west wall at the south end towards the entrance and just in front of the façade are regular and true. The courses in the central part of the wall are loose and irregular, although built of similar ashlar conglomerate blocks (either hammer dressed or, in some cases, sawn). This is shown on the section, and can be seen quite clearly in the photographs. The line separating the good part of the wall from the poorly built part in the middle steps downwards, both to the north and to the south, in a kind of oblique line. In the middle (V-shaped) part of the wall we can see in one of the courses (the fifth from the top) some blocks which would seem rather to be coping blocks. The wall apparently at some time had collapsed or had been taken down and rebuilt. When that was done, some of the original coping blocks were set into the main part of the rebuilt wall instead of being once again used as coping. Perhaps some day it will be possible to make a test behind this part of the wall in order to try to discover whether there is any sign which might tell us the reason for the strange structure of this wall. The collapse presumably took place in Mycenaean times, because we can hardly suppose that the dromos was open at any later date. Also a later period would not have been likely to copy Mycenaean building methods. It had occurred long before Hellenistic times, because the theatre seats were set over this part of the wall.

The remains of the theatre have been sketched in on the plan to show how it lay, but this must not be taken as a detailed plan of the theatre as it appears today. The theatre needs careful study and a full and accurate plan. Perhaps some day we shall be enabled to carry this out and at the same time publish the pieces of terracotta revetment and the pottery found in the theatre ruins.

### III. THE FAÇADE

When the Anastelosis Section dismantled the east wall of the dromos against the façade, it was seen that the upper part of the façade had been continued eastwards straight across the end of the dromos wall and that the ashlar conglomerate facing of the east dromos wall with its rubble backing abutted against it, PLATE 34. The eastern continuation of the façade behind the end of the east dromos wall had, as can be seen in the photograph, sunken considerably. This sinking was perhaps due to the lack of stable foundations and also to the presence of water in the hillside here. The continuation is irregularly built and, though it includes some ashlar blocks of conglomerate, it is mostly made of rough limestone blocks packed together and mortared with clay.

There is no definite bonding of the east dromos wall with the façade, but it is easy to see that the dromos wall takes account of the façade. In four courses of the façade the blocks, where the conglomerate facing of the dromos wall abuts against them, have shallow sinkings to receive it, PLATE 34, and thus to make an elementary bonding. One conglomerate block, in fact, is cut with a re-entrant angle so that it forms part both of the façade and of the dromos wall. From the plan and photographs it is quite clear that the dromos can never, at any time, have been any wider than it is now and that the present width of the façade is the original width. There has never been any wholesale reconstruction of this tomb. The only signs of damage and rebuilding are confined, as stated, to the central part of the west wall of the dromos.

### IV. THE DOME

In 1951, after the completion of the work on the dromos, the Anastelosis Section undertook the rebuilding of the upper part of the dome which was destroyed by Veli Pasha's attack early

in the nineteenth century<sup>12</sup> when he was in search of treasure. The reconstruction was carried out under the supervision of E. Stikas.<sup>13</sup> He concluded that the curve of the upper part of the dome did not correspond with Piet de Jong's suggestion,<sup>14</sup> but was more like that of the Treasury of Atreus. It inclined steeply to the peak and was not a true arc. He also observed that the tomb was not built with a single centre. This would agree with the fact that the axis of the dromos is not at right angles to the entrance of the tholos. Out of 170 running metres of masonry, 37 metres of surviving conglomerate blocks were recognised and re-employed. Fresh stones were cut in the ancient quarries to replace the missing blocks. Some conglomerate blocks which seem to have belonged to the tomb still lie on the north edge of the modern road just to the north of the tomb. Perhaps other material from it lies buried under the modern road.

The dome when rebuilt was again covered by a mound of earth, FIG. It has already been suggested that the dome had originally in Mycenaean days been covered with a mound of earth with a low wall of ashlar poros at the foot of its eastern side.<sup>15</sup> This is described in Part IV by Lord William Taylour below.<sup>16</sup> The mound of earth over this tomb was probably the tumulus seen by Gell<sup>17</sup> and probably also by Pausanias,<sup>18</sup> who seems to have had it pointed out to him as the Tomb of Atreus.

A. J. B. WACE

<sup>12</sup> *JHS* 1954, 170.

<sup>13</sup> *JHS* 1952, 98; *BCH* 1952, 219 f.

<sup>14</sup> *BSA* XXV, pl. VIII; Wace, *Mycenae*, fig. 6.

<sup>15</sup> *JHS* 1954, 170.

<sup>16</sup> P. 209.

<sup>17</sup> *Itinerary*, pl. 3.

<sup>18</sup> II 16, 5-7. See also *JHS* 1954, 170; *Schweitzer Festschrift* 21, 26.

## MYCENAE 1939-1954

### PART IV. THE PERSEIA AREA

(PLATES 36-45)

The following is an account of several excavations that I undertook on behalf of Professor Wace during the seasons of 1952 and 1953 at Mycenae. These were roughly confined to the area between the so-called Tombs of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, but also included an extension to the east of the Perseia Fountain House, excavated in 1952. The excavations are dealt with under four sections which are as follows:

1. Area Z (the extension east of the Perseia Fountain House).
2. The East-West Wall (south of the Perseia Fountain House).
3. The area round the Tomb of Aegisthus.
4. The Great Poros Wall (on the east flank of the Tomb of Clytemnestra).

Sections 1-3 were excavated in 1953, Section 4 in 1952 and 1953.

#### I. AREA Z (See PLATE 36 and FIG. 1.)

This area (FIG. 1.) lies to the east of the Perseia Fountain House, which was excavated in 1952.<sup>1</sup> It was hoped that this new excavation would throw additional light on the conduit system bringing water to the main basin of the Fountain House, at least in later times, for the earlier systems are fairly clear and have been described in Miss Holland's report.<sup>2</sup> What could indeed have been a water channel was shewn to run east and west, terminating in a water trough built into the south-east corner of the main basin and uncovered in 1952; but this channel had an earthen floor, and for the greater part was marked only by a row of stones on its northern flank. Farther east it seemed to fade out altogether. What appear to be the foundations of a small rectangular building, c. 3.50 m. by 1.70 m. and for the most part built of poros blocks, are situated to the south of the presumed water channel (PLATE 37, a). Underneath a poros block in the south-east corner of this building there is a terracotta drain tile running north and south and dipping in the direction of the channel. Another drain tile to the south-west of it, now askew, seems to have belonged to the same system. The underside of the poros block under which the first drain tile passes has been cut specially to receive it, and some of the semicircular clay tiles covering the conduit were still *in situ*.

Concerning the small rectangular 'building' itself very little can be said. The foundation course rests on soil, accumulated to a depth of over 2 m. above the natural rock. The remains of a second course are still preserved in the north-east and south-east corners. The

I am more than grateful to Professor Wace for the privilege of working with him, and I have benefited greatly from his guidance and advice. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Dr. F. H. Stubbings, with whom I have discussed this article in detail, and who has given me many helpful and constructive suggestions which I have incorporated in this work. I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Papademetriou for his unfailing kindness and courtesy, and for allowing me to extend the excavations on the Great Poros Wall (trench D) into his territory. Lastly, I wish to thank Mrs. Wace for her constant help and advice in dealing with the registered finds.

<sup>1</sup> BSA XLVIII (1953), 19-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 20-2.



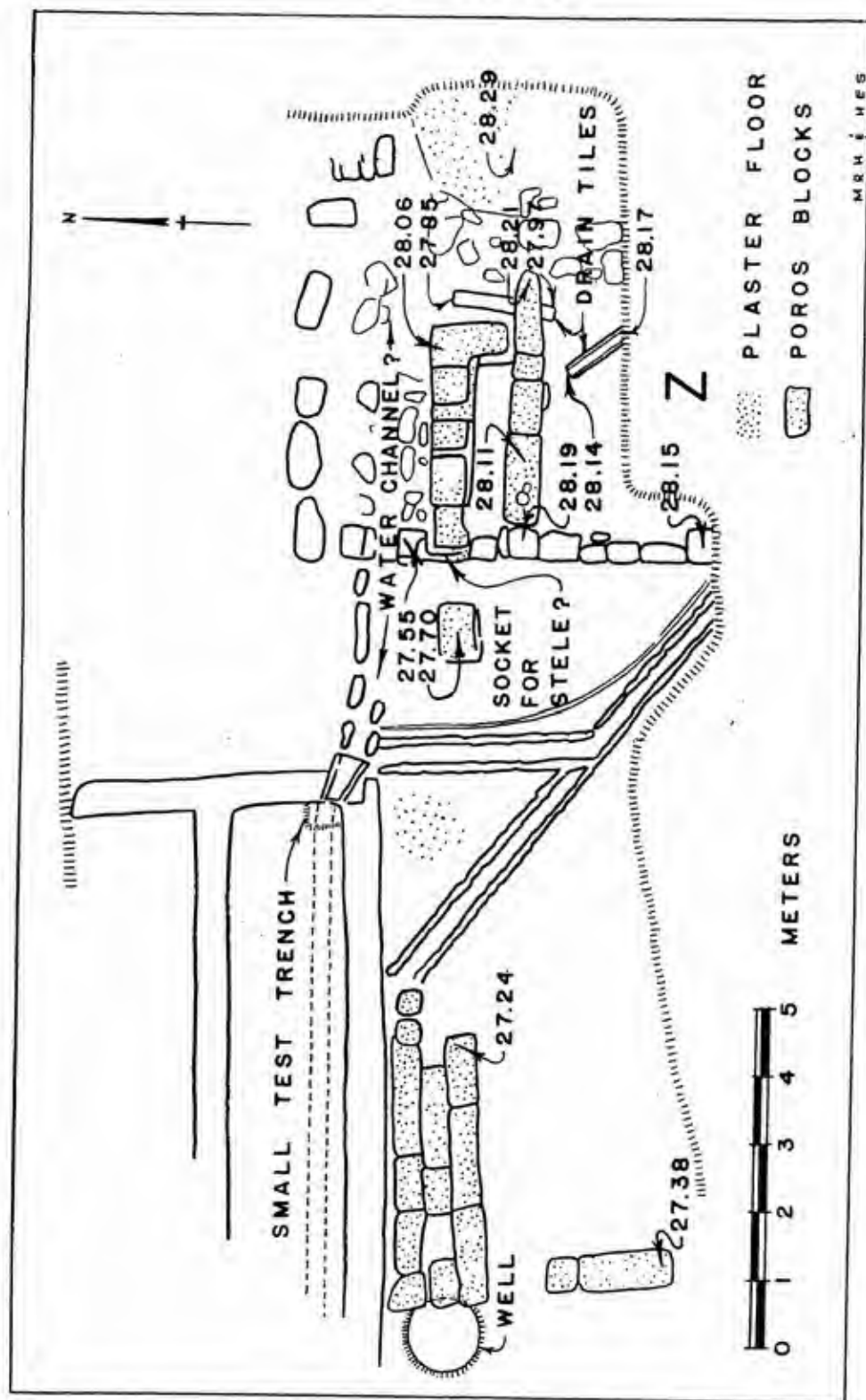


FIG. 1.—MYCENAE: PERSEIA FOUNTAIN HOUSE, EAST. AREA Z.

most interesting feature is a narrow oblong recess in the north-west corner that could have provided a socket for a stele (see FIG. 1 and PLATE 38, *b*). The poros block to the west of it stands isolated on earth, and may have toppled from the building. In like manner many limestone blocks lying helter-skelter round this construction probably belonged to it. The significance of the line of stones, forming a southerly extension of the west wall of the edicule, is difficult to determine. Owing to the narrow width of these stones, they could not have supported any considerable superstructure. They may have formed a small terrace wall, but the extent of it could not be ascertained, as the line of the modern aqueduct, running east and west, lies in its path. To the south of the aqueduct there is no further trace of this 'wall'. One other feature remains to be mentioned. To the east of the small rectangular building a strip of white-plaster floor has been preserved. This is at a higher level than the foundation course of the poros construction and of the drain tiles between it and the building. Whether the floor is connected with the structure it is impossible to say. All the area round it is in utter confusion.

A small test trench was cut through the hydraulic cement of the main basin of the Perseia Fountain House, in the south-east corner of it (PLATE 37, *b*). The purpose of this was to verify whether the stone water channel, to the west of the lower basin of the Fountain House and uncovered in the 1952 excavations,<sup>3</sup> could be traced up to this point. It had already been established in the previous excavation that it ran under the floor of the main basin,<sup>4</sup> and the new excavation did indeed confirm that the channel extended to the eastern limit of the main basin. It is of similar form and material (poros) to the western extension, except that the roughly draughted ledge, on the north flank of the channel, turns to the north at its eastern limit. This suggests that the channel itself has a north return here, a point, however, which it was impossible to verify, as, in the event, it would run under the east wall of the basin. But it can be said that there was no trace of the stone channel farther to the east (outside the basin). Here the earth is very hard and appeared at one time to be *stereo*, but that this was not so was proved by a couple of sherds found about 0.40 metre below the hard surface. It should be noted that the stone trough encased in the south-east corner of the basin is a later addition and has no connection with the stone water channel.<sup>5</sup>

Owing to the great encumbrance of fallen stones, it was difficult to excavate down to the natural rock. Only in two areas was this possible. One of these was the area bounded by the different water channels and the stone constructions to the east. Here the rock was found at a maximum depth of 2.40 m. in the southernmost part. It slopes gently upwards towards the north, and in the region of the isolated poros block it is 2.20 m. below the surface. Thereafter the gradient is fairly steep until, near the modern road to the north, it is barely below the surface. No pure pottery levels could be recognised. Just above the rock Middle Helladic sherds predominated, but there was also one Mycenaean fragment. A sherd of the early Orientalising period was found at as low a level as 1.75 m. In the upper levels Hellenistic pottery was the most abundant among a varied collection that included Orientalising, Geometric, Middle and Late Helladic. The second area in which the natural rock was reached was that within the walls of the small rectangular building. The pottery sequence here was similar to that mentioned in the first area, except that one Hellenistic sherd was found as low as 1.80 m. below the surface. The depth of the rock in this area was 3.10 m., and the few sherds that came to light in the lower levels were all Middle Helladic.

<sup>3</sup> BSA XLVIII (1953), 20, 21 and pl. 15, *a*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 21, 22 and pl. 12. The stone trough is there described as the 'east-west channel' and associated with the earthen floor conduit farther to the east, of which a small section was uncovered in 1952. This conduit, described as 'Water Channel?' in fig. 1, had no relation to the earlier stone channel, being at a much higher level.

The conclusions to be drawn from this small excavation are almost entirely negative. The significance of the small rectangular structure remains a mystery. If the socket on its western flank was fashioned in order to receive a stele—but no trace or vestige of such an object was ever found—the building was probably of a public or official kind, possibly a shrine. It may also have been of even larger dimensions, if the plaster floor belongs to the complex, but in that case the only part of the stone structure that has survived is the existing poros foundations. The date of the building must be determined by the long drain tile over which it passes. The under-surface of the block that traversed it, as has already been mentioned, was grooved to receive the drain tile and to allow the free passage of water; and where the conduit was free of the stone, it was covered with semicircular tiles that appear to be of Hellenistic date. The building therefore, must presumably be of the same period. It should be noted that the block, just referred to, does not belong to the foundation course but to the one above, and therefore indicates the supposed floor level. The position of the 'built-in' drain tile and its inclination (slanting downwards from south to north) point to the source of the water supply or drainage system, which seems to have been the same as that which flowed into the main basin of the Fountain House, either by means of the north-west-south-east channel or the later north-south channel.<sup>6</sup> The terracotta conduit system, however, did not supply the main basin direct, but debouched into what must be presumed to be an east-west water channel connecting with the south-east corner of the basin, by means of the stone water trough built into the masonry.

## FINDS

## I. Mycenaean

*Miscellaneous Objects*

1. (53-46) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.0335 m., W. (max.) 0.053 m., Th. (existing) 0.006 m.

Fairly well levigated biscuit with buff core, pink on the outside. Part of the body of a ♀ figurine. Decoration in red to brown glossy paint on a yellow slip, consisting of closely set, wavy, vertical lines on both sides of the body.

2. (53-49) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.036 m., W. (face) 0.011 m., Th. (face) 0.019 m.

Fairly well levigated pinkish-brown clay. Head only of female figurine preserved. It has a cup-shaped head-dress, which is chipped. This is decorated on the upper surface with a lattice pattern in dark-brown, lustrous paint on a light-buff slip. The profile of the face is outlined in paint, and there are two blobs for the eyes. The back of the head has thick vertical stripes.

3. (53-194) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.028 m., W. (max.) 0.048 m., Th. (max.) 0.008 m.

Medium-fired, fairly well refined, greenish-yellow clay. The upper torso only is preserved. It is a ♀ figurine with partly moulded arms and breasts, decorated with closely set, vertical, wavy lines, front and back, in black to brown worn paint on a self-slip. The wavy lines pass over the arms, so that perhaps it was a long-sleeved dress. There is a suggestion of a thick band round the neck. The crescent-shaped figurine is discussed in detail by Blegen in *Prosymna* 358-9.

4. (53-91) Terracotta. 'Throne', fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.042 m., W. (max.) 0.03 m., Th. (max.) 0.031 m.

Fairly well levigated, pink biscuit. Part of a chair or 'throne' with the stump of one leg. Red to dark-brown lustrous paint on a yellow-buff slip. The back of the chair is decorated with broad, undulating vertical lines. The same pattern is used on the seat, but in a horizontal direction. For the form of the 'throne' cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 619.

5. (53-94) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.058 m., H. (existing) 0.036 m., W. (max.) 0.0125 m.

Rather coarse, well-fired, pink clay. The elongated body of an animal figurine, preserving part of the head. The horns, legs, and tail are missing. Ruddy brown, slightly lustrous paint on a greyish-buff slip. The back of the animal is decorated with a band running from head to tail, and there are leaf-shaped lines on either side of the body. Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 616: 1 to 3.

## II. Post-Mycenaean

*A. Pottery*

6. (53-143) Pyxis, lid, fragment only. Orientalising. H. 0.026 m., D. (estimated) 0.08 m., W. (max.) 0.072 m., W. (min.) 0.04 m.

\* BSA XLVIII (1953), 21 and pl. 12.

Rather soft, well-levigated, greenish-yellow clay. Convex lid surmounted by a slightly convex disc-knob. Black to brown worn paint on self-slip(?). The knob is decorated with a circle of dots round a solid centre and bounded by an outer circle. The lid is decorated with concentric bands and circles, enclosing, in the upper register, a series of lozenges and, in the lower, a double row of chequers.

#### B. Miscellaneous Objects

7. (53-795) Spatula(?), bronze. Very pitted surface. Hellenistic? L. 0.095 m., W., (max.) 0.02 m., Th. (stem) 0.003 m.

Bronze strip of square section, tapering to a point at one end. The other extremity is leaf-shaped.

8. (53-345) Coin, bronze. Worn surface. Hellenistic. D. 0.015 m., Th. 0.0012 m.

Obverse: Head of Apollo in profile facing left, perhaps wearing a wreath. Stylised coiffure with line of curled hair from mid-forehead to the nape of the neck, where the hair is knotted(?). About four strands of loose hair fall down the back of the neck.

Reverse: A tall tripod with club on the left and the symbol  $\Xi$  on the right. Argos, 322-229 and later. Head HN<sup>2</sup> 440.

9. (53-47) Nail?, iron. Corroded condition. Hellenistic? L. (existing) 0.142 m., W. 0.01 m.

Stem has square section.

10. (53-48) Nail, iron. Slightly corroded. Hellenistic? L. 0.027 m., W. of head (max.) 0.02 m., (min.) 0.011 m.

The nail has a tapering shaft with rectangular section. Elongated oval head.

11. (53-98) Instrument of unknown use, iron. Very corroded. Hellenistic? L. (existing) 0.109 m., W. (of shaft) 0.01 m.

Long piece of iron with shaft of square section, ending in a damaged spatulate end.

## 2. THE EAST-WEST WALL (PLATES 36 and 39, b)

In excavating the northern section of the Great Poros Wall in the 1952 season, a well-built rubble wall with east-west axis was found to abut against it (see p. 211). This wall was followed up in the following season, section by section, and was traced to just south-east of Area Z, where it became involved in the confusion of later buildings (trenches A and B on PLATE 36). In trying to determine the outline and extent of the wall in this confused area, the excavators were much impeded by the mass of rubble and fallen stones belonging to these later buildings. Where any stones or well-cut blocks could be conceived as forming the plan of some structure, however late, they were left *in situ*. This was the case with the north-south wall in trench A (see p. 207), an extension of which to the south was later picked up in trench I. It consists of one course only, and passes over the East-West Wall but does not rest directly on it, there being a few centimetres of earth between. There was no trace of this north-south wall farther to the north in the Area Z. It was not possible to excavate the intervening space on account of the modern aqueduct that runs between.

In the north part of trench B a large threshold or lintel block was uncovered (PLATE 38, a). It lay north and south, and was broken in the middle, the ends being tilted slightly upwards, presumably from the force of the blow that shattered the block. The northernmost half lay across the line of the East-West Wall. On each half there was a well-cut groove in the shape of an L, fairly close to and parallel to the angles of the corner. Inscribed on the southernmost half, in an oblique direction, is the name ΕΥΖΙΘΕΟΣ.<sup>62</sup> It is not certain whether we are dealing here with a threshold or a lintel. Its present position suggests a threshold, and the inscription lends some weight to this theory, as obviously it would not be easy to carve a name on the underside of a lintel, unless one is to suppose that the inscription was made before the lintel was placed in position. The architect, Miss Holland, has pointed out in favour of the alternative theory that the L-grooves are more suitable for a lintel, that one of the side surfaces has a fascia, and that the opposite side is unworked, both confirmatory indications. Furthermore, the pronounced break and tilting of the ends of the block are more likely to have been caused by its fall from a height (turning over in its descent) than by subsequent subsidence in the ground. Lastly, the upper surface is smooth and shews no sign of wear and tear. Whatever its function,

<sup>62</sup> See Part V by Mr. A. G. Woodhead.



it is indicative of an important construction of the Hellenistic period,<sup>6b</sup> but of this there is next to nothing to be distinguished, owing to the complete confusion in this area. The absence of any other well-cut blocks here is notable. In the south part of trench B there is, indeed, a line of rough stones, in the axis of the threshold or lintel block and about 1 m. in width. They may have formed the foundation for a wall, but owing to the tumble of stones on either side, it was impossible to establish their depth. Farther to the west, in trench C, some irregular plan of possible foundation walls could be discerned, but of poor workmanship and intermingled with much fallen material. Excavation in this trench revealed an interesting and unexpected feature, a layer of yellow-green clay, *c.* 0.10 m. thick, passing under the walls above-mentioned. It had been cut away in many places, but it was preserved intact in the north-west part of the trench and in several places in the eastern half. Wherever found it was never level, but sloping gently downward in a direction from south to north. The significance of this clay layer became apparent later.

The reason for opening up trench C was to follow up an apparent return to the south in the East-West Wall. When no evidence for this return could be found, work was resumed in the area where this apparent return first came to light. Two or three layers of fallen stones up against the southern flank of the wall were removed. It was then established that the 'return' was actually a buttress of *c.* 0.10 m. in depth. Immediately to the west of it and at a depth of 1.30 m. the same kind of green clay appeared as was discovered in trench C: only a small piece, but sufficiently preserved to shew that it also had a downward inclination from south to north. Its location is marked on PLATE 36, but it should be emphasised that it is not up against the wall, as appears on the plan, but from 0.20 to 0.30 m. distant from it. The space between it and the wall was excavated to bedrock, which was reached at 2 m. from the surface. The wall was found to continue down the whole way, but the lowest courses, resting on the rock, were set back and very irregular, which contrasted strongly with the workmanship of the upper courses of the wall, that everywhere else were well-built and uniform. The construction is of rubble bonded in clay, but occasionally a slab of the green clay, previously mentioned, was used. A narrow slab of this material was found in the wall at a depth of 0.65 m.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made to ascertain the width of the wall. These were thwarted by the presence of the modern aqueduct along its northern flank, but fortunately at one point in trench B it was found that the aqueduct veered slightly towards the north-east. Here it was possible not only to establish the width, which was 1.40 m., but to penetrate to the natural rock, found at a depth of 1.55 m. This side of the wall shewed the same good construction, and in its lowest course, resting on the rock, there was another block of green clay, 0.50 m. long and 0.20 m. deep. Slightly to the west of this excavated area, at a depth of 0.45 m., the remnants of what appeared to be a white plaster floor were recognised, but the associated pottery shewed that it probably belonged to the Hellenistic period.

The extent of the wall could not be ascertained with certainty. There seems good reason to believe that the wall uncovered in the Prehistoric Cemetery area farther to the east, during the 1952 season, is the same wall.<sup>6c</sup> It is certainly on the correct alignment, and the construction is similar. At the western extension a further trench, X, was dug on the inner side of the

<sup>6b</sup> The inscription is dated to the fourth century B.C. (see Part V) when Mycenae was deserted. The block may have been in some ruined classical building in this area, possibly one connected with the Perseia. Euxitheos was perhaps a casual visitor to the site in the fourth century who scribbled his name in the ruins. On the re-occupation of Mycenae in the third century B.C. the block was presumably re-used in a Hellenistic building. Otherwise it is hard to explain the presence of a probable fourth-century inscription in a Hellenistic building.

<sup>6c</sup> The tomb Geometric Grave G. II (BSA XLIX 260) lies partially on the ruins of this wall.

Great Poros Wall (see p. 211). It was not only established that the wall continued here but that its lowest courses passed under the foundations of the Poros Wall and that the latter abutted against the higher courses. This seems to shew that the East-West Wall is almost certainly the earlier one. The wall may have extended yet farther to the west. There were indeed some blocks in the neighbourhood of the new Grave Circle (PLATE 36) which appeared to be roughly in alignment with it, but a careful survey demonstrated that this was not so.

The pottery from trenches A, B, and C shewed quite clearly that this was a contaminated area, sherds from all periods being found, ranging from Hellenistic to Middle Helladic. To establish purer strata in relation to the wall, a sector was chosen that seemed to be free of later constructions. This was trench Y on the southern flank of the East-West Wall. Part of it had been dug before, but only to a depth of 0.50 m. Here, too, at a depth of 1.80 m., the same sloping green clay 'floor' was found, conforming to that uncovered in trenches A and C. Its thickness was 0.10 m. The same clay was also used as mortar in the wall about 0.20 m. higher up. Stereo was reached at 2.10 m., but here the wall did not rest on the rock, but on earth of a depth varying from 0.20 to 0.40 m. The sherd content in this area was almost exclusively Middle Helladic. The latest fragments were L.H. I, one of which was found in the lowest level. The L.H. I sherds therefore give us a *terminus post quem* for the date of the wall. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the date of the Great Poros Wall, which was built up against it and beyond it. This, it is hoped to shew, is contemporary with the building of the Tomb of Clytemnestra or the latter part of the fourteenth century, according to Professor Wace.<sup>64</sup> But closer dating is possible if one takes into consideration the yellow-green clay layer found in several instances in close relationship with the wall. This layer, as will be demonstrated later, is associated with the construction of the Tomb of Aegisthus, and consequently dates from the fifteenth century. From the fact that the clay is cut away in front of the face of the wall, presumably to allow for the digging of its foundations, and that cut portions of this clay have been used in its construction, it must be assumed that the wall was built after the clay 'floor' was laid down. The construction of the wall, then, must be dated to some time between the middle of the fifteenth century and the late fourteenth.

What was the purpose of this great wall, which, as it appears, extended from the Prehistoric Cemetery in the east to beyond the Great Poros Wall in the west? In effect it constituted the northern boundary of an area that included the Prehistoric Cemetery and the Tomb of Aegisthus. Farther to the west, the region in front of the Great Poros Wall appears to have been regarded—as it is hoped to shew later—with some veneration. The East-West Wall therefore is perhaps to be interpreted as a great *temenos* wall acting as the northern limit to an area that was held to be sacred from very ancient times.

## FINDS

### 1. Mycenaean

#### Miscellaneous Objects

1. (53-41) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.043 m., W. (existing) 0.027 m., Th. (max.) 0.019 m.  
Well-levigated, brown-buff biscuit. Head of female figurine, possibly of  $\Phi$  class. Cup-shaped head-dress which is painted all over in black, fairly lustrous paint (chipped on the side and back). The face is very schematic, and there are two blobs for the eyes. A small part of the top of the body is preserved which is painted with oblique strokes.
2. (53-42) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.047 m., W. (max.) 0.041 m., Th. (max.) 0.02 m.

<sup>64</sup> For Wace's dating of the Tomb of Aegisthus, see *BSA* XXV 316 and Wace, *Mycenae* 39; and for the Tomb of Clytemnestra, see *op. cit.* 35. Cf. also the Tabulation in *op. cit.* 17.

Well-levigated clay, fired buff on the inside and pink on the outside. Upper half of  $\Phi$  figurine. Bird-like head with painted 'pigtail', which does not come below the neck. Profile outlined in paint. Two pellets for the eyes, which are painted over. Four lozenge blobs of paint on the neck seem to indicate a necklace. The body, which has modelled breasts, is decorated with vertical waving lines. Ruddy-brown, glossy paint on a buff slip.

According to Blegen's classification, this is a type *b* figurine (cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 611: 1, 4 and 6).

3. (53-44) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.033 m., W. of face (min.) 0.007 m., Th. (of face) 0.016 m.

Rather soft-fired, pink clay, well-levigated. Head and part of head-dress only preserved. Red, lustrous, but worn, paint on a light-buff slip. Cup-shaped head-dress (very chipped), decorated with part of a chevron design at the back. Thick band round the forehead with fringe of hair below. The rest of the hair is represented by broad horizontal slashes of paint. The profile is marked with a broad vertical line, and there are two dots for the eyes.

4. (53-45) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.047 m., W. (max.) 0.038 m., D. (stem) 0.015 m.

Pink to brown, fairly well levigated clay. Only the stem and lower half of the body have been preserved; it is not therefore possible to classify the figurine. Black to brown, fairly lustrous paint on a light-buff slip. There is a thick stripe round the waist and seven vertical lines on the stem, evenly spaced on one side, irregularly on the other. The body is painted with oblique lines on one side, and is partly cross-hatched on the other.

5. (53-43) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.072 m., H. (existing) 0.033 m., W. (max.) 0.024 m.

Fairly well levigated, pinkish-brown clay. Elongated animal figurine, lacking hind legs and preserving only the stumps of forelegs, neck, and tail. Decoration in dirty brown matt, or very slightly lustrous, paint on a dirty buff slip. There is a thick line from neck to tail, with vertical stripes on either side of it, ending in blobs. There is a broad stripe on the outside of each foreleg and encircling bands round the neck and forelegs. Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 614: 1.

6. (53-50) Terracotta figurine, animal (?). 'Horn' only preserved. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.021 m., W. (of base) 0.011 m., Th. (max.) 0.006 m.

Fairly well levigated clay. Buff core, outer surface pink. The object appears to be the horn of an animal figurine, but it might also be the arm of a female figurine. Ruddy-brown, glossy paint on a light-buff slip. The lines run obliquely on one side and longitudinally on the other.

7. (53-99) Lentoid seal, chalcedony, slightly chipped. (PLATES 21, c; 22, c) L.H. IIIB. D. 0.025 m., Th. (max.) 0.006 m., Th. (min.) 0.001 m.

Banded agate (chalcedony) of milky colour, tinted blue. Engraved lentoid sealstone, drilled from opposite ends (tapering bores). It is slightly chipped near one of the bore-holes.

*Obverse:* Two antithetical griffins standing on either side of a thin, tapering column to which they are chained. Below, a man-beast in the horizontal position. The heads of the griffins are turned away from the column. They have eagle-heads, tall necks, and horse-bodies, which are winged (only one wing represented, raised). Their tails are erect, with the tip curving over, away from the column. The last-named is surmounted with a 'Doric' capital and abacus(?), on which rest what appear to be 'horns of consecration'. The body and legs of the man-beast are human. The latter are in the running position. The arms, which could be either human or the forelimbs of an animal, are akimbo. There is a Cretan type of belt round the waist, but the sex is not indicated. The head presents an enigma. It appears to be leonine, but from the back of it issue two streamers that follow the curve of the arch of the body, perhaps some kind of head-dress that envelops and conceals the shape of the head. The technique used seems to be that of the wheel and the drill. Drill-holes are conspicuous at the base of the column, at the hooves and fetlocks of the griffins, and for their eyes. A further point that should be noted is that the hind-legs of the griffins are jointed, but the forelegs are straight and, in their attenuated form, reproduce exactly the technique used on the tapering column. Moreover, there is a difference in the treatment of the two griffins. The left-hand one, in addition to having an extra 'line' on its underbelly, is engraved with more care.

*Reverse:* plain.

The Rev. V. E. S. Kenna, who is shortly publishing an important work on Minoan Seals, has been shown a photograph of this seal, and has very kindly offered me the benefit of his great experience, as well as drawing my attention to several significant details that I would otherwise have missed. In his opinion the gem is a Mainland product, and from various indications, such as the subject, quality of the stone, technique, etc., is to be dated to L.H. III. He suggests a date round 1300 B.C. He thinks that the man-beast is some kind of monster under subjection to the griffins. It is to him that I owe the suggestion that the 'streamers' are perhaps a vestment or head-piece. He tells me that two unpublished gems from Gournia, in the Herakleion Museum, depict a somewhat similar head-dress on a monster or demon which is attacking a bull (i.e. a reversal of roles). One of these gems is probably to be dated to M.M. III. Horns of consecration—if such they be—on a Mycenaean column are rare, for the only other similar representation seems to be that on the seal impression from the Rhyton Well.\*

8. (53-196) Button or spindle whorl, steatite. Chipped round the edges. L.H. III. H. 0.019 m., D. (max.) 0.03 m., D. (min.) 0.0085 m.

Mottled, dark-blue stone. The shape, a truncated cone, is the common Mycenaean type. Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 602: 1.

## II. Post-Mycenaean

### A. Pottery

9. (53-647) Pyxis, lid, about a third preserved. Geometric. H. 0.08 m., D. (estimated) 0.09 m., D. of flange (estimated) 0.06 m.

Fairly well levigated, soft-fired, pink clay. Part of lid of pyxis, surmounted by a miniature biconical vase (hollow), and provided with a flange set back about 0.01 m. from the edge of the lid. Decoration in red, fairly lustrous paint on an

\* BSA XXIV 205, fig. 2; Wace, *Mycenae* 68, pl. 110, e.



off-white slip. The upper half of the vase (on the lid) is painted with two thick stripes. The lower half is painted completely, and there is a line on the carination. The lid is decorated with a series of Z's with three thin concentric bands above and two medium concentric bands below.

#### B. Miscellaneous Objects

10. (53-97) Terracotta. Stamped tile, fragment only. Hellenistic? L. (existing) 0.09 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.042 m., Th. 0.019 m.

Coarse, hard-fired, pink to buff clay. Small fragment of a flat(?) tile. It bears a rectangular stamp, 0.019 m. by 0.016 m., with the Greek letter Y in cameo (impressed on the clay before firing).

11. (53-794) Coin, bronze, very worn. Hellenistic. D. 0.016 m., Th. 0.0015 m.

Bronze coin, discoloured dirty brownish green, with very worn surfaces. The designs are unrecognisable; perhaps a column on one side and a ship on the other.

### 3. THE AREA ROUND THE TOMB OF AEGISTHUS

Trench I was dug to follow up the southern extension of a late wall uncovered in trench A (see p. 203 and PLATE 36). This wall, of which only one course was preserved, consisted of two rows of ashlar masonry. It was found to continue in trench I for a distance of 3.70 m., after which it appeared to have a return to the west. The plan of the building is not at all clear at this point, as one or two blocks seem to be missing. The southernmost ashlar block, with an east-west axis, has a rectangular socket cut near the south-west corner, and it is reasonable to suppose that this was intended to receive a door-jamb. Accordingly, trench II was opened up to the west in the hopes of locating its fellow, but in this we were disappointed. Instead, an irregular mass of stones, roughly of two courses in depth, appeared. Further excavation round this heap of stones revealed the existence of a sloping floor of green clay *c.* 0.10 m. in thickness which passed under the stones. It was preserved only in patches, principally in the north-east and south-west sectors of the trench. Its depth from the surface was approximately 1 m. The tilt in the floor was attributed at the time to later subsidence of the earth. Trench III was excavated farther to the west to uncover more of this clay floor. In this trench there was no sign of any construction, though isolated ashlar blocks and stones were extracted. The clearing of this area revealed a complete stretch of unbroken clay covering the whole extent of the trench (PLATE 37, *c*), and tilting fairly steeply downwards from south-east to north-west. It was no longer possible to attribute this feature to subsidence, and another explanation had to be sought for. The many instances of clay that had by that time accumulated, by the angle and direction of their slope, appeared to converge towards one centre, and that was to a middle point above the Tomb of Aegisthus. The conclusion was inescapable that here were the remains of a great bank of clay that had at one time been heaped over the earth, covering and consolidating the dome of the tholos. Such an explanation seems all the more plausible when it is considered that a coating of this impermeable clay would have provided an admirable protection against the elements, and more particularly against the seepage of water, which the Mycenaeans had learned to their cost could wreak such havoc on the structure of their buildings, intended for eternity.

During the 1952 season, when the Prehistoric Cemetery to the north-east of the Tomb of Aegisthus was being excavated, several pieces of this layer of yellow-green clay were met. They shew up very clearly in section, and their positions are marked on PLATE 36. In many instances there were two or three layers, superimposed with earth between, and separated from one another by intervals varying from 0.15 to 0.45 m. At the time these clay layers presented an enigma, but their significance became intelligible when taken in conjunction with the other examples already described. Their levels and their tilt in relation to the former dome of the Tomb of Aegisthus were entirely in conformity with the theory propounded above. But in 1954, in order to make assurance doubly sure, trench IV was opened to the south of trench



III. At first only two small strips of clay were uncovered; corroboratory evidence, but not impressive. But farther south a really substantial area was brought to light, FIG. 2. It was roughly 10.0 m. long, and its maximum width was 3.50 m. It had all the necessary qualifications; of the same material as the other layers, it had a definite slope, this time from east to west, which was in direct relationship with the tholos. No better confirmatory evidence could be expected.

An investigation of what lay beneath this clay cover seemed worth while, and for this



FIG. 2.—'TOMB OF AEGISTHUS', CLAY COVER  
S.-W. SECTOR.

purpose the south-east sector of trench II, where the clay floor was wanting, was dug to bed-rock. This was found at a maximum depth of 4.20 m. below the surface, but immediately to the east the rock rises fairly steeply in two ledges of 0.30 m. each, all this within a compass of 1.50 m. Just above the rock another layer of green clay was located, which had to be cut away in part to reach the rock. The soil throughout this later excavation was red and pebbly. It looked like disintegrated rock, but it contained a few sherds. Several large stones were encountered in penetrating to the deeper levels. Some of these protruded from the side of the trench and gave the impression of constituting a very roughly built wall of four courses, but the area was too restricted for further investigation. A curious feature was a number of thin

slabs of stone (see p. 213) that, fitted together, would have formed a very adequate type of pavement, but these stones were all found helter-skelter, seldom on the level and often up-ended (see PLATE 39, *a*). There must have been more than forty such slabs that were brought out of the trench. It may be that we have here some earlier buildings that were destroyed when the mound over the Tomb of Aegisthus was raised, but it may be also that some of these constructions were purposeful and were intended to strengthen the mound, much as is done in the case of reinforced concrete, where metal bars, gratings, etc., fulfil the same object.

It is not possible to be certain, from so small a segment, whether the green clay found so near the rock constituted one of the waterproof coverings of the mound, but, whether this be so or not, earth and stones, nearly 3 m. in thickness, were piled on the dome of the tholos before any other clay layer was introduced. According to the excavation in the Prehistoric Cemetery area, a further two layers, with some centimetres of earth in between, were then heaped on top.<sup>7</sup> The pottery found beneath the upper clay layer in trench II indirectly confirmed the early date attributed to the 'Tomb of Aegisthus' by Professor Wace.<sup>8d</sup> None of it was later than the Middle Helladic period. It need hardly be added that the pottery coming from above the clay layers was a very mixed collection, with almost every period represented, and Hellenistic predominating in most instances.

#### IV. THE GREAT POROS WALL

A preliminary report on this wall (PLATE 36; FIG. 3) has already been given by Professor Wace.<sup>7a</sup> This was based on the 1952 excavations. Work was resumed in 1953, further stretches of the wall to the south were uncovered and sufficient information gained to give a reasonable solution of some of the problems raised by the previous season's excavations. In the northern sector the wall was comparatively free from later constructions, but as progress was made to the south, an increasing number of late walls cluttered up the area, and traces of more recent excavations added further to the complications. In the southern sector, moreover, not only does the ground drop fairly steeply—for this is the southern slope of the ridge in which the so-called Tomb of Clytemnestra was excavated—but even the latest buildings, and consequently the Poros Wall also, were so far beneath the surface that digging was often difficult and sometimes hazardous. In covering this intricate area, it is proposed in general to describe it, sector by sector, moving from north to south. This does not by any means indicate the sequence in which the work was carried out. A methodical plan of campaign was not always possible. Frequent obstructions often made it necessary to reopen or extend old trenches and create new ones; and, in the course of operations, old boundaries were often obliterated, and trenches coalesced.

When excavating to the west of the Perseia Fountain House, Hood explored a curved wall of one or two courses which had been found in 1939. This at first seemed to be isolated.<sup>8</sup> At a later stage a carefully built wall of well-dressed poros blocks was uncovered farther to the south.<sup>9</sup> This proved to be only faced with poros masonry, the core of the wall being made up of rubble set in clay, but there was no corresponding facing of masonry on the west side.

<sup>7</sup> The upper two layers were missing in the northern trenches, but as these were encumbered with later buildings, this is not surprising.

<sup>7a</sup> *BSA* XLVIII (1953), 5-6; *JHS* LXXIV 170.

<sup>8</sup> *BSA* XLVIII (1953), 23, Wall α. On FIG. 3 it is that section of the wall immediately north of the East-West Wall trenches.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 10 (d). On the plan on FIG. 3 it is the heavily inked stretch of wall against the letters 'NW'.

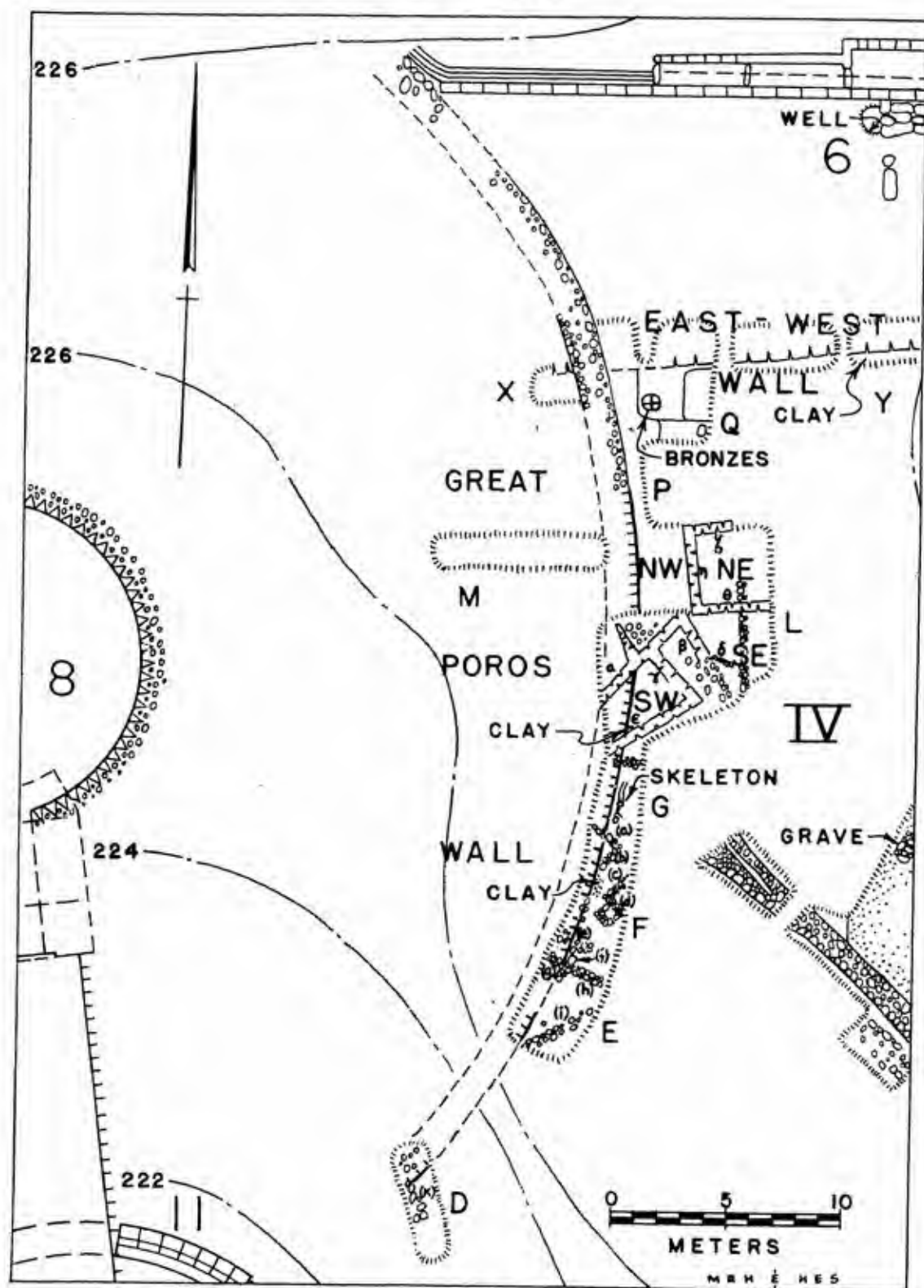


FIG. 3.—'TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA': POROS WALL ON EAST, PLAN.

Four courses of the poros facing have been preserved. They are not altogether vertical, but are inclined slightly forward. The lower courses appear to be of ashlar, or squared stones; occasionally one of these has a crotched joint, a feature often found in Mycenaean building. Several of the blocks from the top course are roughly triangular in plan.<sup>10</sup> The purpose of these seems to have been to act as a key to secure the rubble core more firmly. The four courses of poros blocks rest on a foundation of small, flattish, unhewn stones from three to four courses in depth. These in turn rest either on earth or on the rock that gradually rises as it approaches the area of the Fountain House. To the north the poros blocks come to an end (opposite the letter 'P' on FIG. 3; see also PLATE 40, c), but the small stone foundations persist, and can be traced right up to Hood's curved wall. In following up the Poros Wall foundations to this point, it became clear that they were not laid out on a straight line, but on a line that coincided with the arc of a circle that was continued by the curve of Hood's Wall  $\alpha$ . It should be noted, however, that Hood's wall is of better construction, larger blocks being used. At the point of junction there were the remains of a well-built rubble wall, that appeared to pass through the small stone foundations and at right angles to them. This subsequently was identified as the East-West Wall described above (see p. 203). In the lower courses, indeed, it was difficult to distinguish between the two walls, the construction being very similar, but it was definitely established that the lower courses of the East-West Wall passed under the foundations of the Poros Wall, and a later excavation in trench X (see p. 204) shewed that the latter abutted against the former, thereby demonstrating the earlier date of the East-West Wall.<sup>11</sup>

In his report on the Fountain House, Hood refers to white clay plaster floors covering a large part of the area. These seem to have faded out in the western sector but to have been continued by a surface of hard-tramped earth that abutted on to the side of his curved wall.<sup>12</sup> What is most probably this same white clay floor was recognised in trench Q at a depth of approximately 1 m. below the surface. At this level it is c. 0.20 m. above the foundations of the Poros Wall and evidently abutted against the wall itself. It could be traced south, with certain interruptions, as far as the NW sector of trench L, always maintaining a level slightly above the foundations so that in the last-named sector it came up against the middle part of the lowest course of the poros stones. Here the depth was 1.75 m. below the surface. Another section of the same white clay floor turned up in the NE sector of trench L, but there it was at a higher level (1.10 m. below the surface) and sloping downwards from east to west. In this area therefore the effect must have been of a white plastered ramp inclined towards the base of the wall.

One other point should be mentioned about trench Q. In its northern sector, nearly 0.50 m. below the level of the white clay floor, there was a continuous fill of small stones, about the size of potatoes, resting on the rock. This feature has occurred before at Mycenae, and its significance is not quite clear. It is usually found under floors of buildings constructed on the side of a hill. A suggestion is that it may have served the purpose of drainage and a form of insulation of a floor against damp.

Except for one rubble wall, of poor construction, irregular shape, and of one course only,

<sup>10</sup> An example of ashlar with a crotched joint can be seen on the extreme right in *op. cit.*, pl. 10 (d). In the same photograph there are two blocks of triangular shape in the top course. This is a characteristic method of Mycenaean building. To ensure a level face for the wall the touching surfaces at the sides of the blocks are reduced to a minimum. This method is known at Pylos (*AJA* 59 (1955), 36) and elsewhere at Mycenae (Wace, *Mycenae* 129 f.).

<sup>11</sup> It must have been roughly at this spot that a Geometric pithos burial was found in the 1939 excavations. According to Professor Wace's notes, the pithos was found quite near the surface, lying on its side by the curving wall (*sc.* on the east side of it) and south of the modern aqueduct. It would presumably therefore be situated between the bronze hoard (see FIG. 3) and the wall, for just to the north is the East-West Wall, and beyond that again is the modern aqueduct. With the pithos was found a small jar of Pic Ware (*BSA* XLIX 265 and pl. 46).

<sup>12</sup> *BSA* XLVIII (1953), 23.



which very roughly followed the line of the Poros Wall, there were no late structures to impede the work in trenches P and Q. The situation was very different in the comparatively large area of trench L. The reason why this trench was extended so far to the east is that, when the Poros Wall was first laid bare, it was thought that it might be one of the walls of a *dromos*, comparable by its fine workmanship with that of the neighbouring Tomb of Clytemnestra to the west. But although this proved a vain search, it was not without profit in elucidating other aspects of interest in the solution of the problem of the wall. One of these related to the contour of the rock to the east of the wall, for where possible penetration was made to *stereo*. Near the wall in the NW sector of trench L, this was reached at approximately 2.50 m. from the surface. In the NE sector it had dropped to 2.90 m. but rose steeply to under 1 m. below the surface in the east part of L. This shews that there was a definite depression here, and when the time came to examine the contour of the rock on the other side of the wall, the siting of the wall became more intelligible. Another feature of interest was the vast amount of pottery, including many complete vases, that was discovered in the whole of the area of trench L. Most of it belonged to the period of L.H. IIIB, and the bulk of it was discovered at a lower level than the walls now to be considered.

The principal walls marked on the plan (trench L, PLATE 36; FIG. 3; PLATE 40, a) are on the same level in relation to one another and above the topmost course of the Poros Wall; in fact, the walls in the SW sector run over it. They are built of rubble and are of only moderate technique. The existing courses vary from one to three. There appear to be two separate buildings: one of regular plan in the NE sector, bounded by the walls  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\theta$ , and another in the SW sector of roughly oblong plan, bounded by the walls  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\epsilon$ . The wall marked  $\beta$  is very doubtful. The whole space south-west of it up to the wall  $\gamma$  is covered with small stones as if it were a cobbled street area. It is more likely to have been tumble from the walls. About midway in wall  $\gamma$  there seems to be a narrow doorway with a stone for threshold. The small wall  $\delta$ , running off obliquely from  $\beta$  on the plan, is not part of the complex. It is at a lower level and will be discussed later. Similarly, the wall with a north-south axis, passing from the NE to the SE sector, is not really part of the NE house. It runs directly under wall  $\theta$ , and consists of one course only. It is poorly built. It is very difficult to date these constructions. The pottery found in and around them, and that in vast quantities, belonged almost exclusively to the period L.H. IIIB.<sup>12a</sup> A few of the sherds were L.H. IIIC, and two Classical pieces were found in the SW sector, but otherwise there was nothing of any other period. It is not easy to believe that these houses are of Mycenaean date, but there is no evidence to suggest to what period they do belong. The absence of later pottery is no doubt to be explained by the fact that these buildings were very close to the surface, and the upper soil, containing such fragments, has in the course of centuries been washed down the hill southwards. Certainly lower down the ridge to the south later pottery was much more abundant. Another consideration that should be borne in mind is that, in the SW sector, there was evidence of recent excavation in the upper levels.

Having disposed of the later constructions, it is now possible to turn one's attention to the deeper levels, which are definitely Mycenaean. At approximately 0.70 m. below the surface a burnt layer was discerned that occupied roughly the centre of the area of trench L. To be more specific, it extended into the NW, NE, and SE sectors, but was missing in the SW sector. It shewed up very clearly in section on the east side of the NW sector (under wall  $\eta$ ). It starts about half-way across the section with a thickness of 0.27 m. and gradually tapers off southwards. The burnt layer contained several fragments of bones that have not yet been identified.

<sup>12a</sup> This was also observed in 1939, but the pottery then found was lost in the Nauplia Museum during the War.

In addition, there were bits of gold leaf, pieces of bronze that possibly belonged to a dagger, part of a crushed lead vessel, pieces of painted plaster, a steatite shanked button, and quite a large number of beads, which are described below. Similar finds were made, though at a slightly lower level, in the north-east part of the SW sector, but here there was no evidence of the burnt layer. Quite a number of snail-shells were found under the black layer in the NW sector. Of constructions in this level there was no evidence. There were indeed several poros blocks, the upper surfaces of which coincided roughly with the level of the burnt area, but they formed no recognisable scheme, and they appear to have fallen from the upper courses of the Poros Wall. Three of these, in the NW sector, lay roughly in line along their longest axis, and at right angles to the wall. Here only might one presuppose some intentional arrangement, but they were of unequal size, and their position may be fortuitous. Other blocks of the same material, obviously fallen from the wall, lay in confusion near by. Another poros stone, well cut and of large dimensions, was found at the same level in the NE sector. Its position is oblique in relation to the other walls in this sector, and a broken block of poros rests on top of it. Perhaps originally these all formed one piece (PLATE 40, *b*). The position of all these stones has some importance for the later discussion.

All of this area to a depth of about 1 m. from the surface produced a staggering amount of pottery; each day's excavation supplied three or four basket-loads. Nearly all of it was fragmentary, and only very few pots could be made up, but the bulk of this material has been preserved in the hope of fitting together further vessels at a later date. However, below the 1-m. level, in the NW and NE sectors and at some centimetres lower still in the SW and SE sectors,<sup>13</sup> many almost complete vases were preserved (see PLATE 42, *b* and *e*). A description of them is given at the end of this section. They were usually found in small groups, and consisted of amphorae, stirrup-jars, domestic jugs, bowls, tankards, ladles, but predominantly kylikes. Nearly all of them belonged to the period of L.H. IIIB. It cannot be said that they were found in association with any building. The only constructions that might conceivably be part of some building are the very imperfectly built wall of small rubble  $\delta$  and a single course of a few stones, at about the same level, in the north part of the SW sector. It is true that the space between the walls  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , and a small expanse to the north-west of this, have not been excavated (other than removal of the top soil), but the area in question is small, and it is very difficult to believe from what is visible that any intelligible structure exists underneath. In the greater part of the trench, as already noted, the only other evidences of building were the poros blocks lying in confusion. This needs a small qualification. To the north and south of the wall  $\delta$  and against the southernmost part of the Poros Wall in the SW sector, there were a few flat paving-stones, identical in type with those found in such numbers in trench II (see p. 209). But unlike those in the last-named area, they did seem to constitute some pattern of paving. They were roughly on the same level as the complete pots. One other item of information requires to be mentioned; in the north-east part of the NW sector at a depth of 2.15 m. from the surface there was a layer of clay, measuring 1.10 m. from west to east and approximately 0.50 m. from north to south.

The fine section of the Poros Wall uncovered in the NW sector has already been illustrated.<sup>14</sup> An equally well-preserved section was revealed in the SW sector (PLATE 40, *d*). Four courses of poros facing are in position, resting on a foundation of flat rubble stones that project slightly beyond the wall. (They are not visible in the photograph.) These in turn rest partly on earth and partly on the rock. As is the case with the other section of the wall in

<sup>13</sup> They were undoubtedly at the same level, but more earth appears to have piled up over the SW and SE sectors than was the case in the NW and NE sectors.

<sup>14</sup> BSA XLVIII (1953), pl. 10, *d*.

the NW sector, the face of the wall is tilted slightly forward. The irregular almost triangular blocks in the upper course should be noted. The rubble has been packed into the gaps to make the construction more secure. The most striking finds in this sector were the large fragment of a Chariot Vase, which lay against the upper course of the Poros Wall, and a complete askos.<sup>15</sup>

In trench G farther to the south another section of the Wall has been preserved which also has four courses, though some blocks from the top course are missing. It was not possible here to excavate to *stereo* owing to the restricted area of the trench and because of the greater depth of the top soil in the higher levels. The upper face of a poros stone was reached at a depth of 1.30 m. from the surface, and subsequently more poros blocks were uncovered lower down. These correspond to the upper two courses of the wall in trench L. At 1.60 m. down several complete, but broken, pots appeared close to the Poros Wall. After being photographed *in situ* (PLATE 42, *a*), they were removed, and almost immediately beneath, but with a few *cms.* of soil between, a human skeleton was uncovered (PLATE 41, *b*). It lay on its left side with its face to the wall, the legs to the north, the head to the south. The arms were flexed, the right arm resting on the chest with the hand in the neighbourhood of the collar-bone, the left arm slightly jutting forward from the body and the hand near the chin; the legs were extended. The skull seems very big in relation to the body, but there may have been some telescoping in the upper part of the skeleton which has created the illusion of a large head on a short body. The uncovering of these human remains was not an easy task. Cleaning up round the lower half of the body was comparatively simple, but to reach the head it was necessary to excavate in an area that had obviously been dug before and later filled in again with stones. These continued down almost to the level of the skeleton and the looseness of the fill made the task somewhat hazardous. Although the pots were found at a slightly higher level than the skeleton, they seem to have been associated with it by reason of their position in relation to it. There were five kylikes in the region of the legs and middle of the body, of which three were up against the wall and two a little farther away to the east.<sup>16</sup> Near the legs also were found the rim of a mug or tankard, a bone pin, fragments of gold leaf, some bits of bronze, and pieces of plaster. In the region of the middle of the body, but to the east of it, there were two stirrup-jars, a domestic jug and, a little farther to the east, fragments of a kylix and of a ladle. A plain L.H. III amphora was found near the head. What is surprising is the amazing state of preservation in which these vases were found, a state of affairs normally only associated with protected burials. One of the vases was in fact intact except for a few chips about the body.<sup>17</sup> Because of the few centimetres of soil that separated the pots from the skeleton, it is probable that they were laid on top of the grave after it had been filled in, and that possibly a small mound was raised over it, which covered the vessels. It should be noted that the skeleton lay opposite the second course of the masonry and that this corresponds roughly with the level of the well-preserved pottery in trench L. As can be seen from the plan (FIG. 3), the body also lay between two cross-walls, the southernmost of which, wall (*a*), passes over the Poros Wall. The northernmost wall is at a lower level and seems to have no connection with it. It is just above the joint of the first and second courses of the Poros Wall and may perhaps be related to the doubtful constructions already noted in trench L. Both walls consist of one course only; they are built of rubble, but heavier stones have been used in wall (*a*). In excavating the

<sup>15</sup> Nos. 36 and 44 in the description of finds below. (BSA XLVIII, pl. 1, *b* and *c*.)

<sup>16</sup> PLATE 42, *a*. One of these was the 'horned' kylix reproduced in *ILN* 1 Nov. 1952, p. 721, fig. 23. It is no. 74 in the description of finds, given below.

<sup>17</sup> No. 65 (see below) illustrated in BSA XLVIII (1953), pl. 1, *d*.



upper levels a fair number of Geometric sherds were found, and increasingly so in the south part of the trench, where they were associated with fragments of the Archaic period. There were a few Hellenic sherds, but the bulk of the pottery from the whole area was L.H. III and almost as plentiful as that found in trench L.

Trench F is bounded by the oblique cross-wall (*a*) in the north and the cross-wall (*h*) in the south. It was a most confused area, shewing evident signs of previous excavation. The upper levels were filled with loose stones, presumably thrown back when filling up the earlier trenches, and it was not until a depth of 1.70 m. from the surface had been reached that firmer soil was struck. The area was criss-crossed with walls of different periods, and it is not known to what extent they have been tampered with. These walls are shewn schematically on the plan; with one or two exceptions it is not proposed to deal with them in detail. A much more extended excavation would be necessary to study their interrelationship and, owing to previous tampering with this area, it is doubtful whether any useful conclusions could be reached. Walls (*a*) and (*b*) on the one hand and walls (*c*) and (*d*) on the other belong to the topmost levels. They rest on broader foundations that are reasonably well-built and orientated on the same compass points. They may possibly be the corners of two separate buildings. The other walls are at lower and different levels; some of them are scarcely distinguishable from the tumble of stones round them. The upper course of wall (*b*) is of curious construction. It consists of small poros orthostats backed by the greenish-yellow clay found so frequently at Mycenae and particularly in connection with the Tomb of Aegisthus. This clay seemed to fill the area bounded by the two walls (*a*) and (*b*), but it was intermittent. A large part of it had to be cut away in order to pick up the next section of the Poros Wall to the south. To accomplish this it was necessary to penetrate to a depth of 1.90 m. before another poros stone was reached. At this point, therefore, the two upper courses found in other sectors of the Poros Wall are missing. The layer of clay that was noted as occurring between the walls (*a*) and (*b*) was found to continue to the south (shewn on the plan). It was only just over 1 m. below the surface. Immediately to the south of it, but at a much lower level, an almost complete L.H. III amphora was discovered (PLATE 43, *f* and No. 76). Owing to the encumbrance of walls and fallen stones, it was not possible to pick up a further section of the Poros Wall until just north of the rubble wall (*e*). Here two poros blocks were in position and in general alignment with the main sections of the Wall. Another two blocks were located on the other side of wall (*e*) to the south and at the same level (see PLATE 42, *d*). One of these was unusual in that it had a rectangular notch or socket cut in its upper surface at the back of the stone. This was presumably to secure by means of a dowel the stone in the next course. These poros blocks were reached at a depth of approximately 2.50 m. from the surface. It is difficult to know to which course of the main sections of the Poros Wall they correspond, and account has also to be taken of the fact that at this spot the Wall is some distance down the slope. Penetration to a deeper level was quite out of the question, owing to the restricted space. The pottery from this trench can throw little light on this area, as it was so badly contaminated. Almost all periods were represented. As usual, L.H. III sherds comprised the greater number, but Geometric and Archaic were quite plentiful. There were a few Hellenistic fragments but only one Classical sherd.

Trench E requires only brief treatment. Here, too, there was evidence of earlier excavation, a piece of a modern dinner-plate being found at a depth of nearly 2 m. Pottery fragments were fairly abundant and were very similar to those found in trench F. In the south-east part of the trench there was a well-built rubble wall (FIG. 3, wall (*i*)), sited NE-SW and consisting of about five courses. The south-east corner of the trench was filled with stones,



which may represent a broadening of the wall in its lower courses or stones tumbled from the wall, or possibly both. This wall passes over and partly rests on a course of the Poros Wall, of which two blocks were uncovered at a depth of 3.25 m. A small narrow wall (not marked on the plan) of two or three courses runs parallel to wall (i) about  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. to the north. It also rests on the Poros Wall, and in the restricted area left between it and wall (i) it was not possible to do more than uncover the surface of the two poros stones (PLATE 41, a). These were at a level c. 0.50 m. lower than the southernmost blocks discovered in trench F.

Just to the south-west of trench E the ground drops abruptly about 2 m. The area bounded roughly by the contour lines 222 and 224 is a kind of terrace sloping from north-east to south-west. It appears to have been levelled in the course of recent repair work in connection with the *dromos* of the Tomb of Clytemnestra. Trench D was sunk in this area in the

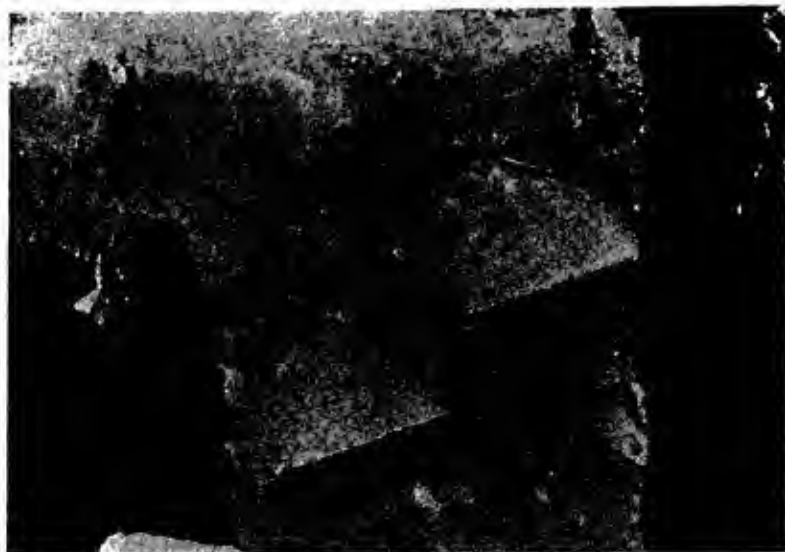


FIG. 4.—'TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA': POROS WALL IN TRENCH D.

hope of finding another stretch of the Poros Wall, as excavation immediately to the south-west of trench E was no longer practicable. At a depth of 1.30 m. wall (k) was uncovered. Solidly built of good-sized rubble stones, it is similar in construction to wall (i) in trench E. It is also parallel to the latter, but staggered in relation to it, that is, it only starts midway in trench D. It is nearly 2 m. broad, and about five courses of it were uncovered. As in the case of wall (i) it was found to cross and rest on the Poros Wall, for at a depth of 1.90 m. one of the now familiar poros stones made its appearance (PLATE 41, c; FIG. 4). This was resting on another course, of which, owing to the restricted space, only three blocks could be laid bare. Two of these blocks, the easternmost, and consequently the poros stone of the upper course resting on them, were slightly out of alignment. They jutted forward from the face of the wall as if pushed from behind by the thrust of the earth. Not much pottery was found in this trench. There were a few Geometric and Orientalising sherds. One was possibly Hellenistic. The remainder, and the greater part, were Late Helladic with L.H. III predominating.

The above completes the description of the Great Poros Wall as it has been excavated to date. With the exception of the fine stretch of wall in trench L, all the trenches have been filled

in. The plan on PLATE 36 shows that the greater part of this wall has been built as the arc of a great circle. The line of the wall can be traced with certainty from trench D to trench X. It is fairly certain that it is continued by Hood's wall a little farther to the north, but there is some doubt as to its northernmost extension up to the west end of the Perseia Fountain House area. There the construction is different; limestone blocks of various sizes have been used, one of them being of cyclopean dimensions.<sup>18</sup> Beyond this point is the modern road, and there is no trace of any wall on the far side of it. But if that stretch of the wall from trench X to trench D alone be considered, it is found to lie almost exactly along an arc of a circle of radius *c.* 36 m., having its centre a few metres to the west of the ground plan of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra', and it seems a tenable proposition that the Great Poros Wall is in close relation to this tholos. The most natural explanation is that it was a retaining wall supporting the mound above the tomb. Some confirmation for this theory is provided by the several instances of the forward tilting of the wall, noted particularly in trench L and the displacement of the poros blocks recorded in trench D; in other words, a pressure from behind that was not counter-balanced by a corresponding pressure from in front. Indications of such a mound over these great beehive constructions have already been noted in the case of the 'Tomb of Aegisthus', and other examples with retaining walls are quoted by Professor Wace.<sup>19</sup> Why should not a similar mound have existed over the Tomb of Clytemnestra? To verify this possibility, it was decided to dig a trench at the back of the Great Poros Wall.

The site chosen was behind the well-preserved section of the wall in trench L. Trench M was 7.5 by 1.5 m., and where possible was excavated to the natural rock. There was no evidence of any structures in this trench except for a line of stones, running north and south and consisting of one to two courses only. An occasional stone was extracted from the trench. The width of the Poros Wall (at the east end of the trench) was found to be 1.30 m. It had no poros facing corresponding to that on the east side. The rubble construction continued to a depth of 1.40 m., and was then supported by the usual foundation of flattish stones that descended to a depth of 2.10 m. and extended *c.* 0.30 m. in front of the face of the wall (FIG. 5). These in turn rested partly on rock and partly on earth, and it was clear that they were stepped up to conform with the rise in the ground. It should be noted that the depth of the foundations on the west side is greater than that on the east; there must therefore have been a downward slope of the rock under the wall from east to west. In fact, from the foot of the wall westwards the line of the rock is inclined downwards, so that at about 5 m. from the wall it is at a depth of 3.70 m. measured from the top of the wall. Thereafter it falls abruptly to a depth of over 6m. In doing so it leaves a small ledge that overhangs a kind of cavity to the east. This appeared to be a purely natural formation and not created by the hand of man. As previously stated, there was no convincing evidence of any structures in this trench. The whole area seemed to be fill. Although there was no sign of any actual clay layers, the section of the trench shewed clearly that the earth had been banked in layers in the direction of the dome of the Tomb of Clytemnestra, that is, the strata of different coloured soils were inclined upwards from east to west (FIG. 5). Layers of dark red, red, grey, and green could be clearly distinguished, and of these the green stratum recurred most frequently. The consistency of the greenish soil did indeed suggest disintegrated clay in texture, or possibly clay mixed with earth. This stratification was found all the way down to the natural rock. In the lower levels the soil was much softer, and near the rock it was damp, almost muddy. Barring one small lamina of bronze and a

<sup>18</sup> BSA XLVIII (1953), pl. 16, b.

<sup>19</sup> JHS LXXIV (1954), 170. These are the Treasury of Atreus (Wace, *Mycenae* 125, pls. 8, 9), the Lion Tomb, and the Argive Heraeum (*AM* 1878, 273); cf. also Valmin, *Swedish Messenian Expedition* 207.

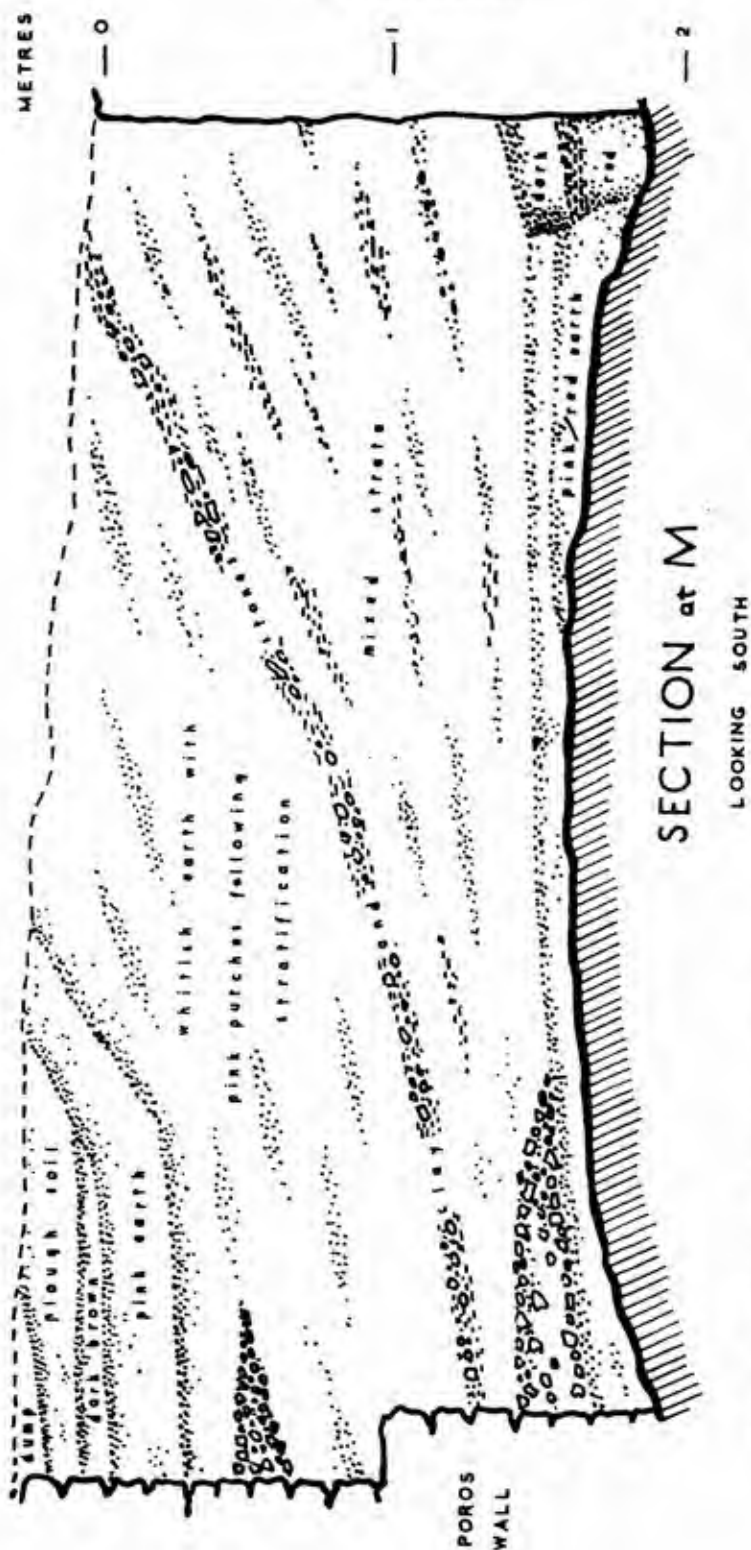


FIG. 5.—'TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA': SECTION OF MOUND PILED OVER DOME AGAINST POROS WALL ON EAST.

bone pin, only pot-sherds were found in this trench. Geometric and one or two Hellenistic fragments occurred in the upper levels, but after a depth of about 0.50 m. the pottery content was uniform. It consisted almost exclusively of Middle Helladic and L.H. I and II sherds. Where there were later sherds, they appeared to belong to the period of L.H. IIIA. None of them could be placed in IIIB or IIIC. If this earth was part of the mound of the tholos, which seems fairly certain, the pottery found in it indirectly confirms the date proposed by Professor Wace for the tomb, namely, the latter part of the fourteenth century.

The reasons adduced for interpreting the Great Poros Wall as a retaining or terrace wall can be reinforced by negative arguments. The impressive façade of fine ashlar masonry suggests indeed an important building, but to what purpose is the curvature of the plan? And why should it be faced with masonry on one side only? The area behind that part of the wall that is on high ground had already been cleared during repairs carried out in 1951 to the dome of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra', and there was no evidence of any constructions or of any internal plan of the supposed building. There was an abundance of pottery in front of the wall, but comparatively little was found in trench M (behind the wall). Hood, in investigating the presumed northern extension of the Poros Wall, has the same comment to make.<sup>20</sup> The forward tilting of the wall is not easily explained if it merely represented the façade of a building. As the ground slopes more sharply behind (and under) the wall than in front of it, one would expect the wall to be leaning in the opposite direction. The explanation offered above, that it was the weight of the mound that caused this displacement, seems much more reasonable, and is confirmed by the fill of stratified earth behind the wall in trench M.<sup>21</sup>

If the hypothesis of a retaining wall be accepted, it is natural to suppose that there would be a corresponding terrace wall to the west of the tholos. A survey of this area did not reveal any superficial traces of such a construction. On the other hand, it was noted that the rock was at a much higher level on that side, being not very far below the present ground level.<sup>22</sup> This contrasts sharply with the steep descent of the rock verified in trench M, and leads one to suppose that the east side of the tholos rose farther above the original ground-level than the west. The reason for a mound over the tholos is evident, for the Mycenaean architect must have realised that, without external pressure on the corbelled construction of the dome, it might have collapsed. On the west side the structure would largely have been supported by the rock so that there no considerable pile of earth was necessary, and consequently no retaining wall needed to support it. The position of the wall is of some interest. At least it can be established that between trenches M and L it was sited on a small ridge or spur, for the rock slopes down to east and west on either side of it. Being on high ground, the wall could here fulfil its function to the greatest effect. If built farther to the west it would have been on lower ground and the wall would have had to be built much higher. Farther to the east it would again have been on low ground and far less effective, besides being at an even greater distance from the tomb. But situated on a spur of the hill that already housed the last resting-places of two mighty ones of the past,<sup>23</sup> the Great Poros Wall not only provided an imposing finish to the new tomb, but also must have greatly enhanced the splendour of the site.

The covering of the mound differs from that over the 'Tomb of Aegisthus' in that no definite clay layer could be recognised. It is possible that such a layer may have existed in the lower part of the mound, for when excavating near the rock in trench M at a depth of about 6 m.

<sup>20</sup> BSA XLVIII (1953), 24.

<sup>21</sup> Miss Holland gives the same explanation in regard to the displacement of some blocks in the Main Wall of the Fountain House area, which she attributes to 'the weight of earth piled over the Tomb of Clytemnestra', *op. cit.* 20.

<sup>22</sup> This is the area of the new Grave Circle.

<sup>23</sup> The 'Tomb of Aegisthus' and the Lion Tomb.



from the surface, we found the soil to be consistently greenish in colour, and as it was also very damp, it is possible that it was disintegrated clay. In the higher levels of the mound thin green strata were often noticeable; some mixture of earth and clay may therefore have been used. Only one partial section of the mound was made, and it is possible that in other parts of it the greenish yellow clay, so noticeable round the 'Tomb of Aegisthus', was used. Hood speaks of such a layer in a trench made at the foot of the curved wall 3,<sup>24</sup> and Dr. Papademetriou found a small strip of this now familiar clay in a small excavation carried out by him to the east of the dome of Clytemnestra (not marked on FIG. 3). Certainly there is evidence of its use in later times, as was noted in trenches L and F. This clay may have come from a top covering of the mound that had long since been destroyed.

As already noted, the wall is laid out on the arc of a circle (and that with a considerable degree of accuracy), at least in so far as the stretch of the wall from trench D to trench X is concerned. The northernmost extension is laid out on a separate curve, joining at trench X with the main arc, which if continued to the north would have diverged too far from the tomb. The wall appears to have been constructed in straight sections that cumulatively built up the line of the curve. One cannot be certain about this, as it is not possible to survey the wall with complete accuracy because of displacements that have occurred in some of its sectors. What is clear is the high degree of skill that has been employed in the lay-out of the wall.

Although, as we have seen, there was no necessity for a retaining wall to the west of the tholos, the possibility of its existence cannot be ruled out if for no other reason than the harmony of the design. In fact, so grandiose a scheme as is implied by the splendour of the Great Poros Wall would almost seem to demand it. That there is now no evidence of it could be explained by the presence of the rock so near the surface and by the building of the modern road. The wall would not have become submerged, as happened to its counterpart to the east, and its masonry would offer an easy quarry to later builders in search of stone. Assuming that such a wall existed and that it was built to conform exactly with the Great Poros Wall, the line of it would pass through and enclose the greater part of the new Grave Circle, and it is a curious fact that that part of the Grave Circle which would lie outside the supposed wall has yielded up no graves whatsoever. This part, however, now lies largely under the modern road, and all of it has probably been disturbed in building the road.

There is no means of gauging the original height of the Poros Wall. That it was higher than it now stands in its present preserved sections, there can be no doubt. Several fallen poros blocks lay in front of the wall in trench L, and one of particularly large dimensions was found in the NE sector of that trench about 3 m. away from the face of the wall (see p. 213). The foundations uncovered in trench M were half the height of the existing wall of four courses, so that it is reasonable to suppose that the wall was twice as high again. This would be equivalent to 2.80 m. above the foundations. There is no evidence as to the manner in which the top of the wall was finished, nor can it be said what kind of a silhouette it presented against the sky. It may have been a straight line rising with the slope of the hill, or it may have had a stepped outline conforming to stepped foundations. There is at least some evidence for the latter.

Mention has been made of traces of white plaster found in trenches Q, P, and L. They are presumably related to the white plaster floor in the Perseia Fountain House area excavated by Hood and which was found to extend up to the curved wall  $\alpha$  in the form of hard-tramped earth. He notes that the sherd content under this plaster floor consisted of Middle Helladic and early Late Helladic.<sup>25</sup> This suggests that the floor may well be contemporary with the Poros Wall. In trenches Q, P, and L the white plaster layer, where it was preserved, coincided

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.* 24, Trench VI a, pl. 12.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* 24.

with the lowest course of the Poros Wall, and from evidence in the north-east sector of trench L it was sloping down towards the wall, in the form of an inclined ramp. Is it too much to conceive that the mound itself may also have had a covering of white plaster? There is no evidence for this, but, if so, the whole ensemble would have presented a most impressive and dazzling sight. In any case, it must have been the most striking monument in the necropolis. Professor Wace has suggested recently that it was this mound that was pointed out to Pausanias as the 'Tomb of Atreus'.<sup>26</sup> A mound was still visible on this site even as late as Gell's time, for he says (*Itinerary* 34, pl. 3) that it was 'either a tumulus or the covering of another chamber like the Treasury', i.e. the Treasury of Atreus. In fact, it was both. This mound attracted the notice of the treasure-hunting Veli Pasha, and so led to the discovery of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra'. By Pausanias' time the original grandeur of the monument would already have been somewhat reduced. Indeed, the upper part of the Poros Wall appears to have collapsed or been thrown down before the end of L.H. IIIB, for the bases of the fallen poros stones in front of the wall are roughly on the same level as that on which the many complete pots of that period were found.<sup>27</sup> One hydria, almost intact, was actually found against the massive broken poros block in the NE sector of trench L (PLATES 40, *b* and 42, *c*). The level of the ground by this time had risen to a height equivalent to the third course from the bottom of the Poros Wall. One of the most striking features of the excavation has been the discovery of such vast quantities of pottery in front of the wall, more particularly in trench L but also in trenches P and G, and to a lesser extent in trench Q. These were the areas in which fairly complete excavation was possible. The same phenomena may have occurred lower down the hill, where excavation to the deeper levels could not be carried out satisfactorily. Hood speaks of a 'great mass of pottery fragments' recovered around the face of the curved wall  $\alpha$ .<sup>28</sup> Associated with them were a great number of clay figurines.<sup>29</sup> A variety of figurines occurred in sizeable quantities along other stretches of the wall also. All this suggests that the area of the Gr $\acute{e}$ at Poros Wall was regarded as a sacred precinct. We have already recorded one burial made against the wall, and the preservation of so many complete vessels may point to other interments, traces of which no longer survive, or they may have been offerings to the memory of the great one reposing beneath the mound. There was no convincing evidence of any buildings of this period in front of the wall, unless the poor constructions noted in trench L can be interpreted as the foundations for some primitive shrine. Three of the fallen poros blocks in the north-west sector of trench L may possibly have been ranged in line for some recondite purpose.

It has been suggested above that in L.H. IIIB the wall either collapsed or was thrown down, deliberately. The implications of the last suggestion are worth pursuing. If this monument was already regarded, as it was in Pausanias' time, as the actual tomb of Atreus, the founder of a new dynasty and a very distinguished one, the respect and reverence paid to it can be easily understood. Equally understandable would be the hate and spite displayed in its destruction, and such an event might very tentatively be linked with the tradition of the first (partially and temporarily successful) return of the Heraclidae.<sup>30</sup> Most of the pottery in trench L belongs to the latter part of IIIB (some of it to IIIC. 1. *c* according to Furumark's stylistic analysis) or

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *JHS* LXXIV (1954), 170.

<sup>27</sup> We must not exclude the possibility that on the top of the ridge at any rate, where the uppermost course of poros blocks was so close to the modern surface, the upper part of the wall had been further destroyed in the course of ploughing or other cultivation.

<sup>28</sup> *BSA* XLVIII (1953), 23. He suggests that the fragments are probably the remains of complete vases. Many such fragments were also found here in 1939.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 24, including the cavalryman described *op. cit.* 84-93.

<sup>30</sup> Diodorus IV 57-8; Apollodorus II 8, 1-2.

the latter part of the thirteenth century. Such a date is not inconsistent with the suggested identification of the catastrophe.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, earlier violent destructions of houses at Mycenae are known, notably of the house excavated by Dr. Papademetriou and Petsas,<sup>30</sup> and of the earlier Cyclopean Terrace Building,<sup>31</sup> both of which destructions can be attributed to IIIA.<sup>32</sup> Are these, perhaps, to be associated with the forcible establishment of the dynasty of the Atridae?

The sanctity of the wall seems still to have been observed after the period of the great pottery deposits, if one can interpret the burnt patch in trench L as having some connection with it. It contained almost exclusively remnants of jewellery, of the Late Helladic period, which are difficult to date closely. The black layer is c. 0.50 m. above the pottery level, so that the contents are obviously later, and may be IIIC. The significance of the burnt layer escapes me. It suggests cremation, but this rite was so very rarely practised in Mycenaean times, and it is not even certain that the bones found in the black soil are human. Moreover, in the other rare cases of cremation known, the remains were usually contained in a jar.<sup>33</sup> The fire may have been some sacrificial rite, though that would not account satisfactorily for the beads and ornaments found in the black soil.

The rubble wall of poor construction that passes under wall  $\theta$  in trench L is at about the same level as the burnt layer, but a little higher up, and therefore presumably later. Immediately above it is the complex of walls that were the first to be uncovered when excavation was started in this area. As one of these structures is built over the Poros Wall, one must suppose that the Wall had ceased to have any religious significance by that time. Unfortunately there is no means of dating these buildings, as it is reasonably certain that a great deal of the top soil has been washed southwards down the hill.<sup>34</sup> They may have been only a little later than the burnt layer; but it is also possible that the area may have been left derelict for a long period before it once more became the scene of building activity. I do not think that this could have been as late as Hellenistic times. Pottery of that period was extremely rare, even on the lower slopes of the hill. On the other hand, Geometric and Archaic sherds were fairly plentiful lower down the ridge, and the buildings may have been constructed during these periods; but an earlier date—even as early as the end of the Mycenaean period—cannot be excluded.<sup>35</sup>

It is unfortunate that many of the later structures that were partly uncovered farther down the slope could not be more fully explored, but the principal object of the excavation was to solve as many problems as possible in connection with the Great Poros Wall. It is hoped that some contribution has been made in this direction, but many questions still call for an answer. For instance, it would be interesting to learn the significance of the structures and walls in the lower part of the ridge which were only excavated in part, and what connection, if any, they

<sup>29</sup> The pottery found in association with the skeleton in trench G appears to be earlier than that in trench L. It could therefore relate to a burial prior to the destruction or collapse of the wall.

<sup>30</sup> *PAE* 1950, 203 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *BSA XLVIII* (1953), 15-17; *XLIX* (1954), 291.

<sup>32</sup> The vases from the first house (Dr. Papademetriou and Petsas) are contemporary. On the basis of Furumark's stylistic analysis they belong to either IIIA or IIIB. They could therefore be attributed to the period of transition between IIIA and IIIB.

<sup>33</sup> *Prosymna* 242; *Annuario* VI-VII 238.

<sup>34</sup> The prevailing winds at Mycenae come from the north. At times they blow with terrifying force over the exposed ridge in which the tholoi are built. The winter rains driven by these winds are continually eroding the soil and its contents, and impelling them south down the hill. This is borne out by the varying depths of the soil on this hill. In the Perseia Fountain House area, on top of the ridge, the average level of the rock was 1 m. below the surface (*BSA XLVIII* (1953), 24). As one proceeds southwards down the hill, the overlying earth becomes deeper and deeper. The burnt patch shows the 'washing process' very clearly. The layer is thick in the north, but is attenuated to zero in the south; and some of the beads and ornaments were washed out of the patch completely and found farther to the south.

<sup>35</sup> *BSA XLVIII* (1953), 23. Hood remarks that there were very few post-Mycenaean sherds behind the Fountain House.



had with the wall. The small sections of the walls (*i*) and (*k*) which we uncovered seemed to shew that they were powerfully built. Did they serve as a second line of defence, as it were, after the upper part of the Great Poros Wall had collapsed? Although the lay-out of the Poros Wall has been established with a fair degree of certainty, so important a monument should be revealed in its entirety; and in the course of such an operation much additional useful information would, no doubt, be obtained. Finally, it would be instructive to know the extent of the Poros Wall in its southern sector and whether in fact it reached as far as the *dromos* of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra', where it would have been affected by the subsequent construction of the Hellenistic theatre.

## FINDS

## I. Mycenaean

## A. Pottery

## TRENCH Q.

1. (52-698) Kylix, about two-thirds preserved. L.H. IIIA. H. 0.145 m., D. (mouth) 0.15 m.

Well-leigated, hard-baked biscuit. Deep bowl with a short stem and metallic type of handle. About a third of the bowl, one handle, and part of the base are missing. The vase is painted all over with red, glossy paint. A typical example of MP T. 256 that Furumark attributes to the early part of IIIA. It was very popular in Rhodes, where the greater number of such kylikes have been found. Cf. *Ann.* VI-VII 204 fig. 127:8.

2. (52-699) Kylix, fragment only. L.H. II/III. H. (existing) 0.063 m., W. (existing) 0.10 m.

Hard-fired, well-leigated clay with yellow buff slip. Only a very small part of the bowl of the vase is preserved, made up of five fragments, but it is probably MP T. 254 or 255. The early shape suggested seems to be confirmed by the design, MP motive 77 *Stipple Pattern*, or what is more often referred to as the thrush-egg pattern. Cf. *BMC Vases*, A 788 and 789 (136, fig. 180). Below the design there are three medium stripes in dark-brown paint.

## TRENCH P.

3. (52-499) Stirrup-jar, just over half preserved and partly reconstructed. (*BSA* XLVIII, pl. 8, a.) L.H. III. H. 0.41 m., D. (max.) 0.28 m.

Very coarse clay with large and small pebbly grits, covered with an oatmeal-coloured slip. Parts of the vessel have been blackened by fire. The shape is MP T. 164, a common form of domestic jar and found at Mycenae in great numbers, more especially in houses recently excavated (cf. *BSA* XLVIII, pl. 7, c, d, and pl. 11, a, c). The present example is of particular importance, as it has an inscription on the shoulder in the Linear B script. It is thus to be added to the number of similarly inscribed stirrup-jars already known from Thebes, Orchomenos, Eleusis, Tiryns. Bennett, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* Vol. 97 (1953), 436, no. Z. 202.

4. (52-506) Stirrup-jar(?), fragment only. L.H. III. H. (max.) 0.093 m., W. (max.) 0.105 m., Th. 0.012 m.

Very coarse clay with pebbly and white grits. Dirty yellow clay. Black to red, matt paint (worn). The fragment has been reconstructed from two sherds. The fabric is similar to no. 3, and as it also seems to have some kind of inscription, the fragment is probably part of a stirrup-jar. Above the enigmatic design there appears to be a thick, undulating band. Bennett, *op. cit.* 437, Z. 203.

5. (52-504) Jug, miniature, complete. (PLATE 43, c) L.H. III. H. 0.08 m., D. (max.) 0.07 m., D. (mouth) 0.026 m.

Well-leigated and well-fired clay. Hand-made. Spherical shape, the upper part of the body tapering to a narrow, fairly short neck. Round mouth with flat handle from lip to shoulder. Round base. The design is painted in a black to dark-brown, fairly lustrous varnish on a dirty yellow slip. It consists of a thick band at the base of the neck, from which lines fall irregularly but vertically towards the base. Lines closely set. Festoon decoration around the lip. The rim and handle are outlined in paint, and there is a broad stripe down the back of the handle.

Furumark has classed these hand-made miniature jugs under T. 126. They vary in shape and are difficult to date stylistically. The nearest approach in shape to our vase is a jug from Mycenae (*BMA* 786, pl. xvi). Cf. also *FLMV*, pl. xvi 108 for shape and design.

6. (52-497) Bowl, part of rim, and one handle only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.078 m., W. (existing) 0.11 m., Th. 0.0025 m.

Well-refined, hard-baked, buff clay. Dark-brown, fairly lustrous paint. Part of a straight-sided bowl which is probably MP T. 284. Only a very small part of the design has been preserved. It appears to be a variation of MP motive 62 *Tricurved Arch* with a filling element rather like MP motive 29:9 *Trefoil Rock-work*. The horizontal loop-handle has three blobs of paint, and there is a medium stripe above and below the design.

The bowl is a form that was very much in vogue in the IIIB and IIIC phases. Examples are known from all parts of the Mycenaean *koine*.

7. (52-498) Bowl, fragments only. L.H. III. Largest fragment: H. 0.09 m., W. 0.08 m.

Well-refined and well-fired, buff clay containing a little mica. The bowl, of which parts of the rim, body, and base have been preserved, has an S-shaped profile and is Furumark's T. 284 and 285. The pattern in light-brown, lustreless (faded) paint is based on MP motive 50:4 *Antithetic Spiral Pattern*. Each loop contains a circle, part of the circumference of which is incorporated in the loop. The circle has a row of dots along its inner edge, and in the centre of it is MP



motive 27 : 18 'Sea Anemone'. Both the form of the bowl and the pattern occur very frequently in the IIIB and IIIC phases.

8. (52-503) Bowl, about two-thirds preserved. (PLATE 43, a.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.15 m., D. (base) 0.07 m., D. (mouth) 0.20 m.

Finely levigated, medium-fired, pink-buff clay. Bell-shaped bowl, MP T. 284, reconstructed from several pieces. One handle and a few fragments missing. It is painted with a red, lustrous varnish on the inside. The outside is decorated with MP motive 46 : 57 *Running Spiral* with a thick band above and two medium bands below the design. The surviving handle is painted with blobs.

The running spiral with a filled centre, as in this case, is a rare form of decoration. At least there are very few published examples of it. Cf. BSA XVI, pl. 1, 3.

9. (52-531) Bowl, fragment only. L.H. III. H. (existing) 0.128 m., W. (existing) 0.174 m., D. (estimated) 0.21 m. Well-levigated, hard-fired biscuit of light-buff colour. Red to black-brown, glossy paint. Bell-shaped bowl, of which about a third is preserved. It is the same type of vase as no. 8 and decorated in a similar manner. MP motive 46 : 54 *Running Spiral* has been used for the outside decoration, but with an undulating line above and below the spiral like 46 : 7. The bowl is painted on the inside like the foregoing, and other subsidiary details are the same.

10. (52-642) Bowl, part of rim only. L.H. IIIC. H. (existing) 0.085 m., W. (existing) 0.13 m., D. (estimated) 0.25 m.

Rather coarse, hard-fired clay with a dark-brown surface. Only part of the rim survives, repaired from several fragments. It appears to be a comparatively shallow bowl, which has an incurving mouth and offset lip. It is probably MP T. 295. Careless decoration in black, slightly lustrous paint, consisting of a horizontal zigzag line just below the rim. Two medium stripes are preserved below the design. The rim and the inside of the bowl are painted. From the fabric, paint, and style the vessel belongs to IIIC or possibly later.

11. (52-643) Bowl, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.095 m., W. (existing) 0.12 m., D. (estimated) 0.18 m.

Well-levigated, hard-fired clay with pinkish-brown surface. About a third of a straight-sided bowl, repaired from several sherds. The shape is MP T. 284. Panel design executed in red paint consisting of approximately fourteen vertical lines alternating with MP motive 58 : 21 *Parallel Chevrons*. Underneath the pattern there are two zones of thick and thin stripes. The rim is painted. Panel designs on bowls are very popular in IIIB and IIIC. This vessel is of good fabric and is to be attributed to IIIB.

12. (52-646) Bowl, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.08 m., W. (existing) 0.142 m., D. (estimated) 0.15 m.

Well-levigated, hard-fired clay with pink-buff surface. Straight-sided bowl of MP T. 284. About a third of the vase has been preserved which has been repaired from several fragments. Decoration of a series of sideways chevrons with *Waz* filling motive. There are two grooves below the rim, which is painted with a thick band. Four thin stripes below the design and two more visible farther down. The inside rim is painted, and there is one thick band midway on the inside of the bowl.

13. (52-502) Bowl, angular. (PLATE 43, h.) Almost complete, chipped in places. L.H. III. H. 0.056 m., D. (base) 0.042 m., D. (mouth) 0.156 m.

Hard-fired, buff clay, fairly well levigated. Conical bowl with carination just below the rim and two horizontal strap handles flush with the rim. The shape is MP T. 295. A small part of the body and of the base is missing. Undecorated. This kind of bowl is fairly common in the L.H. III period. For examples, cf. Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xvii 29, and pl. xxxi 51. It is very rarely decorated.

14. (52-645) Kylix, angular. Just under half of it is preserved. L.H. III. H. 0.105 m., D. (estimated) 0.115 m. Hard-baked and well-levigated, greenish-buff clay. Undecorated. The form, MP T. 267, varies little throughout the whole of the L.H. III period. For a typical example, cf. Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xii, 15.

15. (52-505) Cup, two handled. (PLATE 43, g.) Almost complete. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.085 m., D. (base) 0.04 m., D. (mouth) 0.116 m.

Well-levigated, medium-fired, buff clay. Bell-shaped cup with two vertical handles from rim to body. Part of one handle and parts of rim missing. Raised and slightly countersunk base. Simple decoration in dark-brown, fairly lustrous paint of a straight to zigzag line around the body. The rim is painted with a row of dots. The surviving handle is decorated with three circles, each with a central dot. The shape is MP T. 214 or 215, but it differs from the general type by having two handles.

16. (52-641) Cup, handleless. Complete except for half of the rim. L.H. H. 0.05 m., D. (base) 0.045 m., D. (mouth) 0.11 m.

Rather coarse, medium-fired clay containing small black grits. The general colour is light brown, but it is fired pink in places. Conical cup with slightly incurving rim. The form, MP T. 204, continues with little change throughout almost the whole of the Late Helladic period. It does not, however, appear to occur after IIIB. For an early example cf. Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xxxiv 21.

17. (52-500) Basin, domestic. About two-thirds preserved. L.H. H. 0.14 m., D. (base) 0.24 m., D. (mouth) 0.345 m.

Very coarse clay of oatmeal colour, containing many brown grits. Straight-sided vessel with walls slightly everted and flat, slightly projecting rim. Flat base. About one-third of the body and both handles are missing, but the stumps of one handle are preserved. The vessel is undecorated. The shape is not recorded by Furumark. The nearest approach is MP T. 322 or 323. The form of Mycenaean domestic vessels is little known. Published examples are few.

18. (52-500A) Basin, domestic. Base only preserved. L.H. D. 0.218 m.

Very similar in fabric to no. 17, and probably the same kind of vessel.

19. (52-501) Lid, semicircular, with handle. About half preserved. L.H. III. H. 0.055 m., D. 0.055 m.

Very coarse clay with large brown grits. Undecorated. Hemispherical lid with round-section, vertical loop handle across the top. At the base of each branch of the handle there is a pronounced pit or depression. Part of the handle and about one-half of the body of the lid are missing. It is burnt black in patches. Mycenaean lids are rarely found (or rarely recorded?). The few known examples are given under MP T. 334 and T. 335. The present example may have been used to cover a small storage jar of MP T. 63.

## TRENCH L. Upper Levels.

20. (53-642) Two-handled Jar (PLATE 43, e), almost complete, but reconstructed from many fragments. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.226 m., D. (base) 0.069 m., D. (max.) 0.173 m., D. (mouth) 0.053 m.

Well-refined, hard to medium-fired clay with pink inner surface and off-white outer surface. Parts of body and one handle missing. Undecorated. The form is MP T. 69, but the shape is very much that of the stirrup-jar, MP T. 167. In fact, the size of the opening of the present jar is roughly equivalent to that of a stirrup-jar of T. 167, and the handles are placed much higher up on the shoulder than is usual. The vase, therefore, has no true published parallel, but cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 278 : 615 (a jug, not an amphora).

21. (53-144) Chariot Vase(?), sherd only. (PLATE 44, h.) L.H. IIIB. H. (max.) 0.077 m., W. (max.) 0.06 m., Th. 0.009 m.

Fairly coarse, well-baked clay, buff on the inside, pink on the outside. Red, lustrous paint on a polished buff slip. The fragmentary design shows part of an animal, but it is not altogether clear whether it represents the fore- or the hind-quarters. It is most probably the latter, but bent fore-limbs are depicted on two fragments (*FLMV*, pl. xli 429 and Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. xv a-b). The decoration, however, is not like either of these. In the present instance, the limbs have transverse bars, and vertical squiggles are used on the body. This recalls the style of decoration on stags on Cypriot kraters (cf. *CVA Gr. Brit.* 1, pl. 21 : 5 and 10). The possibility of the animal being a stag cannot therefore be excluded. The form of the vessel was probably MP T. 281.

22. (53-646) Ladle, just under half preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. (allowing for handle) c. 0.105 m., D. unmeasurable, W. (max.) 0.067 m.

Fairly well levigated, medium-fired, buff clay. Unpainted and without slip. Most of the rim and half of the body is missing. The shape is hemispherical and corresponds to MP T. 236. cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 125 : 235.

23. (53-648) Vat, domestic, about a quarter reconstructed from many fragments. L.H. III. H. (existing) 0.32 m., W. (existing, which is almost equivalent to the maximum diameter) 0.43 m., Th. (max.) 0.019 m.

Very coarse green clay, with large grits, fired pink. It has a pink 'oatmeal' surface. No decoration. The rim is not preserved, but the restored section approximates to MP T. 280. Cf. Blegen, *Zygouries* 162, fig. 157.

## TRENCH L. NW Sector.

24. (53-148) Stirrup-jar, about half preserved. (PLATE 45, g.) L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.255 m., D. (max. estimated) 0.245 m.

The clay is pink, well-levigated, and fired hard to medium. Half of the stirrup-handle, the spout, parts of the body, and all of the base are missing. Band decoration only, in red, glossy paint on a buff slip. There is a group of three bands on the shoulder and a further group of three lower down. The stopper or disc is painted with two thick, concentric circles. The surviving handle is thickly outlined. The form of the jar is MP T. 167. Cf. *CVA Gr. Brit.* 1, pl. 15 : 17.

25. (53-641) Alabastron, miniature, fairly complete. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.048 m., D. (max.) 0.055 m., D. (mouth) 0.042 m.

Fairly well levigated, pink-buff clay, fired hard to medium. Black, fairly lustrous paint on a self-slip. Parts of rim and body, and both handles are missing. The shape of the vase is MP T. 86. Simple design of a zigzag line running round the whole of the pot, a little above the middle, with a thin stripe above and below. The rim is painted and the handles probably also. This class of vessel was very popular throughout almost the whole of the Late Helladic period. The present example appears to belong to the latter part of IIIB or the period of transition to IIIC (IIIC. 1. e according to Furumark).

26. (53-149) Kylix, almost complete. (PLATE 45, e.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.186 m., D. (base) 0.075 m., D. (mouth) 0.174 m.

Fairly well levigated, medium-fired, pink-buff clay. Parts of rim, small bits of the body, and a small part of the base are missing. Undecorated. The form of the kylix is MP T. 274. Cf. Blegen *Korakou* 71, fig. 102, 2.

## TRENCH L. NE Sector.

27. (53-147) Hydria, almost intact. (PLATES 40, b and 42, c.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.70 m., D. (max.) 0.345 m., D. (min.) 0.10 m.

Coarse, reddish-brown clay, fired hard to medium. Unpainted. MP T. 128. Part of one of the side-handles, the upper vertical handle, and part of the rim are missing. There is a hole 0.015 m. in diameter just above the base of the missing vertical handle. This hole has been drilled after the handle was broken, as it passes through the upper part of the 'scar' of the break. Moreover, the broken rim resulted in a vessel with a 'cut-away mouth'. Hence the hole may have been drilled to allow of a replacement by a rope handle. This jar was found intact against a massive poros block.

For an example of this kind of vessel, compare Blegen, *Korakou* 69, fig. 100. The present jar probably belongs to the end of IIIB.

28. (52-510) Alabastron, angular, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.065 m., D. (estimated) 0.11 m. Well-levigated and well-fired biscuit of buff colour. Only a small portion of the upper part of the body and the remains of one handle are preserved. There were probably three handles, and the form appears to be MP T. 96. The shoulder of the vessel is decorated in red paint with cross-hatching (MP motive 57 : 2). There are thin stripes on the body, medium bands round the neck and on the rim, and the inside of the neck is painted. A vase of the same type with similar decoration is illustrated in *BMC Vases*, A 878 (pl. x).

29. (53-645) Bowl, pedestalled, about half preserved. (PLATE 43, i.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.18 m., D. (base) 0.08 m., D. (max.) 0.195 m., D. (mouth) 0.19 m.

Pink to buff clay, well-refined, and baked hard to medium. Parts of the rim and body are missing. The two handles have been preserved but have not been affixed. The shape of the bowl is MP T. 305. Black to dark-brown, lustrous paint has been used. The design is made up of a variation of MP motive 18 : 107 *Mycenean III Flower* alternating with a scale pattern (MP motive 70 : 1). The metopes are divided by groups of nine to ten vertical lines, and are confined to

the upper part of the body. They are bounded by band decoration above and below. There are two bands near the base and one on the pedestal.

For the shape of the vase compare *FLMV*, pl. xxx 276 and for the main design *FLMV*, pl. xxxiii 324.

30. (52-696) Cup, handleless. Intact except for chips to rim. L.H. H. 0.05 m., D. (base) 0.039 m., D. (mouth) 0.092 m.

Coarse, medium-fired, pinkish-brown clay. Undecorated. *MP T.* 204. For further discussion, see no. 16 above. This cup was found in one of the lowest levels, and is either L.H. I or II.

31. (52-697) Cup, handleless. Almost complete. L.H. H. 0.048 m., D. (base) 0.036 m., D. (mouth) 0.09 m.

Coarse, medium-fired, pinkish-brown biscuit. Undecorated. Small parts of the rim and body are missing. The cup has been repaired. Similar vase to no. 30, close to which it was found.

#### TRENCH L. SW Sector.

32. (52-644) Stirrup-jar, almost intact. (PLATES 45, c and 42, e.) L.H. IIIC. H. 0.31 m., D. (max.) 0.225 m.

Coarse, hard-fired clay with numerous brown and white grits. 'Oatmeal' surface on which a red to black paint has been used. The spout and two small fragments from the body are missing, and repairs have been made to the stirrup-handle. The jar is *MP T.* 164, of which an example, no. 3, has already been described above. The shoulder decoration consists of inscribed semicircles (*MP* motive 43 : d *Isolated Semicircles*) separated by wavy, vertical lines. There are two groups of three broad bands below the design and a further two broad bands on the underbelly of the vase. The disc of the false mouth is painted with concentric circles. The style of decoration is late, and the jar probably belongs to the IIIC phase.

33. (52-694) Stirrup-jar, almost intact. (PLATE 44, a.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.108 m., D. 0.10 m.

Medium-fired, pink-buff clay, well-levigated. The form of the vase is *MP T.* 171, the most widely distributed and common form of this jar. Red, glossy paint, worn in places. Shoulder decoration of stylised flowers (cf. *MP* motive 18 : 119 *Mycenean III Flower*), of which three are placed on the front of the vase and one in each 'spandrel'. Three zones of thick and thin stripes complete the decoration of the body. The stirrup-handles are painted solid; the disc has a spiral with a solid centre; there is a circle round the base of the spout and another around the base of the false mouth. The raised and slightly countersunk base is painted with a circle on the under side.

34. (53-644) Amphora, two-handled, about two-thirds preserved. (PLATE 43, b.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.40 m., D. (max.) 0.35 m., D. (base) 0.095 m.

Rather coarse pink to buff clay mixed with small grits. It has been fired hard to medium. The form of the vase is *MP T.* 69, but the shape of the body is nearer to *MP T.* 37 (piriform-ovoid three-handled jar, IIIB, *MP* 23, fig. 4). The neck, one handle, and parts of the body are missing. Red to black, lustrous paint has been used on an unslipped surface. Three closely set broad bands decorate the shoulder. There is an undulating broad band in a vertical position on the surviving handle.

35. (52-693) Jug, miniature, hand-made, all but complete. (PLATE H. 61, right.) L.H. III. H. 0.059 m., D. (body) 0.052 m., D. (mouth) 0.042 m.

Well-levigated, soft-fired, buff clay. The form, *MP T.* 126, has already been discussed under no. 5. For the shape of the present vase, compare *FLMV*, pl. xv 102, and Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xlvii 16. The jug has been repaired and is complete except for small fragments. It is undecorated.

36. (52-491) Chariot Vase, large fragment only. Illustrated in *BSA XLVIII* (1953), pl. 1, b. L.H. IIIA/B. H. (existing) 0.305 m., W. (existing) 0.30 m., Th. (average) 0.005 m.

Rather coarse clay with large red and white grits. The biscuit has a grey buff core and pink outer surfaces. Only about a third of the body, part of the neck, and the stump of one vertical handle have been preserved, but it is clear that the vase belongs to *MP T.* 54 or 55, a krater with high neck and one of the types of vessels most often used for depicting chariot scenes. Red, lustrous paint has been used on a buff slip that is fired pink in places. In several parts of the design the red has been overpainted with matt white paint.

The chariot is shown travelling from right to left, and is being driven by a man with behind him a companion (possibly a woman), whose imperious gestures appear to urge the driver on. Only the upper half of these figures is shown, and their costume is indicated by horizontal stripes overpainted in white. The hair also has white streaks. The reserved triangles, inverted, below the arms may possibly represent the flesh. The chariot itself is rendered in a shorthand version, only the wheel and the top rail being shown, and both of these are overpainted in white, the latter with dots. The intervening space between the two is filled with the flourish of the horse's tail. Only one horse-body is represented, but the head can be interpreted as either two heads seen in profile or one full-face. The reserved area down the centre of the 'head', the four reins, and the suggestion of a bridle favour the first hypothesis. Moreover, Furumark notes the tendency of the horses' bodies to 'melt together into one' during the latter part of the IIIA phase.<sup>36</sup> A rather similar evolution is shown in the case of a Chariot Vase found at Corinth.<sup>37</sup> There the 'double-profile' or the 'full-face' is depicted, but it is quite evident that two horses are represented because the forelimbs are shown in duplicate and yet the hind-legs belong to one horse only. There are resemblances in other respects to the Corinth Chariot Vase. Five rather similar 'plumes'<sup>38</sup> embellish the horse's mane, and there are two reins from the driver's hands to the back of the horse's neck, as against the four reins between its (or rather their) head and neck. From the two leading reins descend four groups of wavy lines that are presumably connecting reins attached to the harness. (Four sets of such connecting reins seem excessive for one horse; more probably the intention was to represent two for each horse.)

The technique of overpainting in white has been employed quite lavishly on the body of the horse. The neck is barred in that colour. White paint is used to outline the body and the legs, and eight circles surrounded by dots, white on solid red, fill the whole area of the body.

In front of the cavalcade struts an elegant and dandified figure, rather like a drum-major. Both arms are bent upwards at the elbow with the fore-arm roughly parallel to the body, one arm in front, the other behind. In the latter the

<sup>36</sup> *MP* 243.

<sup>37</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII (1949), pls. 23, 24.

<sup>38</sup> These should no doubt be interpreted as ringed tufts of the horse's mane rather than 'plumes'. Cf. the fresco fragment from Mycenae which doubtless provided the prototype for ceramic decoration (*AE* 1887, pl. 11, top right).



signatory or official holds his staff of office. Body, arms, and legs of this personage are overpainted in white with horizontal bars, but the tall, thin neck is painted with red bars only, and these may perhaps represent ring ornaments. His locks, which flow out behind him as if blown by the wind, are overpainted with U's in white. His head, as also those of the other two human figures, are painted in outline.

The whole scene is bounded by the painted neck of the vase above, by three broad stripes below, and by the two vertical handles, of which the stump of one survives. These were apparently decorated with three broad, vertical stripes. To the right of the existing handle can be discerned part of another chariot scene facing in the opposite direction. Here, too, the chariot is stylistically rendered in the same manner as the preceding. There is one human figure, and part of another can be seen. They have 'block' bodies painted in outline with the reserved area filled in with dots (cf. *Hesperia* XVIII (1949), pl. 24, 39). No white paint has been used except on the wheel of the chariot.

On Furumark's analysis the composition of the present scene would come under his classification (b) in *MP* fig. 74 (p. 435), which he allocates to the IIIB phase. The composition is also remarkable for the absence of filling elements, a feature that he claims is more in evidence during IIIB than earlier. But it can also be shown that the rarity of filling motives is more often found on Chariot Vases from the Mainland than on those, the greater number, from Cyprus. Other considerations, such as the good quality of the fabric and the paint work, incline towards the earlier IIIA phase, and one is probably not far wrong in allocating this vase to the transitional period IIIA/B.

37. (53-150) Krater, fragment only. (PLATE 44, f.) L.H. IIIB? H. (existing, max.) 0.17 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.31 m., Th. (max.) 0.017 m.

Very coarse, green to buff clay with pebbly grits. A small part of the body with one horizontal loop handle only has been preserved. The most likely form is *MP* T. 281 or 282. Ruddy brown to black, lustrous paint has been used on an 'oatmeal' surface. To the right of the handle there is a vertical squiggly band and a four-spoke wheel. To the left of the handle two undulating, vertical stripes and a small black area, possibly part of another wheel. It is impossible to reconstruct the design from this fragmentary decoration. The 'wheel' corresponds to one of the Linear B signs, but this is probably fortuitous.

38. (52-682) Bowl, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.097 m., W. (existing) 0.104 m., D. 0.130 m.

Hard-fired, well-levigated biscuit which has a pink-buff surface. Part of the body, rim, and one handle preserved. Bell-shaped bowl with slight S-curve (*MP* T. 284). The vase is undecorated except for a row of dots on the rim and seven splashes of brown to black paint on the handle.

39. (52-691) Bowl, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.10 m., W. (existing) 0.11 m.

Buff biscuit, fired pink in places. It is well-levigated and hard baked. Part of the body and a very small portion of the base have been preserved. It is probably a bell-shaped bowl like *MP* T. 284. Panel decoration in ruddy brown paint. The design is based on *MP* motive 75 : 5 *Panelled Patterns*. A Syrian type of axe is attached to one of the 'triglyphs' (cf. *MP* motive 74 : 5 *Triglyph and Half-rosette*). There are seven horizontal lines below the design and a broad band at the base of the vase. The inside of the bowl was painted with eight concentric circles. Panel designs were very popular in the IIIB and IIIC phases, particularly at Mycenae. For a similar type of vase and decoration from the last-named site, compare *BSA* XXV, pl. v, c.

40. (52-692) Bowl, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.07 m., W. (existing) 0.125 m., D. 0.14 m.

Well-levigated, hard-fired biscuit with buff surface. Bell-shaped bowl with double curve as *MP* T. 284. A small part of the body and of the rim have been reconstructed from many fragments. The panel design, executed in black paint, is based on *MP* motive 58 : 18 *Parallel Chevrons*. A fragment of the same type of bowl with similar decoration, from Mycenae, is illustrated in *BSA* XXV 22, fig. 6, f.

41. (52-695) Tankard, almost complete, repaired. (PLATE 44, d.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.125 m., D. (base) 0.13 m., D. (mouth) 0.171 m.

Well-refined, hard-fired, buff clay. Broad mug or tankard with flaring mouth, concave sides, and slightly convex base. One flat, ear-shaped handle attached to the concave side of the vase. The shape is *MP* T. 226. Except for small fragments from the base, the tankard is complete. It is undecorated but for incised circles on the base. There are several examples of this type of vessel. For shape compare *FLMV*, pl. xxi 150, but the fact that the present tankard is undecorated is unusual.

42. (52-648) Kylix, angular, about two-thirds preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.083 m., D. (mouth) 0.123 m.

Fairly well levigated but soft biscuit of buff colour, fired pink in places. *MP* T. 267. Three-quarters of bowl and one handle only preserved. Undecorated. A common form of drinking-cup, popular throughout L.H. III. Cf. examples from Zygouries (Blegen, *Zygouries* 152, fig. 143).

43. (52-649) Kylix, carinated, about half preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.068 m., D. (mouth) 0.107 m.

Soft buff biscuit, fired pink in places, well-levigated. Stem and base missing. Part of rim and handle also lacking. The kylix is undecorated and is the same class of vessel as no. 42.

44. (52-650) Askos, almost intact. *BSA* XLVIII (1953), pl. 1, c. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.196 m., D. (max.) 0.186 m.

Well-levigated, hard-fired, yellow-buff clay. The vase has been reconstructed, and is complete except for a few fragments. The form is *MP* T. 195. In the present instance there is an additional small vertical loop handle at the rear of the vase, but in the same axis as the principal handle connecting the spout to the apex of the vessel. It is undecorated except for a row of vertical incisions just below the largest diameter of the vase. The askos, illustrated in Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xxvii 10, is somewhat similar, but does not have the rear handle.

45. (52-647) Small pithos, about a third preserved. L.H. III. H. 0.395 m., D. (base) 0.175 m., D. (mouth, estimated) 0.39 m.

Coarse, pale-red biscuit, medium-fired and containing black and white grits. The complete section of the jar is preserved and approximates to *MP* T. 2. Cf. Blegen, *Korakou* 72, fig. 105. The vessel has a slightly incurving mouth with an offset to rolled rim. Undecorated.

46. (53-643) Large tub, cylindrical, about half preserved. (PLATE 44, e.) L.H. III. H. (existing) 0.28 m., D. (mouth) 0.557 m.

Very coarse, reddish-brown clay with brown and black grits. The jar has been partially restored from many fragments, but parts of the rim, one handle, many bits of the body, and all of the base are missing. The shape is that of *MP* T. 4, but the mouth is less flaring. About 0.18 m. below the rim there is a plastic strip, 0.025 m. broad, that is decorated with a series of disc-shaped impressions. The jar is unpainted. A similar vessel is illustrated in Blegen, *Zygouries* 164, fig. 159.



## TRENCH L. SE Sector.

47. (52-507) Three-handled amphora, almost complete. (PLATE 44, c.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.17 m., D. (max.) 0.165 m.

Well-refined, hard-fired, buff clay. The jar has been repaired from many fragments, and is complete except for a small part of the rim and part of one handle. The base is chipped. The form of the jar, being undecorated, is *MP T. 50*. Cf. *Adelt V, Parietema 36, fig. 31*.

48. (52-638) Two-handled amphora, fragment only. L.H. IIIC? H. (existing) 0.11 m., D. (mouth) 0.12 m. Rather coarse, greenish-buff clay, hard-fired and containing white and black grits. Only the neck and two handles (one incomplete) have been preserved. Broad, flat handles from rim to shoulder. The vase is undecorated. The shape is probably *MP T. 69*. Cf. *BSA XXV, pl. ix, a*, and Blegen, *Zygouries 163, fig. 158*.

49. (52-681) Two-handled amphora, about a third preserved. L.H. IIIB? H. 0.145 m., D. (mouth) 0.085 m. Slightly coarse, well-fired, green-buff clay. About two-thirds of rim and body are lacking. Stump of one handle preserved. Handle from neck to shoulder. The form is *MP T. 68*. Cf. Wace, *Ch. Tombs, pl. li 20*.

50. (52-683) Jug, fragment only. L.H. IIIB? H. (existing) 0.08 m., D. (mouth) 0.075 m. Hard-fired, well-levigated biscuit that has a green-buff surface. Neck, part of the handle, and a small part of the body only preserved. The handle starts from below the rim, and the form of the jug is either *MP T. 120* or *121*. There is the suggestion of a panel design in faded black paint on the shoulder which appears to be *MP motive 75 : 4 Panelled Patterns*. The upper and lower part of the neck are painted with a thick band. For the probable shape of the jug compare Wace, *Ch. Tombs, pl. xlvii g*.

51. (52-494) Jug, domestic, almost intact. (PLATE 45, a and 42, b.) L.H. IIIB? H. 0.227 m., D. (max.) 0.19 m., D. (mouth) 0.12 m.

Coarse, ruddy brown biscuit with small white grits. The vase is complete except for part of the rim. The body and the rim opposite the handle is blackened by fire. Round-section handle from base of neck to shoulder. Undecorated. The form of the vase is *MP T. 109*, but the position of the handle on the present example is unusual. For the shape of the jug compare Blegen, *Prosymna, fig. 219 : 1198*. Cf. also Blegen, *Zygouries 170, fig. 165*.

52. (52-635) Jug, domestic, about a quarter preserved. L.H. IIIB? H. (existing) 0.164 m., D. (max., estimated) 0.17 m.

Coarse, medium-fired clay with white grits. Dirty brown biscuit blackened by fire on the outside. About two-thirds of the body and all of the neck are missing. This is a similar type of jug to no. 51.

53. (52-492) Jug, miniature, hand-made, almost complete. (PLATE 42, b.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.09 m., D. (max.) 0.072 m.

Well-fired, finely levigated, green-buff clay. Part of rim and one small fragment of the body are missing. The surface is chipped in several places. Flattened spherical body with fairly tall, narrow neck. Strap handle from neck to shoulder. Rounded base. The decoration in black, lustrous paint consists of a series of seven inscribed arcs round the upper half of the body. (Cf. *MP motive 43 : h Isolated Semicircles*.) There are two thin stripes, evenly spaced, above the design and the same arrangement below. The handle is painted with bars. This is a very similar vase to no. 5 above.

54. (52-640) Chariot Vase?, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.095 m., W. (existing) 0.10 m.

Slightly coarse, medium-fired clay, containing red and black grits. Dirty white slip. The very fragmentary design in faded brown paint shows part of the legs of a man walking from left to right. They are painted solid with a vertical streak of white running down the centre of each leg. The leg to the right is preserved from above the knee downwards, but only part of the calf of the other leg can be seen. The design is bounded on the right by what appear to be four vertical shaky lines. Below there are two broad bands. The shape of the man's limbs are most like those of the figure shown under *MP motive 1 : 21 Man (BMC Vases, C 339, fig. 110, p. 66, man on the left)*, but our fragment is too small to be able to say that it is definitely part of a Chariot Vase.

55. (52-496) Krater, spouted, fragment only. L.H. III. H. (existing) 0.165 m., W. (existing) 0.21 m.

Coarse, hard-fired, reddish-brown clay containing small grits. Undecorated. Only a small part of the body and of the spout have been preserved. Parts of the body, but not the rim, have been burnt both inside and out. The shape was probably *MP T. 298*.

56. (52-684) Bowl, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.081 m. W. (existing) 0.118 m., D. (estimated) 0.225 m.

Medium-fired, well-refined biscuit with yellow buff surface. Part of the rim and body, and part of one handle of a bell-shaped bowl as *MP T. 284*. All that is preserved of the pattern is an isolated cross-hatched circle (cf. *MP motive 51 : 8-10 Stemmed Spiral*). There are splodges of brown to black paint on the handle.

57. (52-493) Mug, fairly complete. (PLATES 45, f and 42, b.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.10 m., D. (base) 0.096 m., D. (mouth) 0.131 m.

Well-fired, finely levigated, buff clay. Part of the rim and a small part of the body are missing. The surface is chipped in places. The shape is similar to no. 41 above (*MP T. 226*). At the edge of the base, opposite the handle, a small hole has been drilled after firing, which suggests that this vase was later adapted for use as a rhyton. It is decorated in dark-brown, lustrous paint with two stylised murex shells (*MP motive 23 : 1-9 Whorl-Shell*) on the side opposite the handle. The work is carelessly executed, and only the lower part of the design is preserved. For a similar vessel decorated with the same pattern, but more profusely, compare *Ann. VI-VII 229, fig. 146*.

58. (52-634) Cup, about two-thirds preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.039 m., D. (base) 0.041 m., D. (mouth) 0.111 m. Soft-fired, rather coarse, pink clay. Part of the rim and fragments of the body are lacking. No decoration. Shallow cup of form *MP T. 220*. Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna, fig. 535 : 1037*.

59. (52-495) Kylix, about two-thirds preserved. (PLATE 42, b.) L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.09 m., D. (mouth) 0.161 m.

Fairly well refined, grey-buff clay, containing grey pebbly and white grits. The stem and base, and small fragments of the bowl, are missing. The form of the vase is *MP T. 274*. Undecorated. Cf. Wace, *Ch. Tombs, pl. xxvii 11*.

60. (52-508) Kylix, angular, about half preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.075 m., D. (mouth) 0.117 m. Well-levigated, hard-fired, greenish-buff clay. Stem, base, and a third of the body are missing. *MP T. 267*. Undecorated. Similar vase to no. 14 above.

61. (52-509) Kylix, angular, about three-quarters preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.11 m., D. (mouth) 0.11 m. Well-levigated, well-baked, pinkish-buff clay. A third of the body, including the handle, is lacking. MP T. 267. Undecorated. Similar vase to no. 60.
62. (52-632) Kylix, angular, almost intact. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.102 m., D. (mouth) 0.12 m. Medium-fired, well-levigated, pink-buff biscuit. Parts of rim and handle missing. Base chipped. Undecorated. Similar vase to no. 60.
63. (52-633) Kylix, angular, almost intact. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.098 m., D. (mouth) 0.119 m. Medium-fired, fairly well levigated, pink to buff clay. Undecorated. MP T. 267 as no. 60. Small fragments from body missing.

## TRENCH G. Vessels found above and near skeleton.

64. (52-588) Stirrup-jar, almost intact. (PLATE 44, b.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.097 m., D. 0.088 m. Hard-fired, well-refined biscuit with yellow surface. Part of stirrup-handle and fragment from body missing. Raised and flat base. Shape as no. 33 (MP T. 171). Shoulder decoration in ruddy brown paint of MP motive 19: 28 *Multiple Stem*, a very frequent style of decoration and often found on vases of this class. Cf. *FLMV*, pl. xxxi 164. There are two closely-set zones of thick and thin stripes below the design. Most of the underbelly of the jar has been left free. The base and handles are painted solid, and there are concentric circles round a solid centre on the disc.
65. (52-700) Stirrup-jar, intact. BSA XLVIII (1953), pl. 1, d. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.213 m., D. 0.173 m. Hard-fired, well-levigated biscuit with yellow surface. The base and disc are chipped. The piriform shape corresponds to MP T. 166. (Cf. Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xix 1 and 6.) The shoulder decoration in dark-brown, lustrous paint consists of a series of eight inscribed arcs, three groups on the front of the vase and one in each 'spandrel'. The inscribed arcs vary from eight to ten in each group, and pairs of them are joined to one another by transverse lines. The pattern is related to MP motives 19: 28 *Multiple Stem* and 43: 4 *Isolated Semicircles*. There are four zones of thick and thin stripes on the body, and a series of reversed *Sigmas* between the first and second zones. The decoration of disc, handles, and base is identical to that on no. 64. There are also three concentric circles on the under surface of the base, which is deeply countersunk.

The pattern is unusual. The nearest parallel is that on a stirrup-jar from San Cosimo, South Italy (Pottier, *Vases Ant.* pl. 29, D 1), which Furumark attributes to IIIA. 2, but an actual inspection of the vase in question, made by the writer, indicates that it belongs to the latter part of IIIB. The vase from Mycenae does not appear to be earlier than IIIB.

66. (52-631) Two-handled amphora, almost complete. L.H. IIIB? H. 0.136 m., D. (max.) 0.114 m., D. (mouth) 0.095 m.

Medium-fired, well-levigated, buff biscuit. A few fragments are missing from the body. Two strap handles from rim to shoulder. No decoration. The vase, MP T. 68, is similar to no. 49 above.

67. (52-586) Jug, domestic, almost complete. (PLATE 45, b.) L.H. IIIB? H. 0.192 m., D. (body) 0.187 m., D. (mouth) 0.115 m.

Coarse, medium-fired, brick-red clay, containing black and white grits. It is burnt black on most of the outside and also on the inside rim. The jug has been repaired. Only a few fragments are missing. The vase is almost identical to no. 51.

68. (52-587) Mug, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.086 m., W. (existing) 0.089 m., D. (estimated) 0.20 m.

Well-refined, hard-fired, yellow-buff biscuit. Only a fragment of the upper half of the vase is preserved, but it appears to be similar to no. 57 above (MP T. 226). Moreover, the pattern, the upper half of a murex shell, is the same. There are two broad bands in black paint below the rim and another at the waist of the mug.

69. (52-589) Ladle, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.047 m., D. 0.078 m. Soft-fired, fairly well-levigated, pink-buff clay. The high-swung handle and half of the cup are missing. Undecorated.

The ladle is the same type as the one described above (no. 22).

70. (52-581) Kylix, complete but repaired. (PLATE 45, d.) L.H. IIIB. H. 0.18 m., D. (mouth) 0.189 m. Well-refined, hard-fired, buff biscuit. The rim is chipped. Undecorated. The form of the kylix is the same as no. 26 (MP T. 274).

71. (52-582) Kylix, almost complete. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.16 m., D. (mouth) 0.171 m. Well-refined, hard-baked, greenish-buff biscuit. The vessel has been repaired. One handle and part of the rim are missing. Base chipped. Undecorated. Very similar to no. 70.

72. (52-583) Kylix, about half preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.16 m., D. (mouth) 0.163 m. Hard-fired, well-refined, buff clay. One handle, about half of the bowl, and most of the base are lacking. Undecorated. Similar vase to no. 70.

73. (52-590) Kylix, about one-third preserved. L.H. IIIB? H. (existing) 0.106 m. Well-levigated, hard-fired, pink biscuit. Polished stem. A small part of the base and most of the bowl are missing. Repaired from two fragments. Undecorated. Indeterminate shape.

74. (52-584) Kylix, almost complete. *ILN* i-xi-1952, 721, fig. 23. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.17 m., D. (mouth) 0.172 m. Well-levigated, hard-fired clay that varies from buff to deep buff in colour. Part of the rim and a small bit of the bowl are missing. Undecorated. The form of the kylix is MP T. 266, but the present example is unusual in that each handle is decorated plastically with two ears or horns. This feature, so far as I know, only occurs on two other Mycenaean kylikes, both of them from Rhodes (*CVA Denmark* 2, pl. 51, 2 and *FLMV* pl. xi 70). According to Furumark, the former is to be attributed to IIIA. 2, e, the latter to IIIB.

75. (52-585) Kylix, angular, about half preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. 0.13 m., D. (mouth) 0.125 m. Medium-fired, fairly well levigated, pink to buff clay. Half of the bowl is missing. Otherwise intact. Undecorated. MP T. 267. Similar to no. 14 above.

## TRENCH F.

76. (53-146) Two-handled Amphora, restored. (PLATE 43, f.) L.H. IIIC. H. 0.262 m., D. (base) 0.094 m., D. (max.) 0.245 m., D. (mouth) 0.17 m.

Rather coarse, hard- to medium-fired, reddish-brown clay. Parts of rim, handles, and body missing. Restored from many fragments. Undecorated. The shape of the vessel is *MP T. 66*. This is not a very common form of the Mycenaean amphora, and the present example differs from the normal type in that the handles join just below the rim. The more usual type is figured in *BSA XXV*, pl. vi, a. Cf. also *Adelt III* 183, fig. 131 and 194, fig. 139.

## TRENCH E.

77. (53-145) Palace Style Jar? fragment only. L.H. II. H. (max.) 0.07 m., W. (max.) 0.087 m., Th. (average) 0.009 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, buff clay, with reddish outer surface. The fragment probably belongs to a large Palace Style Jar (*MP T. 15-18*). Black to brown fairly lustrous paint has been used on a yellow slip. The fragmentary marine design is based on *MP* motive 29: 2 *Trefoil Rock-work*. Cf. *AM XXXIV*, pl. xvi, from Kakovatos.

78. (53-142) Chariot Vase? Fragment only. (PLATE 44, g.) L.H. IIIC? H. (existing) 0.072 m., W. (existing) 0.068 m., Th. (average) 0.019 m.

Very coarse grey to brown clay with large grits. The shape of the vase is unknown, but from the design it appears to be part of a Chariot Vase. The design shows part of horse's head executed in black, matt paint on an off-white slip. In execution and style it bears a strong resemblance to a similar fragment from Mycenae (*FLMV*, pl. xli 429a, *MP* motive 2: 7 *Horse*), which Furumark attributes to IIIA. 2-B, but the black, matt paint on our example suggests that it may be as late as IIIC.

## TRENCH Q.

## B. Miscellaneous Objects

79. (52-549) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.031 m., D. (max.) 0.014 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired clay with whitish buff surface. Horn or limb of the animal only preserved. There are two longitudinal stripes, in red, fairly lustrous paint, on either side of the object. The intervening space on one side is filled with seven blobs. On account of the elaborate decoration the object is more likely to represent a horn than a leg. A variety of animal figurines are illustrated in Blegen, *Prosymna*, figs. 614 and 616.

## TRENCH P.

80. (52-546) Terracotta. Figurine, female, about half preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.075 m., W. (max.) 0.056 m., D. (base) 0.033 m.

Well-levigated clay with buff core and pink outer surface. Upper half of the body missing. Chip on base.  $\Phi$  style figurine decorated in red, glossy paint. Curved, oblique to vertical stripes on the 'torso'. Ten vertical stripes on the stem that thicken towards the base. Broad waist-band. The one surviving breast is plastically rendered. This figurine appears to be type *b* according to Blegen's classification. For a full discussion of female figurines, see Blegen, *Prosymna* 355-60.

81. (52-547) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.024 m., W. (existing) 0.043 m., Th. (average) 0.01 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, yellow-buff clay. Only the upper part of the body of a  $\Phi$  figurine has been preserved. The horizontal break is just above the breasts. Red to dark-brown, lustrous paint. Decoration front and back of straggling oblique lines. The breasts appear to have been plastically rendered.

82. (52-548) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.031 m., W. (max.) 0.046 m., Th. (max.) 0.008 m.

Fairly well levigated clay, fired buff on the inside and pink on the outside. Upper half of a  $\Phi$  figurine, but without the head. Red to brown, lustrous paint on a yellow slip. The body is decorated with oblique stripes, sometimes undulating, both front and back. The edge of the 'disc' is outlined in paint. There is a band or necklace on the neck. A 'pigtail', or braid of hair at the back, is suggested by two vertical rows of blobs. Very prominent breasts.

83. (52-550) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.041 m., D. (base) 0.032 m.

Well-levigated, well-fired, buff biscuit. Stem only preserved, which is solid. It has a splaying and concave base. The stem is decorated with eight oblique and undulating stripes.

84. (52-593) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing, max.) 0.062 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.04 m., Th. (max.) 0.02 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, yellow-buff clay. Torso only preserved. Thick-set female figurine with arms, shewn plastically, across the body and hands clasped together. The arms are missing. Decoration in dark-brown to black, lustrous paint of vertical, wavy lines, closely set. Rather careless paintwork. Type *c* figurine according to Blegen's classification. For further discussion, see Blegen, *Prosymna* 357-8. Illustrated examples are given in *op. cit.*, fig. 612: 1 and 2, and in Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xv 3-8.

85. (52-594) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.057 m., W. (max.) 0.017 m., Th. (max.) 0.01 m.

Slightly coarse, hard-fired, brownish-pink biscuit. Limb or horn of a fairly large animal figurine. It is oval in section. Decoration in red, glossy paint of a thick band on one side and elongated blobs on the other.

86. (52-596) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.06 m., W. (max.) 0.033 m.

Rather coarse, hard-fired clay with greyish core, pink on the outside. Upper part of the limb of an animal figurine. It is probably the foreleg, as a small part of the body and part of what must have been the neck are preserved. Decoration of closely set, oblique stripes in brown, fairly lustrous paint on a yellow-buff slip.

87. (52-598) Terracotta. Pottery cap. L.H. IIIB? D. (average) 0.047 m., Th. (average) 0.008 m. Very coarse, hard-fired clay, containing large grits and some mica. Brown biscuit, light brown on one side, black, matt paint(?) on the other. Potsherd shaped to the form of a disc and possibly used as a cap or 'cork' for a stirrup-jar spout. Cf. *BSA XLVIII* (1953), 17 and pl. 11, d.



88. (52-488) Awl? Bronze, incomplete. L.H. III. L. (existing) 0.067 m., Th. (max.) 0.006 m. Bronze of dirty green colour, much corroded. The tip of the instrument has been broken off. The body is square in section and tapers at both ends. The surviving end is rounded. The object may be either an awl or chisel.

## TRENCH L. Upper Levels.

89. (53-341) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.016 m., D. (max.) 0.023 m., D. (min.) 0.0135 m.

Well-baked and fairly well levigated, pink to buff biscuit. Part of the stem and base of a female figurine of unknown type. The circular base is concave underneath. Decoration of eleven vertical stripes in black, glossy paint on a yellow-buff slip.

90. (53-342) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.055 m., D. (max., estimated) 0.033 m., Th. 0.015 m.

Hard-baked, fairly well levigated clay, buff within, pink without. Stem with splaying base of female figurine. The base is badly chipped. Decoration of a thin, vertical band fore and aft, in dark-brown, lustrous paint.

91. (53-343) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.064 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.0255 m., Th. (max.) 0.012 m.

Fairly well refined, well-fired, pink clay. Ruddy brown, lustrous paint on yellow-buff slip. Arms and lower part of stem are missing. The stumps of the arms are inclined slightly towards the observer, as if making an embracing movement. The tall, conical head-dress is decorated with four vertical but unevenly spaced lines. A fringe of hair is visible beneath it. The back of the head is painted with two lozenge-shaped blobs. A band of paint follows the profile of the face, and there are two dots for the eyes. There is a band round the neck and on each shoulder. The front part of the body, below the neck, is undecorated. On the other hand, at the back there is a broad band at the waist from which two vertical stripes fall towards the feet. The back is also decorated with irregular, perpendicular lines.

According to the arrangement of the arms, this figurine should be classified under Blegen's type *c*, but the head-dress in this instance is unusual. Normally it is saucer-shaped. The undecorated front of the body is also exceptional.

92. (53-195) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.037 m., H. (existing) 0.032 m., W. (max.) 0.028 m.

Medium-fired, fairly well refined clay, brown on the inside, red on the outside. Red to brown, glossy paint on a buff slip. Animal figurine minus head and legs. It has a long neck, inclined to one side and painted with a thin, horizontal band. The cylindrical body is decorated with four longitudinal stripes, but the 'off side' is left free. These stripes are often linked by cross-running lines. At other times the transverse lines terminate in fringes. The front of the animal is painted with vertical, wavy lines.

93. (53-197) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, about two-thirds preserved. L.H. IIIB? L. (existing) 0.065 m., H. 0.044 m., W. (of horns) 0.026 m.

Well-fired and levigated, buff clay. Black and dark-brown, lustrous paint on self-slip. The snout, hind-legs, and tail are broken, and both horns are damaged. The animal appears to be a sheep with curling horns and a hanging tail. It is painted with a broad band from head to tail. There are parallel thick and thin stripes on either side of it which converge at the hind-quarters to form a broad band passing down each hind-leg. The forelegs that jut forward slightly are decorated with two vertical, parallel stripes each. The curve of the horns is outlined with a band of paint.

The figurine may be related to Blegen's type *a* (cf. Blegen, *Prosymna* 361).

94. (53-347) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.026 m., W. of horns (existing) 0.021 m., Th. of neck (max.) 0.011 m.

Slightly coarse, hard-fired, pink to brown clay. Red, glossy paint on a pink-buff slip. Only the head and part of the horns of a quadruped are preserved. It has a long, tapering snout. There is a circular band round the neck, a longitudinal band down the snout and back of the neck, and a further band between the horns. The under side of the muzzle is also decorated with a stripe.

95. (53-399) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.072 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.021 m., Th. of body (max.) 0.017 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, pink to buff clay. Only the long, tubular body is preserved. It is decorated, in red to black, fairly lustrous paint on a yellow slip, with four longitudinal stripes, but on the upper half of the body only. There is a blob of paint near the tail and a band round the neck.

96. (53-193) Button, steatite, damaged. L.H. III. H. 0.017 m., D. (max.) 0.025 m., D. (min.) 0.009 m.

Button in the shape of a truncated cone (cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 602:1). Black-blue steatite, flecked with white. Chipped in several places.

## TRENCH L. NW Sector.

97. (52-600) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.047 m., W. 0.045 m., Th. (max.) 0.014 m.

Slightly coarse, hard-fired clay with a grey to buff core and pink on the outside. Torso only of a ♀ figurine. The breasts have been broken off. Decoration in red, glossy paint on a yellow slip, consisting of oblique, wavy and irregular lines on both sides of the body.

98. (53-198) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.033 m., W. (existing) 0.05 m., Th. (max.) 0.012 m.

Well-baked, brown to buff clay. ♀ figurine with moulded breasts. The head, one arm, and the lower part of the body are missing. Red to brown, lustrous paint on a buff slip. A band runs from the tip of one arm across the neck to the other arm. There is a further band at the waist. In between, closely set vertical lines, sometimes curved, sometimes wavy.

The crescent-shaped figurines come under type *d* in Blegen's classification (*Prosymna* 358-9). They are generally believed to belong to the latest class stylistically and probably also chronologically. For illustrated examples, see *op. cit.*, fig. 612, 3-5, and Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xv 2.



99. (53-696) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.035 m., W. (face) 0.018 m., D. (head-dress) 0.021 m.  
 Hard-fired, well-levigated, buff clay. Head only preserved. It has a saucer-shaped head-dress which is decorated with a cross on the inside in black, fairly lustrous paint. The outside rim of the 'saucer' is painted with a series of pendent loops. There is a thin band round the forehead with a sketchy fringe underneath. The profile is painted with a thin line, and there are two dots for the eyes. The hanging hair at the back is indicated by an irregular, wavy, vertical band. Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 612 : 1 and 2.

100. (53-697) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.029 m., D. (base) 0.028 m., D. (body) 0.014 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, pink biscuit. The tubular stem with flaring, concave base only preserved. Decoration of four vertical lines unevenly spaced and ending in blobs. Red, fairly lustrous paint.

101. (53-400) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, about half preserved. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.045 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.025 m., Th. of body (max.) 0.02 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-baked, pink to buff clay. Red, glossy paint on a yellow slip. The fore-part of the body only is preserved. It is decorated with oblique, wavy stripes on the near side, and with one oblique and one dog-leg stripe on the off side. There is also one dog-leg stripe on the back near the neck.

#### TRENCH L. NW Sector. Burnt Patch.

102. (53-391) Bead, spacer, stone, dark blue. L.H. III. H. 0.011 m., W. 0.012 m., Th. (max.) 0.003 m.

Roughly square in plan, the bead is carved to represent an argonaut or nautilus in relief. Cf. *AE* 1887, pl. 13, 2 and 3.

It is bored transversally twice, at the upper and lower ends of the bead, and is therefore a spacer. A variant of this type of bead, but with two argonauts juxtaposed, is illustrated in Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 379 : 1.

103. (53-392) Bead, stone, dark blue. L.H. III. H. 0.01 m., W. 0.01 m., Th. 0.003 m.

The shape is quatrefoil. Incised lines divide off the lobes, and the bead is pierced centrally. For the shape, compare *AM* XXXIV, pl. xiii 38, 39.

104. (53-349) Bead, paste, dark blue, about half preserved. L.H. III. H. 0.017 m., D. (max.) 0.018 m., D. (min.) 0.004 m.

The shape is that of a cone resting on a disc base that is broader than the base of the cone. The circumference of the disc is convex and fluted vertically. There were perhaps twenty-four flutes when the bead was complete. The cone is crowned with a knob, and the bead is pierced longitudinally. This would indicate that it was used as a bead rather than a pendant, though the shape suggests the latter.

105. (53-350) Bead, faience, light green. L.H. III. L. 0.0105 m., D. 0.008 m., D. of perforation 0.003 m.

Cylindrical bead with a light-green glaze. The surface is rather powdery where the glaze has worn off. It has a cross-hatched, incised pattern bounded by a line above and below, leaving a narrow free margin at the ends of the bead. This type of bead is not very common, and it is usually longer than our example and undecorated.

106. (53-394) Button, steatite, damaged. L.H. III. H. 0.009 m., D. (max.) 0.019 m., D. (min.) 0.004 m.

This button of dirty light-green steatite is an intermediate form between the more general conical type and the later campaniform shape. Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 602 : 4. Part of the base is missing.

107. (53-796) Gold, sheet, fragments. Shapeless. The largest fragment is c. 0.01 by 0.006 m.

108. (53-393) Lead Vessel, fragment only. H. (existing, max.) 0.04 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.075 m., Th. (average) 0.002 m.

Part of the rim of a lead vessel of unknown shape and dimensions. There is a rough, broken, incised line, parallel with the rim, about 0.002-0.004 m. below it.

#### TRENCH L. NE Sector.

109. (53-692) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.046 m., W. (max.) 0.029 m., D. (of head-dress) 0.021 m.

Fairly well levigated, medium-fired, pink to buff biscuit. Black to brown matt (worn) paint on self-slip(?). Only the upper half of the body is preserved. The arms are very slightly modelled and are folded over the breast. The head is crowned with a saucer-shaped head-dress which is painted on the rim and from which depends a festoon of loops. The forehead is decorated with a band, under which a fringe of hair is just visible. There are two points for the eyes and a line for the nose. Squiggly, vertical lines at the back indicate the 'pigtail'. A ladder pattern passes horizontally round the upper part of the body.

This is a typical example of Blegen's type *c* figurine. Cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 612 : 1 and 2.

110. (53-693) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.048 m., W. (max.) 0.03 m., Th. (max.) 0.021 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard- to medium-fired, pink clay. The head and base are missing. The lower half of the body is in the form of a hollow, conical stem. Red, glossy paint on a buff slip. There is a modelled strip across the breast which represents the arms and which is painted with a horizontal ladder pattern. Above this, vertical lines. The upper part of the back is decorated with four evenly spaced perpendicular lines. Blegen's type *c* figurine.

111. (53-395) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (of head) 0.032 m., W. of horns (existing) 0.025 m., Th. (of neck) 0.01 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, pinkish clay. The head of a long-snouted, horned quadruped. The horns are broken. Red to brown lustrous paint on a buff slip. The muzzle is painted with a longitudinal band, and there are two dots for the eyes. A ladder pattern joins the horns. The back of the neck is decorated with a line of dots, and there is a large blob of paint on the near side of the neck.

112. (53-396) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.027 m., L. (existing) 0.034 m., W. (of body) 0.027 m.

Fairly coarse, hard-fired clay, buff within, pink without. The fore-quarters of an animal figurine only preserved.

The head is missing and the legs are broken. Simple decoration, in red, glossy paint on a pink-buff slip, of two thick bands along the back, and two bands down one leg.

## TRENCH L. SW Sector.

113. (52-534) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.063 m., W. (max.) 0.037 m.

Well-levigated, hard-fired clay.  $\Phi$  figurine, of which the upper part of the body is lacking. The countersunk base is chipped. Red to brown, lustrous paint on a pink to yellow slip. The body is decorated with undulating lines. The sash is indicated in paint at the base of the 'disc'.

114. (52-541) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.052 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.027 m., Th. (max.) 0.012 m.

Rather coarse, hard-fired, green-buff biscuit. The head, part of the stem, and the arms are missing. Possibly a  $\Psi$  type figurine. The breasts are plastically rendered. Decoration in black worn paint of vertical stripes on the back and three vertical stripes on the stem. The pattern on the front is not clear.

115. (52-542) Terracotta. 'Throne', fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. of seat (existing) 0.042 m., W. of seat (existing, max.) 0.02 m., L. of leg (existing) 0.03 m.

Fairly well levigated biscuit with light-grey core and pink outer surface. Part of the back of the seat and a bit of one leg only preserved. The seat is concave and is decorated with cross-hatching in lustrous ruddy-brown paint on a buff slip. There are broad, vertical stripes on the outer part of the leg and on the back part of the seat where it curves towards the vertical. An elaborately decorated 'throne' is figured in Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 619.

116. (52-539) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.097 m., W. of horns (estimated) 0.06 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, yellow-buff clay, containing pebbly grits. The front part of an animal figurine, but minus the head, one horn, and the rear foreleg. It had large, sweeping horns and outstretched legs. Decoration of longitudinal stripes on the body in black to brown, lustrous (but faded) paint. There are two oblique stripes on the rear side of the neck, and two rings round the neck. A broad stripe between the horns, with oblique stripes beneath it.

117. (52-544) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.037 m., D. 0.026 m.

Well-levigated, well-baked, pink-buff clay. The roughly cylindrical torso of an animal figurine with all members (head and limbs) broken off. Three-quarters of the surface is decorated with longitudinal stripes in red, glossy paint. Both the extremities of the cylinder are painted with encircling stripes at right angles to the longitudinal ones.

118. (53-199) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.036 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.0135 m., H. (existing) 0.017 m.

Well-baked and levigated, buff clay. The elongated body of an animal figurine without head or legs. The short tail is turned over and hangs down. Black, lustrous paint on a self-slip(?). There is a thin encircling stripe round the neck and a thin stripe from neck to tail, from which leaf-shaped lines fall vertically on either side.

119. (53-200) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, about two-thirds preserved. L.H. IIIB. L. 0.074 m., W. (existing) 0.022 m., H. (existing) 0.037 m.

Hard-baked, fairly well levigated, pink-buff clay. Elongated body of an animal figurine, but without horns or legs. The principal decoration, in red, lustrous paint on a yellow-buff slip, consists of dots all over the body, except on the under belly. Additional decoration on the back of an inchoate pattern.

120. (53-344) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, about two-thirds preserved. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.062 m., H. (existing) 0.037 m., W. (existing) 0.023 m.

Rather coarse, pink to buff clay. Elongated animal figurine with projecting tapering tail. All the other members are missing except for one foreleg. Red to brown, fairly lustrous paint on pink-buff self-slip(?). The body is painted with four broad longitudinal bands on three-quarters of its surface, the rear side being left free of such decoration. The last-named is painted with four irregular stripes. The off side is also painted with four evenly spaced, thin vertical stripes. The surviving foreleg has two longitudinal bands.

121. (52-597) Terracotta. Pottery cap. L.H. IIIB? W. (max.) 0.063 m., W. (min.) 0.057 m., Th. 0.009 m.

Coarse, hard-fired clay with mica particles, brick-red on one side, brown on the other. Roughly circular shape. Similar object to no. 87 above.

122. (52-595) Button, steatite, slightly worn. L.H. III. H. 0.016 m., D. (max.) 0.026 m., D. (min.) 0.01 m.

Button of purple steatite with white spots (due to pitting of surface). The edges of the base are worn. The shape is that of a truncated cone. Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 602: 1.

123. (52-599) Button, steatite, worn. L.H. III. H. 0.015 m., D. (max.) 0.024 m., D. (min.) 0.01 m.

Button of blue-black steatite, speckled with white through pitting of the surface. Edges worn. Similar to no. 122.

124. (52-533) Arrowhead, flint or chert. L.H. L. 0.029 m., W. (max.) 0.012 m., Th. (max.) 0.001 m.

Translucent, ruddy brown flint or chert. Very finely worked along the edges and on both faces. Mitre-shaped arrow-head with notch at its base. Cf. Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xxix 23a and 23b, and Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 441: 9.

125. (53-748) Beads, stone, two. L.H. (1) L. 0.0045 m., D. 0.0055 m.; (2) L. 0.0035 m., D. 0.0055 m.

The shape of the larger bead is spherical; the smaller, flattened spherical. The stone may be lapis lazuli.

126. (53-792) Beads, miniature, carnelian, eight. L.H. Average D. c. 0.003 m., max. L. 0.0025 m.

Disc or cylindrical shape.

127. (53-741) Plaque, paste, fairly complete, restored. L.H. H. 0.061 m., W. (max.) 0.057 m., Th. 0.0035 m.

Dress ornament of discoloured blue paste, pierced with three holes for attachment. Made from a mould in the shape of an ivy leaf with a tuft supported between the two lobes, the so-called *waz-lily*. The relief decoration consists of two sprays starting from the point of the leaf and curving round to form two spirals within the two lobes. The tuft is made of three groups of three to four leaves each. The attachment holes are pierced as follows: one at the apex of the leaf, and one on either side, on the edge of the leaf near the apex. The shape, but not the filling elements, is the same as that figured in *MP* 271, fig. 36 (L.M. IIIA.1 Main Ornament). The pattern illustrated in Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xxxii 80a is rather similar to our example. Cf. also the gold plaques in *AE* 1888, pl. 9, 5 and 6. Dress ornament attachments in the form of gold sequins are very common (cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 360: 1), but there are not so many examples known in other materials and designs.

- 128.** (53-742) Beads, paste, two. L.H. (1) L. 0.0085 m., D. 0.008 m.; (2) L. 0.006 m., D. 0.0065 m. Spherical beads. The larger, of lapis lazuli blue, is chipped. It has a second perforation, oblique to the first, and may therefore have been used as a spacer bead. The smaller is of turquoise blue colour. It is rather worn.
- 129.** (53-743) Bead, spacer, paste. L.H. L. (existing) 0.015 m., W. (existing) 0.115 m., Th. 0.002 m. Small spacer bead, coloured white and dark blue. Rather worn and pitted. The shape is roughly that of a lozenge or diamond. The design in the ceramic repertory would be classified by Furumark as the *Tri-armed Arch* (MP motive 62). The closest parallel, however, is that of the scale element illustrated in Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 445:5. The design is in relief and has been produced from a mould. It has two parallel vertical perforations, and is therefore a spacer bead.
- 130.** (53-744) Bead, paste. L.H. L. 0.01 m., D. (max.) 0.0055 m., D. (min.) 0.0025 m. Pear-shaped paste bead of lapis lazuli blue, slightly worn. The bead is carved into three lobes, so that it has a trefoil section. The back of each lobe is incised with a longitudinal line. The shape is unusual. It is no doubt related to the 'Grain of Wheat' (cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 599:13).
- 131.** (53-745) Bead, spacer, paste. L.H. H. 0.012 m., W. 0.012 m., Th. 0.002 m. Spacer bead in the shape of an argonaut and identical to no. 102. Dark-blue colour. Slightly worn.
- 132.** (53-746) Bead, paste. L.H. L. 0.003 m., W. 0.0025 m., Th. 0.0025 m. Square to rectangular shape. Worn surface. Originally green, now almost white.
- 133.** (53-791) Beads, miniature, paste, eight. L.H. D. (of largest) 0.004 m., D. (of smallest) 0.002 m. One spherical bead of deep blue, two flattened spherical beads of white colour, one white segmented bead, four disc-shaped beads (three light blue, the other white). The segmented bead is made up of two segments (total length 0.003 m.). Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 599:7.
- 134.** (52-536) Pin or needle, bone, fragment only. L.H. L. (existing) 0.027 m., D. (existing) 0.003 m. The point of a pin or needle of polished bone.
- 135.** (53-747) Bead, bone. L.H. L. 0.0095 m., D. 0.0065 m., D. (bore hole) 0.002 m. Cylindrical bead, discoloured greenish white. It is incised with a lattice pattern identical to that on no. 105.
- 136.** (53-750) Bead, biconical, gold. L.H. L. 0.0035 m., D. 0.003 m. Rounded biconical bead, similar to the one described in *BSA XLV* (1950), 213, no. 11. The bead is pierced with two additional holes to the thread holes.
- 137.** (52-489) Awl?, bronze, incomplete. L.H. L. (existing) 0.075 m., Th. (max.) 0.005 m. Both tips of the object are missing. It is square in section and tapers at both ends, but at one end more than the other. Bronze, discoloured dirty green, and much corroded. The instrument appears to be similar to no. 88.
- 138.** (53-699) Nail, bronze, incomplete. L. (existing) 0.018 m., D. (head) 0.011 m., D. (stem) 0.0025 m. Part of the stem is missing. The head, which is cracked and has been mended, is convex. The under side of it is also convex. Bronze, with concretions, discoloured dark green.
- 139.** (53-749) Rivet, miniature, bronze. L.H. H. (existing) 0.007 m., D. (cap) 0.006 m., D. (stem) 0.0045 m. Small rivet, dark-green colour, probably belonging to a knife or dagger. Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 215:8. Distorted shape and corroded surface.
- 140.** (53-793) Implement, bronze, incomplete. L.H. L. (existing) 0.037 m., W. 0.006 m. Strip of metal of square section, broken at both ends. Possibly part of an awl.
- 141.** (53-649) Vessel, lead, incomplete. L.H. Measurements not possible. Very crushed and fragmentary state. Perhaps a cauldron.

## TRENCH L. SE Sector.

- 142.** (52-289) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.049 m., Th. (max.) 0.023 m.

Hard-fired, well-levigated, pink-buff biscuit. Only the arm of the figurine has been preserved. It does not correspond to any of the known types. It is bent at right angles at the elbow and ends in a mittened hand. Decoration in red to brown paint of a broad encircling band on the arm above the elbow and another around the wrist. Thick longitudinal stripe on the palm of the hand.

The figurine is probably a variant of the crescent-shaped type (Blegen's type *d*). Cf. also the two figurine fragments illustrated in Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, 216, fig. 50, and Wace's comments, *ibid.* 215.

- 143.** (52-545) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.035 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.031 m.

Well-levigated, well-fired, yellow-buff biscuit.  $\Psi$  type of figurine with hollow stem. Part of the stem, head, and one arm are missing. Decoration of vertical to oblique, slightly waving stripes in dark-brown, fairly lustrous paint on the body. Six vertical stripes on the stem and encircling band for waist and neck. The breasts are plastically rendered.

- 144.** (52-288) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, about three-quarters preserved. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.051 m., H. (existing) 0.035 m.

Medium-fired, well-levigated, buff clay, fired pink in places. Animal figurine with curled-over and hanging tail. Head, tip of tail, and tips of legs missing. Longitudinal stripe, in red to brown, glossy paint, on the back and on the underbelly of the animal. Vertical stripes on either side of the body.

- 145.** (52-543) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB.

Fairly well levigated, well-fired, buff clay. The rear portion of the animal only is preserved, and of this the tail and off hind-leg are lacking. The body is chipped. Broad stripe, in red, glossy paint, along the back and over the tail. Broad stripes round the body and down the leg, at right angles to the first-mentioned stripe.

- 146.** (53-695) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.06 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.028 m., Th. of body (max.) 0.021 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, dark-pink clay. Hind part of long, tubular, animal figurine, minus all members. Decoration of seven irregular, wavy bands in rich brown, lustrous paint on a buff slip.

## TRENCH G.

- 147.** (52-535) Terracotta. Figurine, female, about two-thirds preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.062 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.045 m.



Well-refined, hard-baked clay. Red to brown, lustrous paint on a pinkish-yellow slip. ♀ type figurine with modelled breasts. The head and arms are missing. The base and surface are chipped. Decoration of vertical stripes on torso, a broad horizontal stripe at the waist, and five vertical lines on the stem.

148. (52-486) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.025 m., D. (min.) 0.011 m.

Well-refined, hard-fired, pink-buff biscuit. Only the stem is preserved, which is decorated with vertical wavy stripes in red, lustrous paint.

149. (52-532) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.042 m., H. (existing) 0.022 m., D. (body) 0.013 m.

Well-refined, well-baked, yellow clay, discoloured green on one side (by fire?). The rear part of an elongated animal figurine, preserving the tail but not the legs. Decorated with a line down the back in black to brown, lustrous paint. Vertical stripes on either side of the body.

150. (52-487) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.047 m., H. of head (existing) 0.038 m., D. of neck 0.02 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, yellow clay. Only the head is preserved, and this lacks one horn and the other is broken. It is decorated with longitudinal, wavy stripes on the neck. The eyes are indicated by large circles with central dots.

TRENCH G. Found above and near skeleton.

151. (52-537) Terracotta. Figurine, female, about half preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.052 m., W. (existing, max.) 0.025 m.

Well-levigated and well-fired, pink-buff clay. Φ type of figurine with the arms represented plastically across the chest. The stem, part of one arm, and most of the other are missing. Ruddy brown, glossy paint on a yellow slip. Bird-like head painted in profile with two splodges for the eyes. Thick, wavy lines pass obliquely over the body, except over the right arm, where the lines run at right angles to the others.

This appears to be Blegen's type c figurine.

152. (52-198) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.034 m., H. (existing) 0.033 m., Th. (neck) 0.009 m.

Well-levigated and well-fired clay with white grits. Only the head is preserved. Ears or horns missing. One side is badly chipped. Muddy brown, fairly lustrous paint on a yellow slip. Wavy, longitudinal stripes on the head and neck. One eye indicated by a painted dot within a circle.

153. (52-199) Terracotta. Spindle-whorl, worn surface. L.H. H. 0.025 m., D. (max.) 0.035 m., D. (hole) 0.008 m.

Fairly coarse, hard-fired clay with traces of blue-black paint. The shape is spherical, and it is pierced centrally. This object may be a button. If so, it may belong to L.H. I or II. (See Blegen, *Prosymna* 312-13.)

154. (52-538) Needle, bone, incomplete. L.H. L. (existing) 0.038 m., D. 0.003 m.

The needle has a hole pierced near the base. The point is broken. Polished bone.

155. (52-540) Gold sheet. L.H. L. 0.005 m., W. 0.003 m.

TRENCH F.

156. (53-93) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.024 m., W. of horns (existing) 0.057 m., Th. (neck) 0.023 m.

Well-fired, pink-buff clay. Head of horned quadruped only preserved. The tips of the horns are missing. Ruddy brown to black, slightly lustrous paint on a buff slip. There is a thick band round the muzzle and a thin stripe running from the nose between the horns and down the neck. A parallel band starts from each horn and passes down the neck.

157. (53-96) Terracotta. Object of unknown use. L.H.? L. (existing) 0.057 m., W. (max.) 0.029 m., W. (min.) 0.015 m., Th. (max.) 0.022 m.

Coarse, hard-fired, pinkish-brown to black clay. This curious object consists of two hollow receptacles connected by a thick strip of clay which is attached to the rims. In its present state of preservation (the object is obviously broken) the receptacles are tilted away from one another. The workmanship is very crude, and one end is badly broken.

158. (53-92) Terracotta. Spool, slightly damaged. L.H.? H. 0.05 m., D. (max.) 0.034 m., D. (min.) 0.023 m. Rather coarse, pink-buff clay with some mica. Undecorated. Spool-shaped object, with convex ends. The top is chipped. Cf. Waldstein, *AH II* 44.

159. (53-95) Needle or pin, bone, incomplete. L.H. III? L. (existing) 0.048 m., W. (max.) 0.005 m.

Needle or pin with rectangular section, tapering to a point. Only the point is preserved.

TRENCH E.

160. (53-348) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.017 m., W. (existing) 0.042 m., Th. (max.) 0.0085 m.

Fairly well levigated, hard-baked clay, buff within, pink without. The upper part of a ♀ figurine, but lacking the head and parts of the arms. Decoration of three vertical stripes in red, glossy paint on a buff slip, both front and back.

161. (53-191) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, incomplete. L.H. III? L. (existing) 0.035 m., W. (max.) 0.015 m., W. (min.) 0.01 m.

Fairly well levigated, medium-fired, buff clay. The head and forelimbs are missing. The hind-quarters have been pierced for suspension. Undecorated.

162. (53-397) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.035 m., W. (max.) 0.015 m.

Slightly coarse, hard-fired, pinkish-buff clay. Tapering leg, or possibly horn, of animal figurine. It is painted with two thick and two medium longitudinal stripes in pairs. Dark to ruddy brown, lustrous paint on a self-slip(?).

163. (53-398) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.027 m., W. (existing) 0.02 m., D. (body) 0.017 m.



Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, light-brown clay. Fore-part of elongated animal figurine only preserved. Head and limbs are missing. Ruddy brown to black, glossy paint on a yellow slip. Decoration of a longitudinal stripe down the back with vertical stripes on either side of the body. There is an encircling band round the lower part of the neck and three vertical stripes on the near side of the neck.

**164.** (53-192) Terracotta. Button or spindle-whorl, fragment only. L.H. H. (existing) 0.0085 m., D. 0.026 m. Very coarse, dirty brown clay with black and white grits. Black, polished surface. The shape appears to be that of a truncated cone, but the upper portion is not preserved and only just over half of the lower. The under surface of the base is slightly concave. There is a central vertical perforation. Possibly a button of L.H. I or II (cf. Blegen, *Prosymna* 312-13).

**165.** (53-691) Blade, obsidian, incomplete. L.H. III? L. (existing) 0.028 m., W. (max.) 0.009 m., Th. (max.) 0.003 m.

Flake struck from an obsidian core, flat on the lower surface and with three facets on the upper surface. The bulb of percussion can be seen on the lower surface. The blade, of which the tip is missing, has jagged edges due to secondary working. Opaque, fairly shiny obsidian. This is a Neolithic type of blade, but its continuance in use in later times is vouched for by an example in a L.H. III tomb at Prosymna. (Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna* 459. Cf. also E.H. specimens, Blegen, *Zygouries* 198, fig. 187.)

**166.** (53-698) Awl-cum-chisel, bronze. L.H. III? L. 0.078 m., W. (max.) 0.005 m., W. of chisel blade 0.002 m. Implement of square section, tapering at both ends. One end terminates in a point (awl); the other tapers to a very narrow cutting edge (chisel).

**167.** (53-346) Ring, lead, worn surface. L.H. III? D. (max.) 0.023 m., D. (min.) 0.017 m. Plain lead ring with carinated outer edge. The surface is very uneven.

#### TRENCH D.

**168.** (53-694) Button, steatite, damaged. L.H. III. H. 0.009 m., D. (max.) 0.025 m., D. (min.) 0.012 m. Button of the usual Mycenaean type (truncated cone). Dark-purple steatite flecked with white and red. The base is chipped in several places.

**169.** (53-700) Chisel?, bronze, incomplete. L.H. III? L. (existing) 0.036 m., W. (max.) 0.004 m. Broken implement of corrugated bronze. Strip of metal, roughly square in section, tapering to a narrow chisel edge at one end. The other end is broken. It is probably a similar instrument to no. 166, described above.

#### TRENCH M.

**170.** (53-100) Needle or pin, bone, incomplete. L.H. III? L. (existing) 0.067 m., W. (max.) 0.009 m., W. (min.) 0.004 m.

Bone pin or needle with rectangular section tapering to a point. Only the point is preserved.

## II. POST-MYCENAEAN POTTERY

#### TRENCH G.

**171.** (52-636) Kotyle, three fragments only. Protocorinthian. Rim fragment. H. 0.068 m., W. 0.107 m. Body fragment. H. 0.062 m., W. 0.084 m. Base. D. 0.057 m.

Well-refined, hard-baked, yellow clay, fired red in places. The many fragments of this cup have been mended into three groups, rim, body of the vase, and base; but none of the groups join up. It is a conical bowl with convex sides and well-marked ring base. The inside of the cup and the lower half of the body is painted solid in red to black, lustrous paint. The upper half of the body is decorated with closely set, horizontal, thin lines up to the rim, where there is a zone of serrated vertical strokes. A very common type of cup and decoration. Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 319: 1119, and fig. 249: 613.

**172.** (52-637) Kotyle, fragment only. Protocorinthian. H. 0.073 m., W. 0.127 m.

Well-refined, hard-baked, yellow clay, fired pink in places. Part of the rim only preserved, including the stump of a horizontal loop handle. The shape and decoration in red to black, lustrous paint is similar to no. 171, except that the design on the rim consists of panels of reversed *sigmas* alternating with groups of vertical strokes.

#### TRENCH F.

**173.** (52-591) Aryballos, about three-quarters preserved. Protocorinthian. H. 0.049 m., D. (max.) 0.044 m., D. (base) 0.018 m.

Rather soft-fired, well-levigated clay, fired pink to buff. Shape of Early Protocorinthian aryballos. Rim, handle, small part of the body and of the base are missing. Red, lustrous paint on a pink-buff slip. Decoration of closely set horizontal lines on the body. Rays, swollen at the tip, radiating from the neck of the vase. For shape and design cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 1, 1.

**174.** (52-592) Kotyle, fragment only. Protocorinthian. H. (existing) 0.036 m., D. (max., estimated) 0.064 m., D. (base) 0.036 m.

Well-levigated, hard-fired biscuit. The base and lower half of the body only preserved. Similar cup to no. 171. The vase is painted solid inside and on the lower half of the outside. Two horizontal lines only preserved of the rest of the decoration.

**175.** (53-141) Kotyle, fragment only. Protocorinthian. H. (existing) 0.081 m., W. (existing) 0.09 m., D. (estimated) 0.16 m.

Well-refined, well-baked, pink to buff clay. Similar cup to no. 171. Small section of the rim and body only preserved. Rim decoration similar to no. 172. Red to brown, lustrous paint on a yellow slip.

## APPENDIX

Reference is made in *BSA* XLVIII (1953), 25 to well  $\xi$  (marked 'Well' on PLATE 19; FIG. 1), from which a great many potsherds, dating from Mycenaean to Archaic, were extracted. The following small objects were also found in this well:

1. (52-382) Terracotta. Figurine, female, about two-thirds preserved. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.043 m., W. (max.) 0.035 m., Th. (max.) 0.017 m.  
Well-levigated, well-fired, buff biscuit. The head and base are missing. Blegen's *c* type of figurine (*Prosymna*, fig. 612: 1 and 2). Decoration in black-brown, slightly lustrous paint.
2. (52-383) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.024 m., W. (max.) 0.032 m., Th. (max.) 0.014 m.  
Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, buff clay. Upper portion of body of a  $\Psi$  figurine with part of the head. Arms broken off. Breasts and 'pigtail' plastically rendered. Decoration, in red to dark-brown, fairly lustrous paint, of vertical and oblique lines across the body.
3. (52-386) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.047 m., W. (max.) 0.024 m., Th. (max.) 0.015 m.  
Well-levigated, well-fired, buff biscuit. Stem only of female figurine. Part of the base missing. The stem has a concave base. It is decorated with three vertical stripes in red to brown, glossy paint.
4. (52-387) Terracotta. Figurine, female, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. H. (existing) 0.033 m., W. (max.) 0.047 m., Th. (at base) 0.008 m.  
Fairly well levigated, hard-fired, pink-buff clay. Figurine of  $\Phi$  type, but the upper part of the torso only is preserved. Breasts and 'pigtail' are modelled. Decoration of undulating vertical stripes in red to brown, fairly lustrous paint.
5. (52-381) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, about three-quarters preserved. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.082 m., W. (max.) 0.02 m.  
Well-levigated, hard-fired, buff biscuit. Elongated animal figurine. Tips of muzzle, legs, and tail are missing. Neck, body, and limbs are thickly outlined in red to brown lustreless (faded?) paint. The back is decorated with a ladder pattern.
6. (52-388) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.027 m., W. (max.) 0.026 m., D. (neck) 0.01 m.  
Well-refined, well-fired, buff clay. Head of animal figurine with a stump projecting from the back of the neck that suggests that it formed part of a chariot group. Cf. Wace, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. xxiv 3 and 4. Black, fairly lustrous paint. Decoration of vertical stripes on the neck and encircling bands round the muzzle and nape of neck.
7. (52-389) Terracotta. Figurine, animal, fragment only. L.H. IIIB. L. (existing) 0.033 m., H. (existing) 0.023 m., Th. (body) 0.017 m.  
Well-refined, well-baked, buff clay. Rear part of an animal figurine but without legs. Decoration of horizontal stripes in black paint, but almost completely effaced.
8. (52-385) Button, steatite. L.H. III. H. 0.009 m., D. (max.) 0.021 m.  
Campaniform button (cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, fig. 602: 5). Dark-green steatite. Slightly chipped. The less usual form of the Mycenaean button.
9. (52-384) Bead, faience, worn surface. L.H. III. L. 0.007 m., D. 0.011 m.  
Flattened spherical bead. The original glaze, that may have been blue, has worn off. It is now white.

W. D. TAYLOR

## MYCENAE 1939-1954

### PART V. A GRAFFITO FROM THE PERSEIA AREA

A visitor to Mycenae, perhaps in the middle or later part of the fourth century B.C., has left a record of his presence there in the form of a neatly-cut *graffito* written diagonally across a block of marble, probably a threshold found built into a wall near the Perseia fountain-house.<sup>1</sup> The letters individually are well formed: they appear to diminish in size as the name progresses, but in fact do not do so: the deception may be due to a gradual rise from the horizontal line of the first three or four letters, plus a narrowing horizontal spacing. The cutting is broad and shallow, the name having, as it seems, been gouged out with some bluntish instrument measuring about 0.004 m. in width. Height of letters *c.* 0.03 m. Photograph (FIG.) from a squeeze now in the collection of the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge.

EYZIOEOΣ



The name is ordinary enough. For Athenian examples see Kirchner, *PA* 5900-11, *Hesperia*, Indices *s.v.*, etc. The best-known holder of it, not there quoted, was the potter of the late sixth century (Beazley, *ARV* 16, 34, 38). From the Argolid only one instance is quoted (*IG* IV 616.17), and that uncertain.

A. G. WOODHEAD

<sup>1</sup> See p. 203.

# MYCENAE 1939-1954

## PART VI. THREE GEOMETRIC TOMBS

(PLATES 46-49)

DURING the excavations at Mycenae in 1953, a Protogeometric cist burial was discovered in the House of Shields, sunk into the floor of its west room. This burial, numbered Tomb PG 601, was published, with other burials, in *BSA* XLIX 258 ff. In the summer of 1954 Pro-

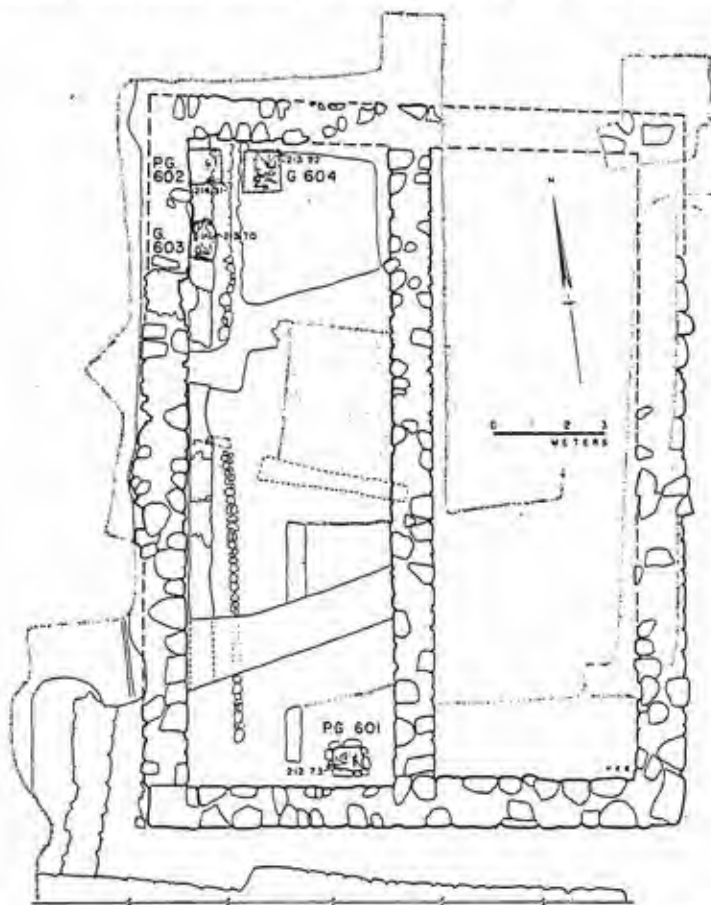


FIG. 1.—MYCENAE: HOUSE OF SHIELDS, SKETCH PLAN TO SHOW POSITIONS OF GEOMETRIC GRAVES.

fessor Wace uncovered three further burials in the House of Shields. These, at his most kind invitation, I publish here.<sup>1</sup>

*General situation* (FIG. 1). Whereas tomb PG 601 was found at the southern end of the

<sup>1</sup> The graves were excavated by T. L. Shear, Jr., and my report, unfortunately not that of an eye-witness, is based on the excellent notes made by him. I acknowledge, therefore, my debt to him, as also to Professor Wace; and to Dr. J. L. Angel for the information concerning the skeletal remains.



west room of the House of Shields, these three, here numbered 602, 603, and 604, appeared in the north-western corner of this same room. Only a few feet separate the one from the others, as will be clear from the plan, and 602 and 603 seem to have been placed under the shelter of the west wall. The area had been to a certain extent disturbed, but whether there may have been further burials between 601 and this group of three I cannot tell. None was found in the excavation.

#### TOMB PG 602 (PLATE 46, b)

As will be clear from the view showing the skeletal remains and other objects of this tomb *in situ*, the burial has suffered from later over-building or other disturbance. Indeed, we are fortunate to get so much of it as we have, as there is no sign that it was in any way protected, though I presume it to be not impossible that the stone covering, that may once have existed, was at some later time removed and used for other purposes.

The remains of the tomb lie in the north-west angle of the House of Shields. It was dug into the clay. It contained one complete skeleton, that of a young female lying on her back with the legs drawn up and the knees turned towards the left, the head being turned to the right. There were also the remains of two children, aged about six or seven. Two vases only were found, the one (a pyxis) in close proximity to the skull of the adult, the other, a hand-made jug, to her right.

#### Description of Vases.

1. PLATE 47, f. Inv. no. 54-219. *Pyxis*. H. 0.075. Max D. 0.08 m. D. of mouth 0.06 m. D. of base 0.04 m. Wheel-made. Clay, good fabric but rather soft; greyish buff, pink buff on the surface. Paint red to black, much perished. Ring foot. The outside of the vase is painted over except for two reserved bands round the belly. One or two fragments only are missing.

2. PLATE 47, c. Inv. no. 54-220. *Trefoil-lipped oinochoe*. H. 0.186 m. Max. D. 0.16 m. Hand-made. Clay, fairly gritty and rather hard; yellowish buff, surface carefully polished. Unpainted. A few fragments are missing.

#### Commentary

There are two points of interest: the date of the burial and the appearance of the hand-made vase.

The date depends on whether it is possible to identify the period to which the little wheel-made pyxis belongs. It is not a particularly distinguished vase; the nearest parallels to it, so far as I can see, are the pyxis from the late Protogeometric tomb group found at Vello in the Corinthia,<sup>2</sup> and a similar vase, of uncertain provenience, in the collection of the British School at Athens.<sup>3</sup> It is more globular than these, and in that respect closer to pyxides of Attic Protogeometric origin. I would class it as probably late Protogeometric, though there is no proof that this shape could not, in this region, have continued to be made in early Geometric contexts.<sup>4</sup> Such a dating (probably late Protogeometric or possibly early Geometric) is fully consonant with the dates of the adjacent burials, as will be seen, and with that of Tomb PG 601.<sup>5</sup> The external evidence thus tends to confirm the internal.

The second point, the appearance of the hand-made vase, is a matter for stress rather than for explanation. Hand-made vases were prominent in Grave G II in the Prehistoric Cemetery,<sup>6</sup> but did not appear in the Protogeometric tomb,<sup>7</sup> and are, I believe, most rare in tombs of the Mycenaean period. On the other hand, such vases are fairly common in the Protogeometric

<sup>2</sup> Corinth VII 1, 6, pl. 1, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 198 and pl. 29 c.

<sup>4</sup> It might even have continued into Geometric in Attica: cf. *Kerameikos* V i, pl. 51.

<sup>5</sup> BSA XLIX 259 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 261 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 259.

tombs at Tiryns and Asine; and each of the three tombs here published has its hand-made vase. It should be noted that these vases, though not of the fine delicate fabric as found in Grave G II, are of better quality than the ordinary coarse pot. This will appear more clearly in the case of Tomb G 603.

Why one or more vases of hand-made ware should be numbered among the funerary furnishings of the dead is a question which may well be impossible to answer; but it should not be disregarded. Certainly it is quite common for handmade pots to be found in graves at this period, not only in the Argolid but also in the Corinthia and in Attica.

#### TOMB G 603 (PLATE 46, c)

This is the richest of the three burials described here, and contained one body only, that of a youth about twenty-three years old. The excavator reports that the skeleton and associated objects were lying at a point '0.40 m. deep below the surface of the bench running along the west wall of the house. Some of the foundation stones of the bench have been removed so as to form a poorly constructed cist with stones surrounding it.'

The skeleton lay with its head towards the north and turned right, on its back, with the legs drawn up and the knees facing to the left; the hands were laid together on the breast. Three small linked rings were found on the right ear, in the position of an earring; a bronze pin lay on each shoulder, with the point towards the feet; three of the fingers of the right hand had a bronze ring on them. The bow of a fibula was also found. All these small finds are in reasonable condition, as were the ten vases placed in various positions on and around the skeleton (these may be clearly seen on PLATE 46, c, though the metal objects are not discernible).

#### Description of Contents

##### Pottery: Wheel-made.

1. PLATE 48, b. Inv. no. 54-261. *Trefoil-lipped oinochoe*. H. 0.19 m. Max. D. 0.12 m. D. of base 0.095 m. Clay hard and carefully prepared; pinkish, pink on the surface. Paint red-brown to black. Complete and unbroken. Ribbon handle, barred. Ring base. Shape and decoration as on PLATE 48, b; note the thin band of paint inside the lip; also the zigzag on the neck panel, very roughly drawn.

2. PLATE 48, f. Inv. no. 54-262. *Trefoil-lipped oinochoe*. H. 0.26 m. Max. D. 0.16 m. D. of foot 0.067 m. Clay finely levigated, fired fairly hard; greenish-grey, grey on the surface. Paint brown-black firing orange, almost entirely rubbed off. Complete except for broken lip and chipped foot. Ribbon handle, barred. Ring base. Shape and decoration as on PLATE 48, f; note the thick band of paint round the outer lip. The whole of the outside of the vase was originally painted, except for the zone round the belly, and the bars on the handle.

3. PLATE 48, c. Inv. no. 54-266. *Miniature trefoil-lipped oinochoe*. H. 0.088 m. Max. D. 0.075 m. D. of foot 0.061 m. Clay hard, good quality; buff, pinkish buff on surface. Dark-brown paint, lustrous. Complete and unbroken. Ribbon handle, barred. Flat base. Shape and decoration as on PLATE 48, c; there are four sets of the rough chevrons, and there are supposed to be two bands at the base of the neck, but they are so badly drawn that they tend to merge. The poverty of the draughtsmanship as contrasted, for instance, with that of 54-269, is remarkable.

4. PLATE 47, a. Inv. no. 54-263. *Pyxis*. H. 0.12 m. Max. D. 0.12 m. D. of base 0.074 m. D. of mouth 0.075 m. Clay hard, good quality; greenish grey. Paint purplish grey to black. Complete and unbroken except for one chip off the lip. Shape and decoration as on PLATE 47, a; note that the paint stops a fraction of a centimetre above the base, which is flat. I have called this a pyxis, although there is no indication of the lid that a pyxis would usually have; I know of no exact parallel to it.

5. PLATE 47, d. Inv. no. 54-269. *Pyxis*. H. 0.12 m. Max. D. 0.079 m. D. of mouth 0.045 m. Clay hard, good quality; buff. Dark-brown paint, perished in places. Complete and unbroken. The lip splays slightly, and the vertical handles are just big enough for string or wire to pass through horizontally. Apart from this, the shape and decoration are as on PLATE 47, d, but note: the inside of the lip is not painted; there is a vertical band of paint down each handle; there are four sets of cross-hatched triangles on the one side, three on the other, with the addition of a row of vertical dots by one of the handles; the dot of paint in the angle of one of the zigzags on the belly, visible on PLATE 47, d, is apparently not accidental, as it is repeated in just about the same position on the side that is not visible.

6. PLATE 47, e. Inv. no. 54-270. *Pyxis*. H. 0.075 m. Max. D. 0.066 m. D. of mouth 0.03 m. Clay hard, good quality; buff, yellowish buff on the surface. Paint very dark, rather dirty, brown. Complete and unbroken. The rim is rounded, and the two lugs are pierced vertically for string or wire to pass through. Apart from this, shape and decoration are as on PLATE 47, e; it will be seen that the painter had such difficulty in compressing three sets of cross-hatched triangles between the lugs (there are three sets on each side) that the bases have overlapped.

7. PLATE 48, *d*. Inv. no. 54-265. *Belly-handled amphora*. H. 0.275 m. Max. D. 0.155 m. D. of foot 0.075 m. D. of mouth 0.127 m. Clay hard, well levigated; buff, pinkish buff on the surface. Dark reddish-brown paint. This vase has lost a largish part of the lip and neck. The lip flares sharply; the foot has a rounded edge. Shape and decoration are otherwise as on PLATE 48, *d*, but note: the inside of the mouth has a very deep band of paint; the flat top of the rim has three sets of paint-strokes, eleven in one case, ten in the second, and an unknown number in the third; the neck is unusually long; the area beneath the handles is unpainted.

8. PLATE 48, *a*. Inv. no. 54-267. *Two-handled cup*. H. 0.097 m. Max. D. 0.134 m. D. of foot 0.06 m. D. of mouth 0.132 m. Clay greyish brown, buff on the surface. Dark-brown paint. The major part of one handle has been lost, together with corresponding pieces of rim and body; the vase is otherwise in good condition. The lip is swept back from the body, and upwards in a concave curve so as not to overhang the body. The ribbon handle has a sharp bend in it. The base is splayed and slightly raised. The decoration is as on PLATE 48, *a*, but note: the inside of the vase is covered with paint with the exception of a reserved band just below the rim; the outlining of the panel, on both sides, is very crudely rendered; there is a similar abbreviated triple plain meander on the side not visible on PLATE 48, *a*, though there are no corresponding lateral strokes in one corner.

9. PLATE 48, *e*. Inv. no. 54-268. *Goblet*. H. 0.145 m. Max. D. 0.172 m. D. of foot 0.085 m. D. of mouth 0.165 m. Clay hard, good quality; greyish buff, buff on the surface. Dark-brown paint, rather lustrous. A few sherds are missing. The distinction between lip and body is not so marked as in the preceding vase (no. 8). The high foot flares gradually to a sort of flattish platform. The decoration is as on PLATE 48, *e*, but note: the vase is painted inside with the exception of a reserved band just beneath the rim; the area beneath the handles is unpainted; there are three reserved bands near the base of the body.

### Pottery: Hand-made.

1. PLATE 47, *b*. Inv. no. 54-264. *Neck-handled amphora*. H. 0.175 m. Max. D. 0.135 m. D. of base 0.063 m. D. of mouth 0.077 m. Clay coarse; pinkish buff, smoothed buff surface. This is a vase of Pic Ware;<sup>8</sup> except for a chip

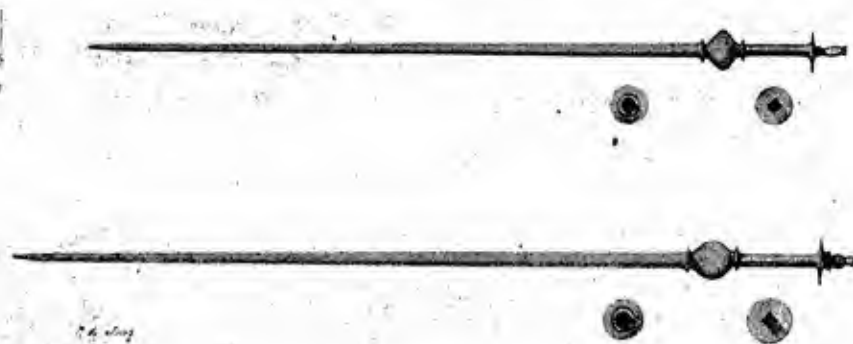


FIG. 2.—SCALE ABOUT 2 : 3.

off the rim, it is complete and unbroken. The base is flat. The shape is as shown on PLATE 47, *b*. The decoration is incised: a simple zigzag, with the strokes unconnected, runs round the rim, while a similar simple zigzag, consisting of a series of unconnected chevrons, was incised vertically down the handles. There is a small plastic knob at the base of each handle.

### Bronze.

1. PLATE 49, *f*; FIG. 2. Inv. no. 54-161. (*a*) Length 0.15 m. Thickness 0.002 m. This is a delicately made pin. The head is quite elaborate, and below it comes a flat, circular disk; then, a short way down the rectangular shank, there is a conical bulb, flanked above and below by a collar; the rest of the pin is circular in section. (*b*) Length 0.168 m. Thickness 0.003 m. This pin is also well made, but not quite so well as the first; the head is not so delicately moulded (the tip may be missing), and the bulb is globular rather than conical.

2. PLATE 49, *f*. Inv. no. 54-162. *Three finger rings*. These were found, as may be seen, attached to their respective fingers; two of them have a raised ridge round the middle, the third is plain. Their diameters are 0.019 m., and their thicknesses 0.001 m.

3. PLATE 49, *f*. Inv. no. 54-163. *Three ear(?) rings, linked*. In no case is a complete circle formed; they were unbroken. D. 0.01 m. Thickness 0.001 m.

4. PLATE 49, *f*; FIG. 3. Inv. no. 54-164. *Fibula*. Pin lost. Length (as preserved) 0.115 m. Thickness varies. Details of the construction, with a section on twice the scale, are visible on FIG. 3. The workmanship is very fine for this period, and the slot (experimental?) above the spring is without parallel.

<sup>8</sup> Wace, *Mycenae* 84 and fig. 106, *b*; *BSA* XLIX 264 *f*.

## Commentary

This is a group of considerable interest; it can be dated with reasonable certainty to the very beginning of the Geometric period; it is indeed the largest group of vases of this period that has as yet appeared at Mycenae. There are striking resemblances between these vases and those of Grave XXVI at the Athenian Agora,<sup>9</sup> and this is the first time a group of this type has appeared outside Attica; it shows a continuation in the Argolid of the dependence on Attica

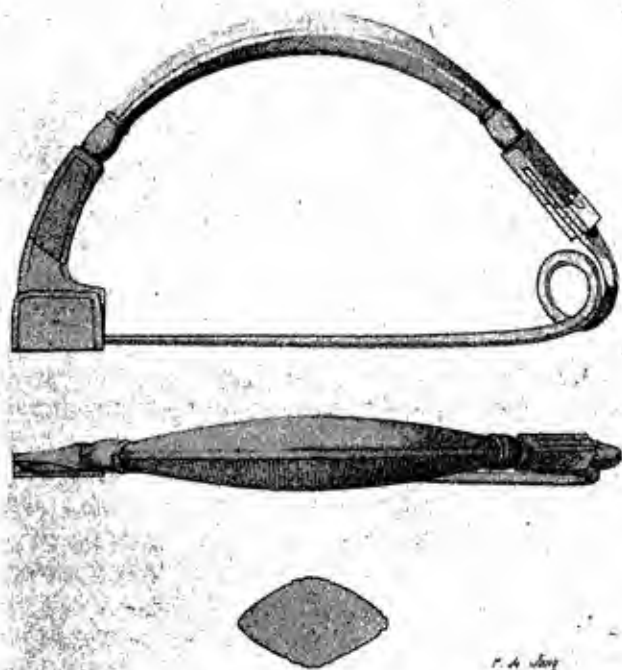


FIG. 3.—SCALE ABOUT 4:5.

for ceramic ideas (or of a community of ideas between the two areas), such as is visible in Late Protogeometric and in Early Geometric.

How far can the parallel be taken between this tomb and that, just mentioned, from the Agora?

There is, to start with, the radical difference of method of burial. It is, of course, well known that inhumation continued to be the practice in the Argolid, while cremation was universal in Attica, at least for adults.

What, then, of the vases? Certain shapes found in Tomb G 603 are local, notably the Pic Ware amphora, and the two small pyxides, though it should be noted that there is a conical pyxis in Tomb XXVI.<sup>10</sup> The larger pyxis is unusual, and not found elsewhere in the Argolid; somewhat similar vases were found in the Kerameikos Protogeometric tombs.<sup>11</sup> The belly-handled amphora, with its long neck, has no parallel in Attica. The stemmed goblet has no

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia* XVIII 275 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* XVIII, pl. 68, 4. For Argive parallels, cf. *Tiryns* I 156, fig. 19 and pl. XVI 12.

<sup>11</sup> *Kerameikos* I, pls. 50 and 61.



parallel in the Agora grave, but there is one of similar shape from an Early Geometric tomb at Marathon.<sup>12</sup> The two-handled cup has several close neighbours in Tomb XXVI,<sup>13</sup> though the foot and handles and rim differ.<sup>14</sup> The miniature oinochoe has similar relatives.<sup>15</sup>

The broad-based oinochoe has no parallel in the Agora tomb, but it is a good Early Geometric shape. The ovoid oinochoe, finally, a survival from the Protogeometric style, is certainly represented in Tomb XXVI.<sup>16</sup> There are thus numerous points of contact for shape, and it is noticeable that the types of vase used in each burial are the same—amphora, pyxides, trefoil-lipped oinochoai, two-handled cups; even the stemmed goblet of Tomb G 603 finds an echo in the stemmed two-handled cup of Tomb XXVI.<sup>17</sup>

The similarities are not limited to shape. The general scheme of decoration is very much the same: a dark ground series, with most of the vase painted over in the case of the amphorae and oinochoai, small panels for the two-handled cups and the stemmed goblet, rather more of the body given over to decoration in the case of the pyxides. Details of decoration lead to the same conclusion; indeed, the parallelism between our two-handled cup and those from the Agora, with the self-same abbreviated simple meander, is most remarkable. The cross-hatched triangles of the Mycenaean pyxides are repeated on the miniature oinochoai of the Agora, and it is curious to note that the set of vertical dots placed between two cross-hatched triangles on one of the Agora vases<sup>18</sup> has its counterpart on our pyxis no. 5. The miniature oinochoe in G 603 has admittedly no cross-hatched triangles, but it has the next best thing. Apart from this, the dog-tooth ornament of the Mycenaean amphora is found on the Agora one, though placed differently. And the rough zigzag to be seen on four of our vases appears on the ovoid oinochoe, mentioned above, from the Agora tomb—and is indeed a very common motive on Athenian vases of this and of the immediately preceding period. There are, in fact, only two motives on the vases of the Mycenaean group which do not appear in Tomb XXVI, and of these the butterfly motive appears frequently enough elsewhere in Athens at this time.

There would seem, then, to be no doubt that these two groups are very closely related, and that they must be almost contemporary. I would suggest that the originating influence still comes from Attica, though it is clear that the Argive potters are not slavish imitators.

In view of this, one might expect that the metal objects would reflect similar tendencies. The evidence of the pins and fibula, however (if they are locally made), shows that this is by no means the case. The potters of Athens may be the leaders, but the Argive bronze workers must be the equals, if not the superiors, of the Attic craftsmen. The design and workmanship of the two pins, at least, seem to me to be in advance of anything that is known to us in contemporary Attica. It is unfair perhaps to compare these two pins with those found in Tomb XXVI,<sup>19</sup> which are in any case in a bad state of preservation. The finest Attic pin which may be presumed to be contemporary, though it does not come from any specific tomb group, is one from the Kerameikos;<sup>20</sup> it is an excellent piece of work, but it is not so advanced in technique as these from G 603. The nearest parallels to our pins are the two splendid gold-covered iron pins of Kerameikos Tomb 41;<sup>21</sup> they show just about the same stage of progress in technique as the Mycenaean ones. Yet the vases which accompany them must, I think, belong to the end of the Early Geometric style, verging on Middle Geometric—perhaps a generation or more later than our vases. Nor, it should be remembered, is the technique of

<sup>12</sup> *PAE* 1939, 30, fig. 37 (Tomb 2).

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia* XVIII, pl. 67, 17-20.

<sup>14</sup> The rim of this vase and of the goblet may be compared with the rims of the North Cycladic skyphoi with pendent semicircles: cf. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 187.

<sup>15</sup> *Hesperia* XVIII, pl. 67, 8-13.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* pl. 68, 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* pl. 67, 16.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* pl. 69, 11.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* pl. 72, 26 and 27.

<sup>20</sup> *Kerameikos* IV, pl. 39.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* V i 190-1, 235-6; the finer of the two is illustrated on pl. 159.

using two materials a monopoly of the Attic craftsman, for in a very early Geometric tomb at Tiryns there was found an iron pin covered with ivory.<sup>22</sup> As to the fibula, there is no known parallel or equal to it in Attica at this time.

A further matter which concerns the pins is the fact that the skeleton to which these pins belonged is that of a young man. Archaeological evidence has so far tended to lead to the conclusion that two straight pins, one on each shoulder, were associated with female burials.<sup>23</sup> Here, then, we have evidence that such was not invariably the case, and it may be that one should no longer accept the principle previously formulated.

Apart from these main points, there is not much to comment on. The appearance of a vase of coarse ware has already been discussed in the commentary on Tomb PG 602; the fact that it is of Pie Ware is interesting in that this is the earliest dateable example of that ware.<sup>24</sup>

I think it is likely that some of the vases were made by the same potter—for instance the oinochoe no. 1, the pyxis no. 4, and the amphora no. 7. But I cannot speak with such certainty as I could of two of the vases from Tomb G II in the Prehistoric Cemetery.<sup>25</sup>

#### TOMB G 604 (PLATE 46, a).

This grave was originally dug just inside the north wall of the House of Shields. It would appear that no great care was taken in making the grave; it is set practically on bed rock, and no traces of cist construction were discovered, such as might have protected the bodies and the associated objects; the only known protection is the north wall of the house itself. As the clay and metal objects are in a good state of preservation, however, the burial may well have had better protection than appeared at the time of excavation.

The burial contained two skeletons: they lay side by side in a crouched position, with the skulls to the north. The western skeleton is of a male aged about forty-five years; the eastern skeleton is probably of a female aged between thirty and thirty-five years. The preservation is not good, and the skulls were badly shattered.

On the third and fourth fingers of the left hand of the younger skeleton were two bronze rings; on the left shoulder, pointing slightly towards the left arm, lay a bronze pin, and a closely similar one lay on the right shoulder.

If the vases are *in situ*, then three of them are associated with the younger skeleton—the pyxis and the two smaller oinochoai. The largest oinochoe would then belong to the older skeleton.

This older skeleton has no bronze objects associated with it; there are, however, two iron objects which were found side by side under the skull: the one is a knife blade, and the other apparently a thin shaft of iron pointed at either end.

#### Description of Contents

##### Pottery: Wheel-made.

x. PLATE 49, ε. Inv. no. 54-211. *Trefoil-lipped oinochoe*. H. 0.24 m. Max. D. 0.15 m. D. of base 0.11 m. Clay hard and well levigated; pinkish buff. Paint reddish-brown to black, firing red. Ribbon handle, barred. Slightly raised base. Shape and decoration as on PLATE 49, ε; note the care with which, on the neck panel, the lower horizontal lines are attached to the three vertical framing lines; this is repeated, with one slip of the paint-brush, on that side of the panel which is not illustrated. The vase is in good condition and almost complete.

<sup>22</sup> Tiryns I 128 (Tomb 2).

<sup>23</sup> For a detailed discussion see Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* 336 ff.

<sup>24</sup> A further probable example of Pie Ware has turned up at Glenia, a few miles from Mycenae. Cf. Charitonidis, *AJA* LIX (1955), 125 and pl. 39, 1-2. I think it is definitely later than the vase from G 603.

<sup>25</sup> *BSA* XLIX 261, nos. 1 and 2.

2. PLATE 49, *d*. Inv. no. 54-212. *Trefoil-lipped oinochoe*. H. 0.19 m. Max. D. 0.12 m. D. of base 0.08 m. Clay rather poorly levigated; greyish buff. Paint dark brown, inclined to peel and rather roughly applied. Ribbon handle, barred. Base raised. Shape and decoration as on PLATE 49, *d*. The neck decoration, which is rather indistinct, is a panel consisting of a very rough zigzag with two sets of two horizontal bands above and below it.

3. PLATE 49, *b*. Inv. no. 54-213. *Pyxis*. H. 0.07 m. Max. D. 0.13 m. Max. D. at handles 0.147 m. D. of mouth 0.06 m. D. of base 0.072 m. Clay well levigated; buff. Paint dark brown, firing red. Rounded handles. Ring base. Shape and decoration as shown on PLATE 49, *b*, but note: area beneath handles unpainted; four sets only of zigzags on further side; ends of horizontal bands in panel painted over so as to give the required panel effect. A fine vase, almost complete.

### Pottery: Hand-made.

1. PLATE 49, *a*. Inv. no. 54-214. *Trefoil-lipped oinochoe*. H. 0.095 m. Max. D. 0.085 m. D. of base 0.038 m. Clay coarse in texture, but smoothed and polished on the surface; yellowish buff. Unpainted. Handle lost. Flat base.

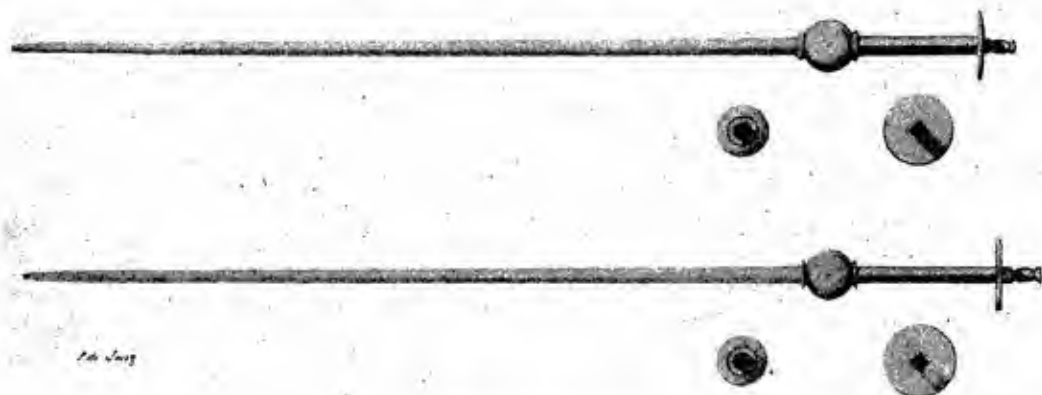


FIG. 4.—SCALE ABOUT 2 : 3.

### Metal Objects.

#### Bronze.

1. PLATE 49, *c*; FIG. 4 Inv. no. 54-215. *Two pins*. (a) Length 0.202 m. D. of disk 0.014 m. D. of bulb 0.011 m. In good condition. Made very much in the same way as the shorter of the two pins from G 603, but the disk and bulb are proportionately bigger, and the workmanship is not so fine. (b) Length 0.198 m. D. of disk 0.014 m. D. of bulb 0.011 m. Otherwise similar to (a), though the distance from bulb to disk is relatively shorter.

2. PLATE 49, *c*. Inv. no. 54-216. *Two rings*. Similar dimensions. Max. D. 0.021 m. Width 0.015 m. Thickness 0.001 m. Similar shape also. Both are badly corroded, but both are complete, though one is broken.

#### Iron.

1. PLATE 49, *c*. Inv. no. 54-217. *Knife blade*. Length 0.09 m. Max. width 0.014 m. Thickness 0.004 m. Slightly curved. Complete. Rather poor quality iron; badly rusted.

2. PLATE 49, *c*. Inv. no. 54-218. *Shaft or pin*. Length 0.095 m. Thickness 0.005 m. Complete; pointed at each end. Somewhat misshapen through oxydisation; rather poor quality iron.

### Commentary

There is little to say about this burial. The vases give a clear date, Early Geometric but rather later than G 603. There are no doubt parallels in Attica, but I would prefer in this instance to invite comparison with the Early Geometric group from Corinth, published by Professor Weinberg.<sup>26</sup> Our wheel-made oinochoe no. 1 may be compared with no. 29,<sup>27</sup> and the other oinochoe with no. 26.<sup>28</sup> There is no parallel for the shape of the pyxis, but the general scheme and details of decoration, and the clarity of the draughtsmanship, remind one of the Corinth group. I do not mean to suggest that these vases were made in the Corinthia, as I am

<sup>26</sup> Corinth VII i, nos. 22-53.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* pl. 4. References will be found *op. cit.* 11 to other similar vases.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* pl. 3.

sure they were not, but I think the potters of the two areas were working on similar lines, based probably on Attic tradition, but with a much improved technique and better understanding than they had had previously, and nearly ready for the break-away from Attic ideas that was soon to come.

The inclusion of a hand-made vase has already been discussed, in the commentary on PG 602.

So far as concerns the metal objects, I have nothing to add on the two pieces of iron or on the two bronze rings. The pins have been compared with those from G 603; comparison might also be made with the later bronze pin from Tomb G II of the Prehistoric Cemetery.<sup>29</sup> The main difference is that the design of the knob above the disk is simpler in the later pin.

### Conclusion

In publishing the four tombs of 1953 in the preceding number of this *Annual* I said that 'I know of no objects certainly dateable to the ninth century':<sup>30</sup> it is therefore extremely satisfying to be able to record that two at least of these three tombs fall, with great probability, within the first half of the ninth century.<sup>31</sup>

It is still not possible to speak of a series spanning the twelfth to the eighth centuries uninterruptedly, although there is a very strong presumption, from the evidence now available, that such a continuity existed. Failing the discovery of a stratified settlement (a rarity anywhere in Greece and the Aegean at this time), we must hope for further tombs. Material linking the latest Mycenaean and the earliest Protogeometric would be the most valuable.

Certain general conclusions stand out, confirming and amplifying the evidence from the rest of the Argolid. The practice of burial in cists must have replaced that of chamber tomb burial not long after the fall of Mycenae; this finds its parallels in Attica and elsewhere, but whereas in Attica cremation superseded inhumation at a time roughly corresponding to the emergence there of the Protogeometric style, inhumation remained the custom at Mycenae and in the Argolid in general.

The superiority of the Attic potters, as shown in the Protogeometric style, had a profound effect on the Argive potters, and Attic influence persisted into the Early Geometric period. The continuance of Attic influence in the transitional period between Protogeometric and Geometric is for the first time demonstrated in the vases of Tomb G 603. All the same, the Argive potters were quick to learn, and an individual style soon developed, becoming progressively marked from Early Geometric onward. Tomb G 604, slightly later than 603, seems to show that there was at this time a fair amount of common ground between the potters of Mycenae and Corinth.

If the Argive potters lagged behind their Attic contemporaries for some time, the evidence of the bronze objects from these tombs suggests that the workers in metal may well have outstripped the Athenian craftsmen.

In general, it must have been a time of many fresh ideas in the artistic world, and there was no doubt a good deal of free interchange of ideas over a fairly wide area. The times had changed, and by the end of the tenth century, at the very latest, the disruption caused by the political collapse of the Mycenaean power had given way to a return of peace and security, a world in which the craftsman could once more flourish.

V. R. D'A. DESBOROUGH

<sup>29</sup> BSA XLIX 263 and pl. 45.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 265.

<sup>31</sup> The reader should note that my absolute dates (cf. *Protogeometric Pottery* 294-5) are c. 40 years lower than those of the excavators of the Kerameikos tombs (see most recently *Kerameikos* V, i 70 n. 103). In default of new evidence, an open mind should be preserved; I may easily have been wrong.



## MYCENAE 1939-1954

### PART VII. CHEMICAL INVESTIGATIONS ON IVORY

This research project of Roger Moseley, a fourth-year undergraduate student in Princeton University arose out of conversations between Sir Hugh Taylor, Dean of the Graduate College, Princeton, and Dr. A. J. B. Wace of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society in April 1954 in Philadelphia. The questions were directed to the properties of ivory when subjected to the conditions obtaining in houses destroyed by fire as, for example, in the houses excavated by Wace in Mycenae, where, in one case, many fragments of ivory which had obviously been in the fire were discovered.

Samples of old ivories were subsequently provided by Wace and others<sup>1</sup> for examination. These included:

- (1) Ivory fragments from Mycenae from houses destroyed by fire. Date: thirteenth century B.C.
- (2) Ivory fragments from Syria in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Pratt Gift. Date: twelfth century B.C.
- (3) Ivory fragments from Nimrud, Mesopotamia. Date: ninth and eighth centuries B.C.

An experimental programme on 'modern' ivory was put into effect to provide data against which the properties of the ancient ivories could be examined.

*Background Information:* Ivory is composed of both an organic and an inorganic matrix whose structures are determined by the processes of growth. The chemical analysis of the inorganic material of ivory indicates it to consist of 82 per cent calcium phosphate, 15 per cent magnesium phosphate, 2 per cent calcium carbonate and 0.2 per cent calcium fluoride. Normal ivory contains about 13 per cent by weight of water. After drying, ivory contains about 40-43 per cent by weight of organic material. This organic content is much greater than in human teeth, which contain about 23 per cent organic material.

Human teeth are generally considered to be composed of apatite, a calcium phosphate in which there are varying amounts of substituents. A calcium hydroxyl apatite has hydroxyl (OH) groups in the molecule with a formula  $\text{Ca}_{10}(\text{PO}_4)_6(\text{OH})_2$ . The elements chlorine (Cl), fluorine (F), and magnesium (Mg) can fit into the apatite molecule without altering the structure appreciably. The chlorine and fluorine will replace (OH) in the above structure to an extent determined by the quantities of these elements available. Over the past decade it has become known that the addition of fluorides in minimal amounts to drinking-water has an effect on human teeth reducing the incidence of dental caries, presumably involving entry of fluorine into the tooth structure.

*X-ray Analysis of Teeth and Ivory:* Mr. Moseley has examined in a recording X-ray-diffraction spectrometer the mineral apatite, fresh human teeth, and human teeth heated to 800° C the heat treatment being designed to oxidise the organic matter present. These three materials give identical X-ray patterns.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. C. K. Wilkinson of the Metropolitan Museum and Mr. R. D. Barnett of the British Museum.

Fresh ivory gives only a few diffuse peaks, due to dispersion by the larger percentage of organic material present. When heated as in the case of teeth just mentioned the residual inorganic material gives a distinctive X-ray pattern. It shows the presence of the apatite phase as in human teeth but also several distinctive 'peaks', presumably from an additional component as yet unidentified. This may be due to the large amount of magnesium phosphate present in ivory and not in human teeth.

X-ray analyses of ancient, burnt, *Pratt* ivory gave a pattern identical with the 'modern' burnt ivory. Fossil *Pratt* ivory also gave an identical pattern. This technique offers a method of identifying questionable ivory samples.

The organic material present in ivory (which can be separated from the inorganic material by a technique listed below) when examined by X-rays indicates that this 'collagen' component may also possess an oriented structure. Shrinking and warping of this material during its preparation has thus far made difficult the determination of this oriented structure.

*Heat Treatment of Ivory:* Modern ivory heated to about 250° C for 1-2 hours rapidly turns black throughout the mass, giving material identical in appearance with the black *Pratt* ivories. This blackening results from a decomposition of the organic material, a deposit of finely divided carbon being laid down on the inorganic microcrystals. As noted below, this heat treatment opens up the ivory to a porous structure. If the ivory is heated at 350° C for two days it becomes brown in colour.

Further intense heating of the blackened ivories for periods up to 48 hours progressively removes the carbon by oxidation. The product from this treatment is similar in every way to some of the original *Pratt* specimens provided by Wilkinson. Slow heating produces no cracking and no observable tars. A rapid rise in temperature produces both.

Last summer (1954) in the British Museum the writer was shown two ivory carvings of identical design, one in its natural colour, the other black. There was also on exhibition a head of an Ethiopian which was black save that the nose was partially white. The writer suggests that these black ivories have arisen from a mild heat treatment (250° C). The white nose could arise from two possibilities: either (1) it was for some reason cool during the heat treatment and did not char, or (2) it was in a hot part of the fire, and the carbon deposited was burned off, leaving the white high-temperature product mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

*Separation of the Inorganic and Organic Constituents:* The inorganic material is readily eluted from ivory by the action of dilute hydrochloric acid (1 part HCl in 500 parts) or even by the action of ferric chloride. The residual organic material was 43 per cent by weight.

Treatment of the ivory with fairly strong alkali will decompose the organic collagen. The residual product looks like a weathered piece of *Nimrud* ivory. The extracted collagen decomposes in water.

*Densities of Ivories:* The density of ivory is about 2, as measured by weighing in air and in water.

The density of the black and burnt-white samples had to be measured by weighing in benzene, as the fine porosity of these materials results in a very slow diffusion of water into the pores, causing errors due to the buoyancy effect of the entrapped air. Black ivory showed a density of 2.8. Burnt white ivory had a density of 3.19. Calcium phosphate has a density of 3.2. The density of the fossil ivories which were non-porous varied from 2.0 to 3.0.

*Red colour on Pratt Ivories:* From spectroscopic analyses of the red colouring matter which occurs on the surface of some of the *Pratt* ivories we conclude that the colour is due to iron (see below).

*Ultra-violet Radiation of Ivory:* Ultra-violet radiation causes ivory to become discoloured.

Museum specimens can be protected from this effect through the use of a suitable layer of glass. The Metropolitan Museum expressed some interest in this in connection with some of their lighting problems.

Ivory fluoresces in ultra-violet light, very obviously in the so-called 'black' light from which the visible has been removed. The active fluorescent component is in the organic fraction, and it can be extracted by suitable solvents. Various, as yet unsuccessful, attempts to isolate the fluorescent material have been made, since the identification of its composition is not without interest in other areas of organic chemical research.

*Porosity of Ivories:* The porosity of variously treated specimens of ivory can be determined by a physical measurement of surface area using a technique familiar to chemists as the BET method. This consists in determining the amount of a gas such as nitrogen or butane which is taken up (adsorbed) by the material at temperatures in the neighbourhood of the boiling point of the gas used. The surface areas are normally expressed in units of square metres per gram of material. Low values indicate compact substances. High values are indicative of an extended pore structure.

Fresh ivory shows a surface area of  $0.22 \text{ m}^2/\text{g}$ . For black ivory values between 91 and 109 have been determined using nitrogen. Using butane, a somewhat lower value of 77 was found. The larger butane molecule evidently did not enter pores accessible to nitrogen.

Burnt white ivory gave a value of 19, showing shrinkage (sintering) of the material as the carbon is removed at high temperatures.

For fossil ivory a value of 6.0 was found, indicating that in the fossilisation, as the organic material was removed, the porous structure was filled up with the fossilising materials.

*Fossilisation:* Analysis shows that the principal substance present in fossil ivories, in addition to the normal inorganic constituents of ivory (which appear largely unaltered according to the X-ray analyses) is iron. There are many references in the literature to the presence of vivianite, an iron phosphate, in fossil specimens, bones, tusks, etc. Crystallographic analysis is being undertaken to find this material in fossil ivory specimens. The solution of carbon dioxide in water will facilitate deposition of iron phosphate. Bacterial oxidation of the organic constituents will tend to make the solution acidic, depositing iron and furthering fossilisation. Manganese, calcium, and magnesium can replace iron isomorphously in vivianite. We know that manganese is also present to a considerable extent in certain fossil ivory samples. It is stated in the literature that Eskimos use bluish ivory, presumably walrus ivory,<sup>2</sup> containing vivianite as a facial paint. Many of the old ivories are blue-tinged, possibly due to vivianite. Underlying the red iron-painted surfaces there is occasionally a blue colour which may arise in the same manner.

HUGH TAYLOR

<sup>2</sup> The ivory used by the Mycenaeans was presumably imported from Syria, for the elephant then still existed there (Barnett, *PEFQ* 1939, 4 ff.). In the Palestine Museum there are two elephant tusks found in Palaeolithic deposits and another was found by Miss Bate at Bethlehem. The elephant does not seem to have existed in Egypt, and consequently Syria would have been the source of ivory nearest to Mycenae. Some Early Dynastic ivories found in Egypt are said to be of rhinoceros ivory. Research on the Syrian elephant is much to be desired and also on the characteristics and use of elephant, rhinoceros, and walrus ivory and possibly also mammoth ivory.—A. J. B. W.

## A FORGER OF GRAFFITI

(PLATES 50-53)

A RECENT number of this Annual (*BSA* XLVIII 191 ff.) included an account of a lengthy graffito, which was tentatively interpreted as a product of the political ferment in Athens in 411 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The graffito was on a fragment of a fish-plate, and round the rim was a second inscription, part of a dedication, the latest possible date for which appeared to be c. 435 B.C.; however, the evidence at present available indicates that plates of this form were not produced before the fourth century.<sup>2</sup> This discrepancy was pointed out, but as the content and execution of the graffito seemed to exclude the likelihood of forgery, the only remaining explanation appeared to be that the evidence for the chronology of Attic pottery had been misinterpreted; more specifically, that fish-plates were in fact already being made in the third quarter of the fifth century, and that the shape remained stable, without any perceptible variations for over forty years. A conclusion of this kind would have far-reaching implications, since the dating of buildings or objects in an excavation often has to be inferred from the pottery discovered with them; accordingly when further material came to light which proved beyond all doubt that the graffito concerned must be rejected as a forgery, it was felt that the subject is of sufficiently general concern to warrant a detailed exposition.

The new evidence consists of the series of inscribed sherds which are published in catalogue form at the end of this article; in the discussion which follows they will be referred to by their catalogue numbers. A convenient starting point is provided by the collection of pieces (nos. 1-23) from the Forgeries Cupboard of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. Even a brief study of the illustrations will show that they are all by the same hand (PLATES 50-52); some of the letter forms are varied—*theta* is sometimes crossed (sometimes indeed rectangular) and sometimes has a bar; *sigma* has three bars in some instances, four in others—but certain characteristics recur unchanged, in particular the lopsided *omegas* and *mus*, the use of + as an interpoint, and, most striking of all, *kappa* with a horizontal lower bar.<sup>3</sup> On one sherd (20), the letters are rather larger than usual, but similar letters occur on another piece (19), together with others of the smaller size; and the unusual name Σάμωνδρος provides an additional link between 20 and the rest, for it recurs on 3. Yet although the handwriting is constant, a good proportion of these graffiti bear the names of a number of different people, as potters or as dedicators. Moreover, many of the sherds can be dated with reasonable precision; they cover a considerable range of time, running from

We should like to acknowledge with gratitude the generous assistance of all those who have put much of this material, or information about it, at our disposal, and to express our particular thanks to Miss L. H. Jeffery, Madame S. Karouzou, Professor K. Kübler, Professor E. Vanderpool, Dr. C. T. Selman, Mr. Lucas A. Benachi, the authorities of the Greek High School in Alexandria, and the Trustees of the British Museum. We are especially indebted to Professor W. Peek, who most kindly supplied us with his notes and photographs of nos. 29-31; we have had the benefit of his advice throughout, and he has acknowledged his agreement with our conclusions.

We regard it as not unreasonable to suppose that more sherds by the same hand remain scattered in public or private collections without their authenticity being so called into question, and it may be expected that our catalogue will form a substantial nucleus, to which additions will from time to time be made.

<sup>1</sup> See now *SEG* XII 562.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of the evidence will be found in an appendix at the end of the catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> Ancient examples of this form can be found; e.g. *Hesperia* VII 235, and 234, fig. 64, Group D; XIX, pl. 111, 4. They are comparatively rare, and the majority of writers and stone-cutters seem to have preferred to give the lower bar a definite downward slant.



the middle of the fifth century (17) to the second half of the fourth (6 and 7), so that they could not all have been inscribed in antiquity by the same man. A further point is that on most signed vases the name of the potter or painter is written in paint; incision is favoured by some—the most obvious instance is Hieron, who frequently incised his signature on the handle of a cup—but this incision, like the incised lines in black-figure drawing, was normally executed before firing;<sup>4</sup> the group of sherds we are considering includes no fewer than eight examples of the formula, so-and-so ἐποίησεν, all of which show every sign of having been scratched into fired clay. The shapes of the eight different vases from which these fragments come can be identified; they were all plain black vases of the second quarter of the fourth century or later. Potters' signatures are rare on vases without pictures at any period;<sup>5</sup> plentiful on unfigured Little Master cups, of course, but that is a different matter from plain black. Signatures become increasingly rare on figured Attic vases towards the end of the fifth century, and die out completely soon after 400 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> so that a single example of a potter's name on an Attic red-figured vase of, say, the middle of the fourth century would be very surprising; eight examples on plain black ware are incredible. Four other sherds also purport to give the signature of a potter; here the formula is ἔργον followed by a proper name in the genitive. This usage is utterly foreign to pottery and is taken from sculpture; even there it is comparatively uncommon.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the most familiar example is the stele of Aristion, ἔργον Ἀριστοκλέους, which was discovered in 1839; Loewy, writing in 1885, describes it as in the Thescion, though in 1893 Conze speaks of it as in the National Museum;<sup>8</sup> no doubt the transfer took place between the two dates. One thinks inevitably of no. 12, ἔργον Ἀριστοκ[. . . . . On two sherds, 2 and 3, the signature includes the ethnic, Ἀθηναῖος; this usage, though not absolutely unparalleled on vases, is extremely unusual.<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note that two of the known examples were in private hands in Athens in 1875; a further specimen was acquired by the Varvakeion Museum in 1881.<sup>10</sup> In seven other instances the writer was not content with the repetition of a genuine, though unusual, formula; we find Ἀθήνηθεν instead of Ἀθηναῖος on 4, 5, and 6, which looks like an uncritical echo of the phrase on Panathenaic amphorae, τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄλλων, and is certainly unique; even more extraordinary is the abbreviation Ἀθε, which occurs on three other pieces (7, 8, and 12). Errors are also to be found in the terminations of some of the names; Ναυσιστράτης (5), an original blend of Ναυσίστρατος and Ναυσικράτης; Σωκράτης and Ἀρχέλεος (11 and 4), non-Attic genitives. Erroneous again is the use of the demotic Μελίτεος as a proper name (6). And although the actual execution of the graffiti is deceptively careful, there are a few places where the forger has given himself away; on the two fragments with incised pictures, 18 and 19, the way in which some of the lines stop just short of the break, while others run down over the fractured surface, proves beyond all doubt that the incision was carried out after the fragments had been reduced to their present size, in other words that neither of the drawings was ever complete; on 15, which begins ]τος ἀνέθηκε, the surface is pitted just to the left of the *tau*, but a tongue of glaze is preserved on which part of one or more of the preceding

<sup>4</sup> A possible exception is the polychrome phiale in the British Museum, D 8, which is signed by Sotades as potter; the letters are so scratchy and ill-formed that one wonders whether they may not have been incised after firing.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Klein, *Meistersignaturen*<sup>2</sup> 211–14.

<sup>6</sup> The introduction of potters' signatures on some Panathenaic amphorae from the second quarter of the century onward is a special case, which cannot be discussed here.

<sup>7</sup> See Loewy, *Inchriften griechischer Bildhauer, passim*, and also Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures des sculpteurs grecs* I (1953), *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> *Die attische Grabreliefs* 4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the lekythoi with the signature of Xenophantos, *ARV* 874–5, and some of the signatures of Teisias, Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases* 347–50.

Rayet, *RA* 1875, 173. Collignon, *BCH* V 178, nos. 8 and 9.

letters would be visible, if the graffito were genuine. Nothing of the kind can be seen, and the presumption is that the missing part of the name never existed.

All these lines of argument lead to the same conclusion, that the twenty-three sherds form a closely connected group, and that all are false. Four other pieces can be added, nos. 24-28 (PLATE 53); the first three show the letter-forms and peculiarities characteristic of the majority of the group discussed above, while for 28, with its somewhat larger letters, the best comparison is 20. Finally, and most important, comes a further group of four pieces, 29-32 (PLATE 53), the last one being the sherd published in *BSA* XLVIII 191 ff.; all of them are from fish-plates; all have a lengthy graffito on the top; only 31 lacks a second inscription round the rim. All are by one hand, the same hand as the preceding twenty-eight, showing the same peculiarities of *kappa*, *mu*, and *omega*, and the same use of a cross as an interpoint, which can only be paralleled within the group. The script is more careful, and the *alphas* are different, with the right-hand oblique stroke projecting at the top and the bar sloping up from left to right, but a glance at the lengthy graffito 23 (also on a fish-plate) shows us the forger changing over from one form of *alpha* to the other in the course of his work.

Like any other stylistic judgement, the verdict that all the graffiti show the same handwriting is open to the charge of being subjective. It is therefore reassuring to be able to augment the evidence that nos. 29-32 are false by the recognition of one of the sources from which the forger drew in compounding them; the evidence is set out in detail in the catalogue, where it will be seen that no fewer than twenty-one words or combinations of letters are common to the group of four sherds and a single ancient inscription;<sup>11</sup> the common elements, including some words that are out of the ordinary and one very unusual name, cannot be due to pure chance; the odds against it would be astronomical. Moreover, no less than five names from the list at the end of the inscription occur on three of the sherds already discussed (3, 4, and 10); none of these is particularly common, and once again the correspondence cannot be fortuitous. In other words, the same source which provided some of the text for the lengthy graffiti also supplied part of the repertory of names from which the forger made his selection for the signatures;<sup>12</sup> the connection between the four fish-plate fragments and the other items in the catalogue is thus reinforced. And even the use of + as an interpoint may perhaps arise from a misunderstanding of part of the same inscription. In the list of names on the narrow side of the stone, each item is followed by an abbreviated demotic; in a number of instances the first or second letter of the abbreviation is a *phi*, and in this section *phi* was engraved in a cruciform shape, with flattened or, to all appearances, non-existent loops.  $\phi$  in the form of archaic *chi*, though unusual, occurs with some frequency in inscriptions from the middle of the fourth century onwards,<sup>13</sup> as a simplified variant of the 'flattened' *phi*. Since the two occur side by side in this inscription, a casual observer might easily mistake the symbol, which, read as a *chi*, would not make sense, but which none the less recurs after so many of the names, for some kind of punctuation.

It remains to consider the circumstances in which the forgeries were made. Our knowledge of the history of some of the fragments is confined to statements by dealers about their provenience; 30 and 31 were purchased in Athens in 1934, and were said to come from Ano

<sup>11</sup> *IG* XII 9, 191. In *RecPhil* 1939, 139, L. Robert mentioned that ten years previously he had seen in Athens forged graffiti based on this inscription, but as no details were given, it was not until the same inscription had been identified as one of the sources of nos. 29-32 that there was any reason to connect them with Robert's account. Robert made use of the same evidence in his article concerning the genuineness of our no. 32 in *CRAI* 1954, 494-505, but by the time of its appearance this MS. was already with the printer.

<sup>12</sup> It is possible that we can identify another of his sources. Pheidestatos (25) and Smikron (16, 26) are slightly unusual names; together with Kephisodoros, they occur on *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1742.

<sup>13</sup> For Attic examples see W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik* (1914), 273.

Liossia; 32 was said to have been found on the North Slope of the Acropolis. The histories of three other pieces are such that; if they did not so clearly belong to a group of indisputable forgeries, there would be no reason to suspect them; 27 was published among the fragments from the Acropolis excavations (though it had no excavation number), while 24 and 25 are stated to be from Naukratis; indeed the Museum numbers on 24 imply that it came to the Fitzwilliam Museum with the sherds from the excavation of 1899. There is more ample information about the sherds in the British Museum; although they were not entered in the register of accessions till 1920, there is a note against the entry, 'Presented by the Rev. Greville Chester, 15 Dec. 1899. (from Megara?). All given as examples of forged ostraca.' Chester was primarily interested in the Near East; he travelled extensively, acquiring various antiquities, many of which he gave or sold to the Museum. His account of the sherds is contained in a letter written in Smyrna, 25th November 1889; he had passed through Athens en route:

'My dear Mr. Murray,

'As I knew the interest which is taken in the B.M. in inscribed Greek pottery I bought a quantity of fragments found amidst the debris thrown down from the Parthenon. As I have made no study of Greek pottery this was a stupid thing to do, and Gardner declares that all the inscriptions save 2 or 3 are *forged*. He has not quite convinced me, and anyhow, if false, they are far better done than others *executed by himself and pupils*, whereof I saw several specimens at the British School. One objection of G's was that they were *too perfect* and begun at the *right place*, but *this* is of no consequence for I selected my bits from a quantity of *others* some of which had only a letter or two a piece.

'I also bought a broken plaque, representing a king over whose head is written KYPOΣ, which I and Gardner both suspected, but he does not quite condemn it as modern. Unfortunately on its way here it got still more broken.'

There is no mention of the sherds among the Museum reports of purchases and donations, so one may be fairly sure that Murray, too, saw that the graffiti were false and convinced Chester, who did not trouble to remove them. Some thirty years later the decision appears to have been taken to make a proper record of them, but by that time the recollection of the story was clearly a little blurred, for the reputed provenience is mis-stated and the plaque, separated from the rest of the batch, had been registered two years before without any note on its history. The letter establishes the fact that the graffiti 1-23 were in existence before the end of 1889. An upper limit for the production of some members of the group is given by the history of the inscription upon which they were based; IG XII 9, 191, was discovered in Chalcis in 1860, transferred to Athens in 1862, and was in the Tower of the Winds for some time before Eustratiades published it in 1869.<sup>14</sup> Consequently 29-32, with the probable addition of 3, 4, and 10, cannot have been forged before 1860, and were probably not made until 1862.<sup>15</sup> Obviously, the pieces which do not copy the inscription from Chalcis *may* have been made before 1860, and 24-31, which were not part of Chester's lot, *may* be later than 1889, but some of the graffiti certainly were produced between these two limits, and as the whole group seems homogeneous it does not appear very likely that the forger's activities extended over a prolonged period.

As for the place where he worked, the answer is almost certainly Athens. Most of the fragments were bought there (1-23; 27; 29-32); and it is beyond all doubt that two of his

<sup>14</sup> AE II 317 ff.

<sup>15</sup> If the connection between IG II<sup>2</sup> 1742, and 25, 16, and 26 is accepted, the upper limit for these three is 1875, for the inscription was found when the Frankish Tower in the Propylaea was demolished in that year.



productions (18; 28) imitate graffiti from the Acropolis. Unfortunately we cannot decide whether the Acropolis sherds came from the great excavations of 1885-1900 or from one of the many earlier campaigns, but in any case they were not published till 1933, and so could only be known to someone on the spot. The inscription from Chalcis was in Athens; so were the stele of Aristion, the inscription from the Frankish Tower and some of the vases signed by Teisias ὁ Ἀθηναῖος—in fact, most of the objects suggested as the originals which the forger copied. It seems clear from the mis-spellings and mistakes that he was not a scholar, or at least not a sound one; on the other hand, he knew ancient Greek and was familiar with genuine antiquities. Indeed, he probably picked up his knowledge by direct observation of the originals, and not from books; for example, he transfers words and formulae correct in themselves, like Ἀθήνηθεν or ἔργον followed by the genitive, to contexts where they are out of place. His knowledge of the name Σάμωνδος, however, is less easy to explain; he may have visited Corfu and while there noted down details of minor antiquities, but a more plausible hypothesis is that he took the name from a publication, either from *CIG* or from one of Mustoxydis' two works; if so, he must have had access to an academic library or have moved in circles where such books were available. The fact that one of his productions appeared among the genuine finds from the Acropolis, whether as a plant or by mischance, and that two others copy Acropolis finds, invites the supposition that he was actually connected with the excavations; one thinks perhaps of some occupant of a minor post, clerk or technician, it might be. If so, the provenience given for Chester's sherds might be correct after all; great quantities of plain black pottery were discovered on the Acropolis, and nothing would be easier for the forger than to supply himself with the raw material for his work. Genuine finds certainly were abstracted from the excavation and sold to travellers and collectors; some if not all of the graffiti may well have been manufactured in an attempt to take advantage of this illicit traffic.

One final problem remains, that the two sherds in Cambridge are said to come from Naukratis. At first sight the statement is hard to reconcile with the fact that they belong to a group of forgeries which were probably made in Athens, but certain points are perhaps significant. D. G. Hogarth, who was in charge of the excavations at Naukratis in 1899, had been at the British School at Athens in 1886-8, and was there as Director from 1897 to 1900; C. C. Edgar, who published the pottery and graffiti from the excavation, was at the School from 1895 to 1898. Either man could very well have acquired the sherds in Athens, without necessarily believing them authentic. Few people are entirely successful in preventing odds and ends from accumulating on their desk; it needs only a little mis-directed tidiness from an assistant for one's private curiosities to be irretrievably confused with genuine material in the same room. We shall probably never know the full history of these two sherds; the version suggested above does not pretend to be more than a possibility, and one can think of alternatives. In any case this aspect of the matter is comparatively unimportant beside the essential fact that the two graffiti, together with all the others in the group, are undoubtedly forged.

CATALOGUE<sup>16</sup>

1. Fragment from the wall of a bowl. PLATES 50 and 51. British Museum, 1920.2-23.2. Maximum dimension, 0.075 m. Sufficient of the rim has survived to show that it turned out

<sup>16</sup> The texts are transcribed in conventional type. The character of the letters appears plainly in the photographs and needs no description. It may, however, be worth remarking that *theta* is written as a circle with a horizontal stroke except in nos. 7, 19, 20, 22, 26, 28, 30b, and 32b, where it consists of a cross within a circle or rectangle; *sigma* has three bars except in nos. 2, 3, 4, 14, and 23, where it has four (14 in fact contains one example of each type); *phi* throughout has a short right-hand stroke.



fairly sharply. There is a reserved line at the lowest point of the outside which is preserved. For bowls of this kind, see *Hesperia* III 317, fig. 3, A 7, and *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 219, nn. 755 and 756; the present example belongs to the second or third quarter of the fourth century.

Graffito: on the outside, ]Σ + ΙΣΟΤΕΛΗΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ  
on the inside, ΗΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΕΣ ΑΘΕΝΑ[.

Both inscriptions run parallel to the wheel-marks.

2. Fragment of a light cup-kotyle. PLATE 50. British Museum, 1920.2-23.22. Maximum dimension, 0.061 m. Part of the foot and underside are preserved. There is a scraped line just above the junction of the wall and foot; the resting surface is reserved; on the underside are the remains of two neat zones of glaze. The profile of the foot is rather coarse; in the interior is part of a rouletted circle. The form of the foot indicates a date in the first half of the fourth century, while the rouletting shows that the vase can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the second quarter of the century. For the characteristics of the shape, and the history of its development see *Hesperia* XVIII 323, on no. 39.

Graffito: round the inner face of the foot, ]ΚΛΗΣ + ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ;  
in the outer zone of glaze, ]ΝΑΙΟΣ + [.

3. Fragment of a plate. PLATES 50 and 51. British Museum, 1920.2-23.16. Estimated diameter of the foot, 0.118 m. All the rim is lost, but about half of the floor and foot have survived. Glazed all over; the underside rises to a cone at the centre. On the top are two linked palmettes, with part of a third; the outer border of the impressed design is four circles of rouletting. This variety of plate was current during the fourth century, from the end of the first quarter onward; see *Hesperia* XVIII 325-6, on no. 41, and *Olynthus* XIII, pls. 226-30. The form of the present example and the character of the palmettes suggest a date around the middle of the century.

Graffito: on the top, running in an arc parallel to the rouletting,

ΚΤΗΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ + ΑΜΕΙΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ[

running in the arc of a circle round the underside,

ΣΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ[.

The only recorded instance of the name Samandros appears to be an inscription on Corfu, which was published by A. Mustoxydis, *Illustrazioni Corciresi* II (1814), 103, and repeated with the addition of an illustration in his *Delle Cose Corciresi* I (1848), 320. It was republished by Boeckh, *CIG* 1913, from Mustoxydis and from a drawing by Broendsted; and finally repeated in *IG* IX 1, 938. Broendsted, who is a reliable witness, left Greece in 1813. Κτησικράτης, cf. *IG* XII 9, 191, C, 17. Ἀμεινοκράτης, *ibid.* C, 42.

4. Fragment of a bowl. PLATE 50. British Museum, 1920.2-23.18. Diameter of foot, 0.071 m. Just over half of the foot is preserved, with most of the floor. Glazed all over, except for a reserved groove in the resting surface; the underside rises to a cone in the centre. On the top are six cross-linked palmettes, surrounded by rouletting. It is not possible to decide whether the bowl from which this fragment comes had a rim that curved inward and overhung the interior (as *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 219, 768) or one that turned outward like no. 1 above. The form of the foot and the underside show that its date cannot be earlier than the end of the first quarter of the fourth century, and the poor quality of the glass suggests that it may in fact be after the middle of the century.

Graffito: running in a circle round the underside,

ΔΗΜΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΡΧΕΛΕΥΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ  
across a chord of the circle, ΕΥΠΟΛΙΣ.

After the graffito had been inscribed, a cross was scratched on the fragment with one arm partly obliterating the *sigma* in ἐποίησεν and the other arm damaging other letters of the same word. Δημιππος: cf. *IG* XII 9, 191, B, 25; C, 25, 45. Εὐπολῖς: *ibid.* C, 40. Ἀρχέλευς: in *IG* XII 9, 191, C, 43, the form Ἀρχέλευς occurs.

5. Fragment of bowl or one-handled cup. PLATE 50. British Museum, 1920.2-23.14. Diameter of the foot, c. 0.060 m. About half the foot, and rather more than half the floor, are preserved. Glazed all over, except for a reserved groove in the resting surface; the underside rises to a cone at the centre. The glaze has fired chestnut. The form of the foot and underside show that the fragment belongs at the earliest to the end of the first quarter of the fourth century.

Graffito: running in a semicircle round the underside, ΝΑΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ[  
across the diameter of the semi-circle, ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ.

6. Fragment of a bowl. PLATE 50. British Museum, 1920.2-23.20. Diameter of foot, 0.065 m. All the heavy ring-foot has survived, with a little of the wall. The broad resting-surface is reserved; the glaze in the underside has fired orange brown. Elsewhere the glaze is dark brown, streaky, and rather dull. In the interior are four palmettes, set cruciform. For the form of the foot, compare *Hesperia* XVIII 329, fig. 5, 155. The character of the palmettes indicates a date in the second half of the fourth century.

Graffito: running in a circle round the resting-surface, ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ  
running in a circle round the underside, ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ.

7. Fragment of a bolsal. PLATE 50. British Museum, 1920.2-23.19. Maximum dimension, 0.055 m. About a quarter of the foot and floor is preserved. Glazed all over except for a reserved groove in the resting-surface; the underside rises to a cone at the centre. On the top are two impressed palmettes, with the remains of a third; two rouletted circles form the outer border of the impressed ornament. The form of the palmettes suggests that the date of the fragment is the third quarter of the fourth century. For the history of the shape, see *Hesperia* IV 504-5 and XVIII 331, 77.

Graffito: running in the arc of a circle round the underside, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ[  
across the diameter of the circle, ΑΘΕ[.

8. Fragment of a small bowl. PLATE 50. British Museum, 1920.2-23.13. Diameter of foot, 0.046 m. All of the foot has survived. Glazed all over except for a reserved groove in the resting-surface; the underside rises to a low cone at the centre. The form of the foot and underside show that the fragment cannot be earlier than the end of the first quarter of the fourth century.

Graffito: running in a circle round the underside, ΘΕΡΕΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ  
across the diameter of the circle, ΑΘΕ.

Θερένικος is presumably a slip for Φερένικος, but the confusion occurs on Acropolis dedications; cf. *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 684 and 685 (Raubitschek, *Dedications* 283, 302). For the name cf. Graef and Langlotz II 1547.

9. Fragment of a bell-krater. PLATE 51. British Museum, 1920.2-23.6. Maximum dimension, 0.077 m. The fragment is the left-hand stem of one handle. The angle at which the handle sprang from the body and the curve of the stem suggest that the vase was made in the early part of the fourth century.

Graffito: at the foot of the stem, ΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΩΣ.

10. Part of the handle of a cup-kantharos. PLATE 51. British Museum, 1920.2-23.3. Maximum dimension, 0.082 m. Enough survives to show in the interior the unmistakable inward curve of the cul of the vase just before its junction with the lip. Glazed all over. Too little of the wall of the fragment has survived to allow an exact dating, but the shape is unknown before the end of the first quarter of the fourth century.

Graffito: along the stem of the handle, ΕΡΓΟΝ + ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ.

Ἀρίστων; cf. *IG XII* 9, 191, C, 41.

11. Fragment of a plate. PLATES 50 and 51. British Museum, 1920.2-23.17. Maximum dimension, 0.096 m. Glazed all over. About a third of the foot is preserved, with a strip of the floor. On the upper surface is part of a rouletted circle; the glaze has fired chestnut in places. The fragment comes from a plate of the same form as no. 3, and will be of much the same date.

Graffito: around the inner face of the foot, ΕΡΓΟΝ ΚΕΦΙΣΟΔΟΡΟΥ ΑΘ[

on the top, ]ΟΝ + ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΗΙΕ[.

Κηφισόδωρος; cf. *inter alia*, *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1742, 16.

12. Fragment of a bolsal. PLATE 51. British Museum, 1920.2-23.21. Maximum dimension, 0.056 m. About a quarter of the foot and floor is preserved. Glazed all over except for a reserved groove in the resting-surface; the underside rises to a low cone at the centre. On the top is part of a palmette and its enclosing circle of rouletting. For the shape, compare no. 7; the palmette suggests a date around the middle of the fourth century.

Graffito: running roughly in the arc of a circle round the underside, ΕΡΓΟΝ + ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚ[  
across the diameter, ΑΘ[.

13. Fragment of an oinochoe. PLATE 51. British Museum, 1920.2-23.7. Maximum dimension, 0.062 m. Part of the handle is preserved, with the lower root and a little of the interior, which is unglazed; the exterior is glazed all over. The handle is oval in section; the vase clearly had a fairly pronounced shoulder, from which the handle sprang. Two red lines ran round the vase just below the level of the handle. The presence of these lines suggests that the date can be no later than the middle of the fifth century.

Graffito: running upward along the handle, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΝ[  
ΑΘΕΝΑΣ ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ[.<sup>17</sup>

14. Fragment. PLATE 51. British Museum, 1920.2-23.9. Maximum dimension, 0.053 m. Part of a handle, oval in section, with the inner face flattened. Glazed all over except for a narrow strip at one end; this reserved area is doubtless accidental.

Graffito: running along the handle, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ + ΑΝ[  
ΙΕΡΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΣ.

<sup>17</sup> An unusual dedication, perhaps a reminiscence of the seat in the Theatre of Dionysus, *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 5063.

15. Fragment of an oinochoe, probably of shape III. PLATE 52. British Museum, 1920.2-23.10. Maximum dimension, 0.095 m. Part of the handle is preserved, with a little of the interior, which had a glaze wash. The handle has a central rib, but is not symmetrical; it is glazed all over.

Graffito: on one side of the rib, running upward along the handle,

HIEPON[ ]NAIAS<sup>18</sup>

on the other side, running downward, ]TOΣ ANEΘEKEN.

16. Fragment. PLATE 52. British Museum, 1920.2-23.8. Maximum dimension, 0.062 m. Part of a handle; rather flat in section, with a low central rib. Glazed all over.

Graffito: on one side of the rib, running along the handle, IEΠON AΘENΑΣ

on the other side, running the opposite way, ]ΘEKEN ΣΜΙΚΡΟΝ.

Σμικρὸν; cf. *inter alia*, IG II<sup>2</sup> 1742, 66.

17. Fragment of a skyphos. PLATE 52. British Museum, 1920.2-23.1. Maximum dimension, 0.069 m. Part of the lower wall of a skyphos of Corinthian type. Just above the foot is a reserved zone with single-line rays that do not cross; the rest of the fragment is glazed. For a vase of the same form as that from which our fragment comes, and contemporary with it, see *Hesperia* XXII, pl. 29, 23; for the history of the shape, *ibid.* 72 on no. 26.

Graffito: just above the reserved zone, EYΘYΔΙΚΟΣ ΣΜΙΚΡΟ[.

18. Fragment. PLATE 52. British Museum, 1920.2-23.4. Maximum dimension, 0.089 m. From the shoulder of a large closed vase, perhaps an amphora. The interior is unglazed; on the exterior, the left foot and part of the drapery of a figure moving to the right. The drawing has been incised after firing; the ground line is high up on the shoulder of the pot; it is not set horizontally, but curves upward to the right, and it stops short just before the break at the right. Two of the lines of the drapery stop short just before the break; another runs on over the fractured surface. Clearly the drawing was scratched on after the vase was broken; the style, too, is not ancient.

Graffito: below the ground line of the picture, ]+ IEΠOZYΕΣ ΤΕΣ AΘENΑΣ.

Compare Graef and Langlotz, II 1374; ] . IEΠOΣ YEΣ: AΘEN[ , a fragment obviously seen by the forger. Until Professor Peek (*ibid.* 131) showed that the seventh letter is a peculiar form of *tau*, it was read as *upsilon*. It was so understood by the forger, who perhaps took the result for a mis-spelling of *ἱερωσύνη*; clearly he then felt troubled by the resulting lack of a definite article before *Ἀθηνᾶς*, and supplied the deficiency.

19. Fragment. PLATE 52. British Museum, 1920.2-23.5. Maximum dimension, 0.095 m. From the wall of a large open vase, perhaps a bell-krater. Glazed inside and out. Part of the left foot and drapery of a figure facing to the right. The drawing has been incised after firing; one of the lines of the drapery stops short just before the break; three other lines run on over the fractured surface on the left, and so does the *nu* below the figure's foot. The isolated group of hanging folds is an impossibility. The drawing was scratched on after the vase was broken; the style is not ancient.

Graffito: below the hanging drapery, AΘENA

below the ground-line in larger letters, ]NAIAS H[.

<sup>18</sup> For the formula cf. IG I<sup>2</sup> 460 (on bronze) and Raubitschek, *Dedications* 386 (on stone).



20. Fragment of a bell-krater. PLATE 52. British Museum, 1920.2-23.11. Maximum dimension, 0.082 m. Part of the foot. The form of the foot seems more developed than the latest examples found at Olynthus (e.g. *Olynthus* XIII, pl. 38, 29; pl. 41, 34; pl. 48, 38); it is therefore to be dated in the third quarter of the fourth century.

Graffito: upside down, along the face of the lowest member of the foot,

ΣΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΘ[

upside down round the top of the lowest member of the foot, ]Ν ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ.

On Samandros, see no. 3.

21. Foot of a kantharos or cup-kantharos. PLATE 52. British Museum, 1920.2-23.15. Diameter, 0.043 m. The broken stem of the foot has been pared off smooth with a knife. There is a groove in the resting-surface, but the fragment is glazed all over. It is hard to date the fragment precisely, as so little is left of the stem, but it can hardly be earlier than such examples as *Hesperia* XXIII, pl. 24, *i* and *j*, which belong to the third quarter of the fourth century.

Graffito: running in a circle round the interior of the foot, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΣ  
in the centre of the circle, Ε.

22. Fragment. PLATE 52. British Museum, 1920.2-23.12. Maximum dimension, 0.096 m. From near the rim of a large open vase, perhaps a calyx-krater. Glazed all over.

Graffito: ]Σ: ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟ[  
in larger letters, ΑΘ[.

The apparent tail on the *rho* is accidental, being one end of a long scratch.

23. Fragment of a fish-plate. PLATE 52. British Museum, 1920.2-23.23. Maximum dimension, 0.126 m. Estimated diameter, 0.260 m. About an eighth of the rim is preserved, with part of the top. There is a reserved groove round the edge of the top, in which are traces of a red wash. On the underside are two layers of glaze; a thick red one, over which is a thinner black one, shading off into chestnut in places; on the top the greater part has fired red.

Graffito: in radial lines,

Λ[  
Ρ[  
ΟΛΙΑ[ or ΤΑ  
ΓΕΝΟΥ.[  
5 ΤΑΤΟΥΛ.[  
ΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ.[  
ΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΝ Π[  
ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙ[  
ΚΕΥΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΑΙ[  
10 ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ.[  
ΚΑΛΩΣ ΔΕ ΚΕΝΤ[  
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΝΑΟΙΣ Π[  
ΝΟΣ. ΩΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΑ[  
15 ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ[  
ΤΟΝ ΕΤ[  
ΑΘ[

24. Fragment of a black-figured skyphos. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 99 N 140. *CVA* II, pl. 20, 7. Said to be from Naukratis. CHC Group (Beazley, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum* 223). End of the sixth century or beginning of the fifth.

Graffito: in the band of glaze below the figures,

]ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ + ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ + ΗΙΕΡΟΝ + [

25. Fragment of a Panathenaic amphora. PLATE 53. Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology, NA 239. Said to be from Naukratis. Maximum dimension, 0.085 m. From the shoulder of the vase. Part of Athena's shield is preserved; the blazon is a gorgoneion. On the extreme left of the fragment is part of the first letter of the prize inscription, τ[ὼν Ἀθήνηθεν ἔθλων]. There is a dull patch in the glaze around the EI of Pheidestros, but apart from this there is no evidence that the rim of the shield had a line of red or white dots. White was used for the Gorgon's face and ears; over this a series of black dots was placed along the brow to represent curls or locks of hair; two more dots formed the pupils of the eyes, and a band of black glaze was used to limit the contour of each ear. In many places, where the glaze overlay the white, it has broken away. In some areas there is a thick layer of glaze, which has fired red, and above it a much thinner layer, which varies from reddish-brown to black; in other areas, although the two layers can still be distinguished, both are black. To judge from the gorgoneion, the fragment is of approximately the same date as a vase in Naples by the Achilles painter (*AJA* XLVII 448, 3).

Graffito: running along the rim of the shield, ]ΟΥΣ + ΦΕΙΔΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ + [

in the reserved background, running parallel to the edge of the shield, ΑΥΣΙΔΕΜΟ[.

Φειδέστρατος; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1742, 101.

26. Fragment of a black-figured cup. PLATE 53. Alexandria, The Greek High School. Part of the interior, with the central medallion; a cock, facing to the left. The cup is one of a considerable number of poor black-figured cups produced in the first quarter of the fifth century; compare, out of many possible examples, *CVA Louvre* X III He, pll. 115-16.

Graffito: running in a circle round the medallion,

ΣΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΗΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΕΣΑ[ ]ΑΣ ΣΩΤΕΡΑΣ.

The name, Smikron, which occurs also on no. 16 above, is not particularly common.

27. Fragment of an amphora. Graef and Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, pl. 91, 1417.

Graffito: above the picture,

ΗΦ  
.. ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ ..  
ΝΕΡ/ΕΗΝΚΑ ..  
ΕΛΙΤΑΙΕΩΣΑΝ ..  
ΟΑ/ΑΘΙΩΝΤΟΝ

As a result of the present investigations Professor Peek also suspects nos. 1371, 1474, 1493, and 1543.

28. Foot of a vase. PLATE 53. Cambridge: Dr. Charles Seltman. Purchased at the same time as no. 32. From a cup, type A? Underside reserved, with two circles of glaze and a dot.



- 10 ΔΕΞΙΔΗΜ[  
 ΗΣ + ΦΙΛΟΞ[  
 ΩΝΙΟΣ + ΠΕ[  
 ΑΡΕΥΣ + ΕΓΙΛ[ or Μ  
 ΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΑΝ[  
 15 ΚΑΓΑΘΑΕΝ[  
 ΛΕΙΚΑΙΕΝ[  
 ΛΩΣΠΑΙΕ[  
 ΑΤΩΝΤΕΣΠ[

Round the rim, ]ΟΝΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΕ[

IG XII 9, 191, C.

- l. 10 Δεξιδημ[  
 l. 13 αρευσ

- l. 6 γραφε[  
 l. 7 νυωσι[  
 l. 8 αν τις το[  
 l. 9 εφηβων  
 l. 15 καγαθαεν

- l. 22 Δεξιδημος. Not a common name.  
 l. 48 ]δαρεύς.  
 191, A.

- l. 53 γράφει.  
 l. 52 ὀμνύωσι.  
 l. 58 αν τις τούτων.  
 l. 47 τῶν ἐφήβων.  
 l. 55 καγαθα, εἰ.

31. Fragment of a fish-plate. PLATE 53. Halle, Professor Peek. Length, 0.070 m. Breadth, 0.037 m. Part of the top and rim are preserved.

Graffito: on the top, set radially,

- ]ΤΙ[  
 ]ΩΝΤ[  
 ]ΤΑΙΜΕ . [  
 ΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΗ[  
 5 ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝΕΣΑ[  
 ΕΝ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΣ[  
 ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑΚ[  
 . ΟΝΤΩΝ ΛΕ[  
 ΟΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ[  
 10 ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΑΠΟΔΟ[  
 ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΙΕΡΩΙ ΤΗ[  
 ΗΝ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΑ[  
 ΙΣΩΝΤΑΙ ΤΑ[  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΑΥ[  
 15 . ΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΝ[  
 ]ΟΤΙ . [

IG XII 9, 191, A.

- l. 6 ἐν τετταρσ[  
 l. 10 χρόνος ἀποδο[  
 l. 11 ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι

- l. 7 ἐν τέτταρσιν.  
 l. 17 χρόνος ἀποδοθήτω.  
 l. 46 ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι,  
 see also no. 32, ll. 19-20.



32. Fragment of a fish-plate. Cambridge, Dr. Charles Seltman. Maximum dimension, 0.116 m.; estimated diameter, c. 0.228 m. *BSA* XLVIII (1953), 191 f.

The graffito is repeated here for ease of reference. On the top, set radially,

1[  
 ΠΡ[  
 ΟΣΑ[  
 ΕΝΑ[  
 5 ΚΑΙ Τ[  
 ΕΣΤΑΙΑ[  
 ΣΟΝ ΜΕ[  
 ΝΥΟΝΤΩ[  
 ΗΝ + ΕΔΕΧ[  
 10 ΝΥΜΦΩ ΝΙ[  
 ΣΩΝΕΥΤΟΝ Δ[  
 ΝΟΝΠΑΝΤΑ[  
 ΟΙ ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΙ Α[  
 ΚΕΙΜΕ ΝΑ ΔΥΝ[  
 15 ΔΙΑΛΥΣΩΝΤΑΙ[  
 ΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ[  
 ΣΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ[  
 ΑΤΟΥΣ ΟΡΚΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ[  
 ΘΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΙΕΡΩΤΟ[  
 20 ΛΩΝΟΣ + ΜΟΛΛΑ[  
 ΔΙΤΑΙ ΚΕΝ ΤΩΙ Α[  
 ΕΠΙΨΗΦΙΣΑΝΤΕΣ[  
 . . ] ΠΑΥΤΩΙ ΤΕ ΚΑ[  
 ]ΠΑΡΑΘΑ[  
 25 ]ΕΧΩΝ[  
 ΤΑ

Round the rim: ]ΤΑΤΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ.

*IG* XII 9, 191, A.

1. 8 νουντω[  
 1. 13 οἱ πρόβουλοι  
 1. 14 κείμενα  
 1. 15 διαλυσώνται  
 1. 16 ἐργαζομένοις  
 1. 17 τῆς πόλεως  
 1. 18 ]α τοὺς ὅρκους  
 11. 19-20 θεν τῶι ἱερῶ το[  
                     λωνος  
 1. 22 ἐπιψηφισαντες

1. 54 ἐπομνυόντων.  
 1. 35 οἱ πρόβουλοι.  
 1. 45 σ(υ)γκείμενα.  
 1. 40 διαλύνονται.  
 1. 38 ἐργαζομένοις.  
 1. 39 τῆς πόλεως.  
 1. 55 παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους.  
 1. 46 ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.  
 1. 53 ἐπιψηφίζ[

## APPENDIX: THE DATE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE FISH-PLATE

Fish-plates were found at Olynthus; they also occur in the excavations of the Athenian Agora in contexts of the second quarter of the fourth century and later. There are no fish-plates in those deposits of pottery from the Agora which have as their lower limit the last quarter of the fifth century. The evidence for the intervening period is scanty, but there are a few groups of pottery in the Agora museum which seem to belong to the period from the end of the fifth century to the first quarter of the fourth. They include a certain number of fish-plates, some of them lighter and a little more elaborate than the variety current from the second quarter of the century onward. These are presumably early examples of the shape; the evidence suggests that they were produced some time in the first quarter of the fourth century, but it is conceivable that some of them are to be dated slightly earlier, just before 400 B.C. The only evidence for an earlier development is the red-figured example which Schefold (*UKV* 11) dated 'around 430 B.C.', but there seems no good reason to put it so early. Though the vase came from a tomb, none of the associated material is illustrated or even mentioned in the report, so that it is not dated by its context; we are not well supplied with pictures of fish by Attic artists for comparison, but one may compare with the dolphin another on a calyx-krater by the Upsala painter (Oxford, Professor Mynors) of the middle of the first half of the fourth century.

P. CORBETT  
G. WOODHEAD

## THUCYDIDES AS ARCHAEOLOGIST

IN I.1-21 Thucydides gives a brief interpretation of early Greek history.\* This is important not only for the critical standard of its author, but also because in ten instances he says what his evidence is.<sup>1</sup> Twice his evidence is archaeological. The two passages deserve careful study.

### THE REMAINS OF MYCENAE (I 10, 1-3)

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἂν τις σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοῖη μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἱ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασι καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει. Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθεῖη, λειφθεῖη δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι (καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται τῆς τε συμμάχης ἡγούνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω συμμάχων πολλῶν· ὅμως δέ, οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης τῆς πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτέλεσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κόμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα), Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων διπλασίαν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φανεραῆς ὀψεως τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἔστιν. οὐκ οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν εἰκὸς οὐδὲ τὰς ὀψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις.

Mycenae had been destroyed by the Argives in the 460's<sup>2</sup> and was deserted till the third century B.C. Thanks to modern archaeologists and Pausanias<sup>3</sup> we can form some idea of what was to be seen in the time of Thucydides. Much of the Bronze Age wall, including the Lion Gate, should have been above ground; it was anyhow visible to Pausanias, and before him the Hellenistic fortifiers had made use of it. Some of the tholos tombs were open, to judge by finds made in their excavation<sup>4</sup> and by Pausanias's mention of 'underground treasures of Atreus and his sons'. Of the Bronze Age palace and houses nothing was left above ground, so the stratification suggests. But the ruins of the city demolished in the 460's must still have survived, and its sanctuaries may have been intact; it would have been natural enough for the Argives to spare them, and there is some positive evidence that the temple on the summit of Mycenae and the sanctuary near the fountain house outside the Lion Gate were both kept in repair<sup>5</sup> and that the Agamemnoneion over half a mile to the south was still visited.<sup>6</sup>

Thucydides, judging by the visible remains (as is shown by his whole argument and his mention of ὄψεις at its end), asserts that Agamemnon's Mycenae was small<sup>7</sup> and implies that

\* This paper is an expansion of two notes read to the Cambridge Philological Society on January 21st, 1954.

<sup>1</sup> See below, n. 29.

<sup>2</sup> According to Diodorus (XI 65) it was in 468/7 B.C. that the Argives destroyed Mycenae. W. Kolbe reasonably shifts the date to about 460 B.C., when the Spartans were preoccupied by a revolt of Helots (*Hermes* 1937, 254-63). A. Andrewes prefers 465/4 B.C. (*Phoenix*, 1952, 5).

<sup>3</sup> II 16. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> Geometric and Archaic and even Classical sherds and figurines were found (A. J. B. Wace, *BSA* XXV 295-6, 305, 320, 329, 364-6; M. S. F. Hood, *BSA* XLVIII 69-71). That in the Archaic period some tholoi were the sites of cults (and therefore were accessible) is rightly argued by J. M. Cook in *Geras Antoniou Keramopoulou* 114-15.

<sup>5</sup> Tiles of the later fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were found in these areas (A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae* 85-6; M. S. F. Hood, *BSA* XLVIII 27).

<sup>6</sup> J. M. Cook, *BSA* XLVIII 34.

<sup>7</sup> Thucydides does not argue or imply that Agamemnon's Mycenae was large for its time, as is asserted by T. Nicklin (*CR* 1904, 199). Probably he considered it smaller than Athens (see II 15, 2; cf. I 2, 6).

it looked unimpressive. But in spite of appearances he believes it was powerful. To support his belief he contrasts the contemporary cities of Sparta and Athens, supposing that they were deserted. But desertion was not required for this contrast, which was obvious enough to Greeks of the later fifth century, and it becomes relevant only by reference to Mycenae. Thucydides goes further and specifies the significant remains of the deserted city, τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη—the sanctuaries (still intact) and the foundations of (profane) buildings. Again, on a straight and unprejudiced reading of the Greek, he should be referring to Mycenae. If so, he was judging Agamemnon's city by remains mostly of Archaic and early Classical date,<sup>8</sup> and not by the still considerable remains of the Bronze Age.

The Bronze Age remains—Lion Gate and 'Cyclopean' walls and tholos tombs—impress most modern visitors so strongly that they have no difficulty in believing in Agamemnon's power. But from his opposite line of argument it is clear that Thucydides did not find these monuments impressive, although it may be presumed that for want of a better occasion he correctly assigned them to the Heroic Age. The difference in attitude, though interesting, is hardly surprising. To an Athenian of the later fifth century the relief of the Lion Gate, the façade of the tholos tomb now called the Treasury of Atreus, and 'Mycenae' masonry may well have seemed primitive and inferior examples of the sculpture and architecture to which he was accustomed. For the converse reason later writers attributed Archaic statues to the hand of Minos's Daedalus.

More important is the reference to the sanctuaries and civil buildings. For Thucydides must have known that Mycenae had been inhabited almost into his own time, and he would consequently have suspected that many of its buildings were recent. The probable explanation is that Thucydides, and indeed the ancients generally, believed that Greek culture had continued from Heroic times to their own without any serious break or revolution; and so Agamemnon's Mycenae and fifth-century Mycenae could be thought of as one city, repaired and casually rebuilt but essentially the same.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE GRAVES ON DELOS (I 8, 1)

Thucydides tells us that on two occasions the island of Delos was purified by the clearing of graves.<sup>10</sup> The first clearance by Pisistratus was limited to the area visible from the sanctuary. The second in 426/5 B.C. was comprehensive. During this later clearance the character and contents of the graves were observed, and Thucydides comments as follows:

Μαρτύριον δὲ Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθειῶν, ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τεσκευῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν ξυντεθαμμένη καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἐτι θάπτουσιν.

A note is required on the interpretation of τῇσκευῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν ξυντεθαμμένη. This is generally taken to mean that the Carians were distinguished from the Greeks by the *style* of their arms,<sup>11</sup> although the other evidence suggests that it was similar.<sup>12</sup> But the meaning might

<sup>8</sup> There were, it seems, no temples or urban sanctuaries in 'Mycenae' Greece; but Thucydides, relying on Homer, could hardly have known this. Mr. M. S. F. Hood has kindly mentioned the Minoan shrine at Gournia and a supposed building at Eleusis (*AJA* 1933, 284-6); but one is in Crete and the other is only presumable.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the general tenor of Pausanias (II 16, 5) and Diodorus (XI 65). Pausanias, of course, knew what Thucydides had said: see VIII 27 1 with its echo of Thuc. I 10, 1.

<sup>10</sup> I 8 1 and III 104 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> The agreement of ξυντεθαμμένη shows that σκευή means something like 'equipment'. It does not here, nor probably anywhere else, itself have the meaning of 'style'.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. Hdt. VII 93—τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ πῦρ Ἕλληνες ἐσταλμένοι, εἶχον δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια.



also be that the distinction was in the presence of arms, and this both gives more point to *ξύλτεθαιμένη* and accords with the normal absence of arms in Greek graves of the time of Thucydides.

Thucydides does not say what the Athenians did with the contents of the graves that they cleared. But in 1898 on the shore of Rheneia facing Delos there was found a walled enclosure rather more than 20 metres square, within which lay a jumbled mass of bones and broken pottery as well as a few other objects.<sup>13</sup> The nature of the find immediately suggested the clearance of a cemetery, and since the latest pottery appears to have been of about 425 B.C. (or, more accurately, of a date not much later than the Parthenon)<sup>14</sup> it is difficult not to believe that the deposit is connected with the purification of 426/5 B.C. But it may be connected also with the earlier purification. For the deposit was divided by a stone pavement into an upper and a lower part, so the excavator observed, though unfortunately he did not note what was above and what below the pavement.

The bones were without more ado dumped in the sea. The pottery has been mended and gives a series running back for about four centuries: only two distinctly earlier pots are published.<sup>15</sup> Objects of metal were few and fragmentary, but they included parts of two daggers and of about fifty small sickles, all of iron. Evidently the graves represented in the deposit were fairly recent and Greek.

It has been argued that the contents of Thucydides' 'Carian' graves were segregated and either thrown away (as Wilamowitz asserted)<sup>16</sup> or reburied in another deposit (as A. Plassart supposed).<sup>17</sup> But it is not likely that the Athenian commissioners trusted their archaeological opinions so completely as to risk a charge of impiety by throwing the 'Carian' relics away, nor has vigorous searching of the Delian shore of Rheneia found any trace of a second deposit. The more reasonable conclusion is that Thucydides' 'Carians' were to be found in our deposit.

Thucydides has given four clues to their identity. First, more than half the graves opened in 426/5 B.C. were 'Carian'. Secondly, they (and perhaps they alone) contained arms.<sup>18</sup> Thirdly, the *τρόπος* of burial was uniform. Fourthly, it was that still current among Carians of the later fifth century. Of these clues the first three are in part ambiguous and the fourth unintelligible, since we know nothing of relevant Carian burials.<sup>19</sup>

The pottery from the deposit may be arranged in four groups which at first sight are easily distinguished from each other. There are published about 300 examples of Geometric and of Early Orientalising that retains strongly Geometric characteristics, about 600 of developed Orientalising, and about 200 of Attic red-figure. How much Attic black-figure there is I do not know. The red-figure and even the black-figure must have been familiar to the contemporaries of Thucydides, vestiges of the Orientalising Animal style still survived, but Geometric was probably altogether strange. That the Geometric pottery came from the 'Carian' graves is a tempting inference, but there is more doubt about the Orientalising. F. Poulsen gave both the Geometric and the Orientalising groups to the 'Carians', so that they might

<sup>13</sup> For general accounts see J. H. Hopkinson, *JHS* 1902, 47-8, and more fully K. A. Rhomaïos, *ADelt* 1929, 181-223. The position of the enclosure is marked at 21 on the map, *Delos* I, pl. 1. The earlier pottery has been published (together with pieces from other sites) in *Delos* XV and XVII, the latest in *Delos* XXI. For the sickles see Rhomaïos, *op. cit.*, 210-13, figs. 20-1.

<sup>14</sup> A few later sherds seem to have intruded: see Rhomaïos in *Delos* XXI 3.

<sup>15</sup> One is of the Mycenaean (*Delos* XV, pl. 2. 19), the other of the Protogeometric period (*Delos* XVII, pl. 36. 7).

<sup>16</sup> *SB Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.* 1906, 76-7.

<sup>17</sup> *Delos* XI 49-50.

<sup>18</sup> But it is not necessary or likely that all the 'Carian' graves contained arms. Arms would presumably not be buried with women or children, who together would naturally outnumber men.

<sup>19</sup> *θάπτω* is used both of interment and cremation (e.g. *Hdt.* V 8).

have ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν of the *pots* in the deposit.<sup>20</sup> But the average number of pots to a grave may not have been constant from one period to another; and if we have to reckon with a Pisistratan layer in the deposit, the proportions between the groups as we have them may differ from the proportions in the clearance of 426/5 B.C.<sup>21</sup> More positive obstacles to Poulsen's arithmetical solution are the likelihood on general grounds of a change of rite about the end of the Geometric period<sup>22</sup> and the presence of arms in 'Carian' graves. The custom of putting arms in graves, to judge by extensive observation, was common at Athens and in other parts of Greece till the end of the Geometric period, and afterwards was very rare.<sup>23</sup> If, then, Thucydides' 'Carians' were transferred to the enclosure on Rheneia, they should be 'Geometric' Greeks. The rarity of arms (as of jewellery) among the finds may be set down to the thrift of the exhumers.

Poulsen, who supposed that γνωσθέντες τῇ σκευῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν meant that the arms were distinctively Carian, proposed another explanation:<sup>24</sup> Thucydides, recalling the statement of Herodotus quoted above in n. 12, mistook the sickles found in the deposit for military, and so Carian, sickles.<sup>25</sup> But they are too flimsy to be weapons and (as has since appeared) were still being put in graves on Rheneia in the late fifth century. It is hard to believe with Rhomaïos that an inquisitive Athenian observer missed both these points.

The conclusions that follow are of some wider importance. First, Thucydides or an informant he considered reliable did not recognise Geometric (and perhaps Orientalising) pottery as being particularly Greek and dated it at least three hundred years too early.<sup>26</sup> This is less surprising since in his native Attica the Persian invasion had destroyed so many earlier dedications and monuments. Secondly, if the 'Carian' graves were Geometric, many of the arms should have been of iron. So Thucydides either did not know of what we call the Bronze Age or else dated its end too early.<sup>27</sup> Thirdly, he believed that Carian customs of burial had continued unchanged for over eight hundred years,<sup>28</sup> much as he seems to have believed that fifth-century Mycenae and Agamemnon's Mycenae were more or less the same.

It would, I think, generally be agreed that the ancients were not very accurate in their use of archaeological evidence. But they may have used it more often than we commonly suppose. Ancient writers rarely give the evidence for their statements about early Greece, and we tend to suppose that they relied on oral tradition. The examination of Thucydides I 1-21 is interesting; of thirteen references five are to Homer and the 'old' poets, three to modern analogy, three to tradition, and two to archaeology.<sup>29</sup> It is conceivable that some of the 'traditions'

<sup>20</sup> *MonPiot* XVI, 31-2. He is followed by Rhomaïos, *op. cit.*, 211.

<sup>21</sup> Graves of one period tend to be close together, so that Pisistratus may well have removed much more of one period than of another. The red-figure and part of the black-figure must, of course, belong to the clearance of 426/5 B.C. Incidentally the publication is not complete; but presumably the proportion published does not vary significantly from one group to another.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. n. 28.

<sup>23</sup> So Poulsen himself, *Dipylongräber* 39-41. Cf. W. Kraiker in *Kerameikos* I 172-3.

<sup>24</sup> *MonPiot* XVI 36-7, following D. Stavropoulos (*JHS* 1902, 61).

<sup>25</sup> For these sickles, which measure from 10 to 17 cm. across, see above, n. 13.

<sup>26</sup> The Dorian invasion was not less than 700 years before 416 B.C. (V 112); that was eighty years after the Trojan war (I 12, 3); and Minos, who expelled our Carians, was a good generation earlier. It is perhaps relevant that some reputable archaeologists around 1850 considered Geometric and early Orientalising pottery not Greek but Phoenician.

<sup>27</sup> Homer, in whom Thucydides had some faith, admits iron in his Heroic Age. Hesiod's account of the Ages does not say whether the Heroic Age did or did not use iron (*Op.* 143-76).

<sup>28</sup> At Athens the sequence for adults is roughly this: in the Late Bronze Age inhumation, c. 1100 B.C. cremation, c. 800 B.C. inhumation, c. 700 B.C. cremation, c. 600 B.C. inhumation. There are other changes too. See K. Kübler, *Bericht über den VI. Internat. Kongress* 428-30.

<sup>29</sup> Homer or 'old' poets (5): 3. 3, 5. 2, 9. 4, 10. 3-5, 13. 5. Tradition (3): 4. 9. 2, 13. 2. Archaeology (2): 8. 1, 10. 1-3. Modern analogy (3): 5. 2-6. 2, 8. 1, 10. 1-3 (and cf. 7).

about foreign communities in Greece are no more than antiquarian interpretations of casual archaeological finds.<sup>30</sup> More important is the inference that Thucydides (and other ancient writers) accepted a much closer continuity than do most modern scholars between Heroic and historical times. It would, for instance, be difficult to discover from Greek literature that Mycenae and its civilisation were destroyed at the end of the Bronze Age or that the Dorian invasion brought a different culture. Epic, a principal source for historical reconstruction, was naturally anachronistic, but there cannot have been a strong and independent tradition to correct it.

R. M. Cook

<sup>30</sup> Compare the graves at Eleusis apparently attributed in the fifth century B.C. to the Seven against Thebes (*JLN* September 12th, 1953, 402-3).

## NOTES ON SOME ATTIC DECREES

### I. IG I<sup>2</sup> 80; BSA XLIX 17-21.

MR. D. M. LEWIS has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of this decree relating to the Praxiergidai and their ancestral ritual, but his restoration of the last line (l. 25) is far from satisfactory. In his version the last two lines are given as follows:

[υ τὸς] Πραχσιερ[γίδας τὸ ἥδος] ἀμφιεννύ[ν]  
[αι με]δίμνον χι[λίων ἔ μνᾶν ἀπο]τίτευ *vacat*.

In stating that the restorations are 'virtually compulsory' he has failed to realise that [με]δίμνον is not the only possible explanation for the six letters that survive, and he does not discuss the unlikely construction with a genitive plural following ἀμφιεννύ[ναι]. It is true that in the *Editio minor* Hiller prints - - - μεδίμνον χι - - -, but in IG I 93 Kirchhoff's text gives only MNONXI, and his tentative conjecture [ἀ]μνόν, χι[μᾶρον]?, which is made valueless, by the discovery of the new fragment containing the ends of ll. 24/5, at least shows that he saw nothing on the stone to suggest μεδίμνον. What I thought to be possible traces of *epsilon* before the *delta* on Mr. Lewis's photograph of the stele, are, he assures me, illusory, as the surface has perished completely here.

If, however, we read simply [αι] δίμνον χι[τουα], κ.τ.λ., we obtain an object for the verb which is grammatically correct (for the double accusative, cf. l. 11, [ἀμ]φιεννύουσιν τὸν πέπλον τ[ὲν θεόν]), as well as the information that besides the peplos the statue of the goddess was to be clad in a chiton costing two minae, and, moreover, we bring the first letter of this line into its correct position relative to the three lines above.

For δίμνον (= δίμνου) it will suffice to refer to LS<sup>6</sup>, s.v. 'διμναῖος', and to recall δίμνω (acc. pl.) ἀποτιμησάμενοι used by Herodotus to describe the ransoming of the Chalcidian and Boeotian prisoners (V 77), and the ten mina breastplate (Aristophanes, *Pax* 1224, 1235), as another adjectival compound of μνᾶ.<sup>1</sup> That 200 drachmai was an exceptionally high price for a chiton may be taken for granted, but no doubt the goddess had to be provided with one no less worthy of her than the peplos to be worn over it.

### II. *Hesperia* VII (1938), 278 ff.

I add to this note a few suggested improvements for some of the decree fragments found by Broneer in his excavation of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the north slope of the Acropolis and published by Schweigert in 1938 (*v. supra*). Two of these have been briefly discussed by Roussel since that date, but both these and several others call for further attention. It would appear, in fact, that the commendable promptness with which these, and some of the other documents in the same article, were published did not permit the editor to reach the correct interpretation of certain passages where the sense is obscured by the fragmentary condition of the stones.

- i. *Op. cit.* no. 13 + P. Roussel, *RA* XVIII (1941), 216 ff.; cf. J. and L. Robert, *REG* LV 330, no. 31.

This new fragment from the left-hand side of IG II<sup>2</sup> 143, with the beginnings of two hexameter verses engraved below a decree (or perhaps, rather, a dedication quoting an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the marble weight from the Agora, inscribed ΔΙΜΝΟΥΝ, *Hesperia* III (1934), 53, no. 40.



excerpt from a decree) and followed by lists of the names of the persons honoured (apparently arbitrators, as Schweigert suggests), is not restored acceptably. The text of the verses, of which further portions are preserved on two of the three published fragments of the stele, is given by S. as follows:

[ο]ἶδε τὸν εὐνομίας [- - <sup>10</sup>± - - δι]καιοσύνην ῥα[- <sup>±</sup> -]δικαιί I[. . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . .] αἶδε [- - <sup>10</sup> - - -]  
παύσαντες νείκη [- - - <sup>13</sup>± - - - κτ]ήματα το[- <sup>±</sup> -]ἡμέες κα[. . . <sup>7</sup> . . . δ]όξαν ἀλη[θῆ]

He concludes that there were two dactylic hexameter verses in each line, and that the maximum number of letter-spaces was about ninety, in view of the width over all of the three columns of names, which are engraved στοιχηδόν in relation to the verses above. But the first line, as printed, lands us at once in a metrical difficulty, as Roussel was quick to point out,<sup>2</sup> for δικαιοσύνην ῥα[- -] cannot fit into the second half of a line, in which the first two and a half feet consist of [ο]ἶδε τὸν εὐνομίας, after an interval of 10+ letter-spaces. We must therefore assume a much wider gap after εὐνομίας, to contain the rest of the first verse and enable us to put δικαιοσύνην ῥα[- -] early in the second. Moreover, fragment *b*, which comes from close to the right-hand edge of the stele, gives us the remains of the last four and a half feet in each of the two lines, so it is obvious that δικαιοσύνην ῥα[- -] could not form part of this assumed second hexameter. In other words, we must assume also a much wider gap between fragments *a* and *b*, and reach the obvious conclusion that there were three and not two verses in each line. This in turn avoids the anomaly indicated by S. that two hexameter lines, containing at most eighty letters, apparently occupied about the same space as three columns of names containing about ninety letters over all. Again the solution is obvious: we require four columns of names, giving us at most 120 letter-spaces, to match the three hexameter lines with an average length of 38-40 letters each.

Having thus established the approximate width of the stele, we can see that the four lines of the decree (or dedication) above, of which the letters are spaced evenly above every second letter in the verse lines, must have contained 59 or 60 letters each. I cannot offer a satisfactory restoration of the whole text, but confidently following Schweigert in his suggestion for ll. 3/4 δεδ[ό]χ[θαι τῷ δήμῳ] | ἐπαινέσαι, and observing, moreover, that in l. 2 the letters ΙΚΛ[Ε]Ι come directly above the first five of δεδ[ό]χ[θαι, we can with hardly less confidence restore the end of this line as - - ἐπὶ Χαρ]ικλεί[δο (or Φρασ]ικλεί[δο] ἄρχοντος, as Roussel had suggested. Before this we might expect the words οἱ δῖαιτται οἱ, to which ΟΙΔ at the right of fragment *a* would seem most likely to belong, for Schweigert's οἶδ[ε- is far from convincing. This in turn locates the position of *a* and leaves very little margin of uncertainty for the distance separating it from the new fragment which is complete on the left. Assuming lines of 59 letters (with 60 in l. 3, with Ω! occupying one space), my incomplete restoration would run thus:

----- <sup>21</sup> ----- ν ἄριστ[α ----- <sup>17</sup> -----]εν . . . . . <sup>12</sup> . . . . .  
[. . . . τὰ συμφέροντα(?)] τῷ δήμῳ οἱ δ[ῖαιτται οἱ ἐπὶ Φρασ]ικλ[ε]ί[δο] ἄρχοντος]  
. . . . . δ[ίκας τὰς ἀπό(?)] συμβολαίων [δικαίως κρινάντες] δεδ[ό]χ[θαι τῷ δήμῳ]  
ἐπαινέσαι[τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἀπο]δῶνα α[ὐτοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα] κομι[σάσθαι. *vvvv*]

It will be seen that Roussel's attractive suggestion ἄριστ[α δεδηιτηκ]έν[αι] falls short of filling the gap in l. 1 by eight letters; a possible alternative ἄριστ[α τὰς κρίσεις ποιησάμ]εν[αι] involves an awkward order of words. For the missing 21 letters at the beginning of l. 1

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 218.

we might expect some phrase expressing the motive for honouring the *Diaitetai* introduced by ἐπειδή, e.g. ἐπειδή ἀπεφάνθησαν, rather than δοξάντες --, which in agreement with οἱ δ[ιαίτηται] in the next line would give us an ungrammatical *nominativus pendens*, but the former alternative is too short by four letters, and I must leave this gap for others to fill convincingly. The restoration of l. 4, even though it stops four spaces short of the end of ll. 1 and 2, seems the only satisfactory wording to account for the letters AKOMI; and τὰ νομιζόμενα is not unlikely to be used to mean 'the customary fees', though it is generally found in the sense of 'customary practice or ritual'.

Turning to the hexameters, the transcript of what survives can now be set out so as to show the position of each word, or group of letters, in the metrical scheme of the six lines; and it is obvious that the material does not suffice for a full restoration.

[Ο]ἶδε τὸν εὐνομίας  
 [- υ δι]καιοσύνην ῥα  
 [- ∞ - τ]ὰ δίκαια υ - ∞ αἶδε ∞ - -  
 παύσαντες νείκη  
 - ∞ - ∞ ἡματα τοι ∞ - ∞ - -  
 - ∞ - ἡμῆς κα . . ο . . . . . δόξαν ἀλη[θῆ.]

The use of the word εὐνομία in l. 1 suggests almost certainly an allusion to Lysurgus, and it is not far-fetched to see in l. 2 a reference to another famous precursor in the field of law-giving: in fact, the lack of obvious alternatives in this context fully justifies the restoration 'Ρα[δαμάνθυος], which in turn gives us [τὴν τε] at the beginning of the line, and leads us to expect a verb or participle with δικαιοσύνην as its object, of which the subject is [ο]ἶδε in l. 1. If we restore a participle we need a main verb before τ]ὰ δίκαια in l. 3. In this interpretation of the first part of the poem I am happy to have the support of Professor D. L. Page, to whom I am indebted for εὐσεβέοντες at the end of l. 2 and ἡνύσαμεν in l. 3.<sup>3</sup> At the end of this line the spacing of the letters shows a gap of ten before αἶδε (for which Schweigert's αἶδε is far from likely) and room for ten at most after these letters, but any restoration could be only speculative. Similarly, it seems wiser to leave l. 4 incomplete after νείκη, as we cannot tell whether it has a general or a particular application here.

For l. 5, where we have only eight letters left, their position on the stone shows that they form the third foot and the first syllable of the fourth. If we read -ἡματα τοι- (or possibly του-) we fail to obtain the expected caesura, and some such restoration as [ἐπίσ]ημα τὰ τοῦ[των -] might be preferable. In any case we should expect this line to stress the connection between the example of their great predecessors and the confident assurance which the dedicators display in l. 6 of their own reputation for justice.

I prefer to print the text as follows:

[Ο]ἶδε τὸν εὐνομίας [Λακεδαίμονι δόντα θέμιστας]  
 [τὴν τε δι]καιοσύνην 'Ρα[δαμάνθυος εὐσεβέοντες]  
 [ἡνύσαμεν τ]ὰ δίκαια . . . . . αἶδε . . . . .  
 παύσαντες νείκη -----  
 5 [- ---? ἐπίσ]ημα τὰ τοῦ[των (?) -----]  
 [εὐνομίας χ]ῆμῆς κ[αρπ]ο[ύ]μεθα δόξαν ἀλη[θῆ.]  
 (L. 3, (e.g.) κατὰ πτόλιν αἰδεσθέντες, D.L.P.)

<sup>3</sup> In line 6 his restoration [εὐνομίας χ]ῆμῆς is preferable to my first suggestion [σωφροσύνης] ἡμῆς.

The suggestion of Roussel that the foot of this stele is partly preserved in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2813, seems probable, if not absolutely certain. It contains the beginnings of the last four lines, namely two in verse followed by two lines recording a resolution of the *Diaitetai* to honour θαλλῶ στε[φάνῳ] their secretary and his assistant. As there are remains of a crown incised at the top of II<sup>2</sup> 143, this combination seems confirmed, but it must be noted that the size and spacing of the letters differ from those of the upper portions. In the latter the larger letters measure almost 0.009 m., the smaller 0.006 m., but in II<sup>2</sup> 2813 their height is 0.008 m. and 0.007 m. respectively. It is also noteworthy that the verses here begin over the sixth letter of the word [Ἔδ]οξεν in l. 3 and are spaced so that nine occupy the space of eight in ll. 3 and 4. If, following Kirchner's and Roussel's suggestion, we restore [Ἔδ]οξεν τοῖς διαιτητα[ῖς] ἐπαινέσαι τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα | καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸς θαλλῶ στε[φάνῳ] ἀρέτης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκα], we get a line of 59 letters followed by one of 56. If we assume that the verses above each ended above the sixth letter before the end of l. 3, we obtain a length of 49 letters  $\times \frac{9}{8}$  to allow for the closer spacing, i.e. approximately 54. But we saw above that the average length of the hexameters was c. 39 letters, so it seems necessary to infer that these verses comprise three hexameter lines of which the second occupies about 15 letters in l. 1 and is continued into l. 2.

Restoration is even more uncertain than for the six verses above, and I am not even sure of the accuracy of the transcript οὐδὲς ἐς - - - in l. 1. Is it possible that in imitation of the historical examples we have seen above the verse may have begun οὐδὲ Σέσ[ωστρι] τεᾷ στήλας - - ? In l. 2 it looks as if γράμματα . οσ - - - should be restored as γράμματα [κ]οσ - -, possibly [κ]όσ[μια] γράψαι], forming the end of the second verse. The sense suggested is 'we need not envy the famous stelai of Sesostri<sup>4</sup> or other masters of orderly writing when we have such skilled secretaries as we honour here'.

A. M. WOODWARD

<sup>4</sup> It is surely safe to assume that these monuments, on which Herodotus enlarges (II 106), would be known by repute in Athens.

(To be continued)

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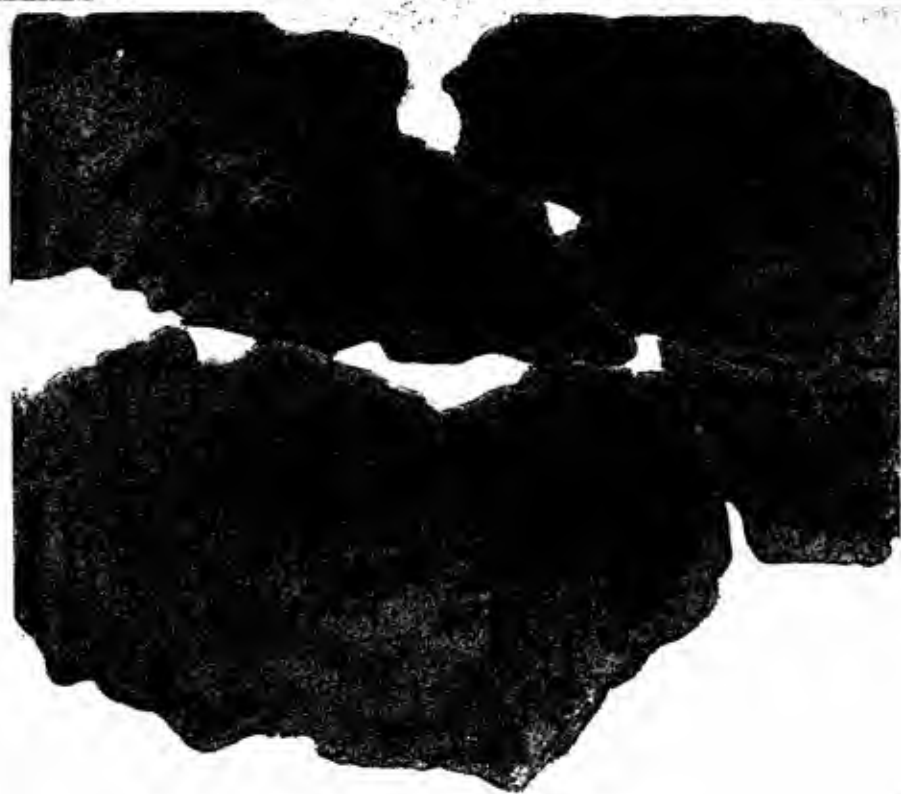
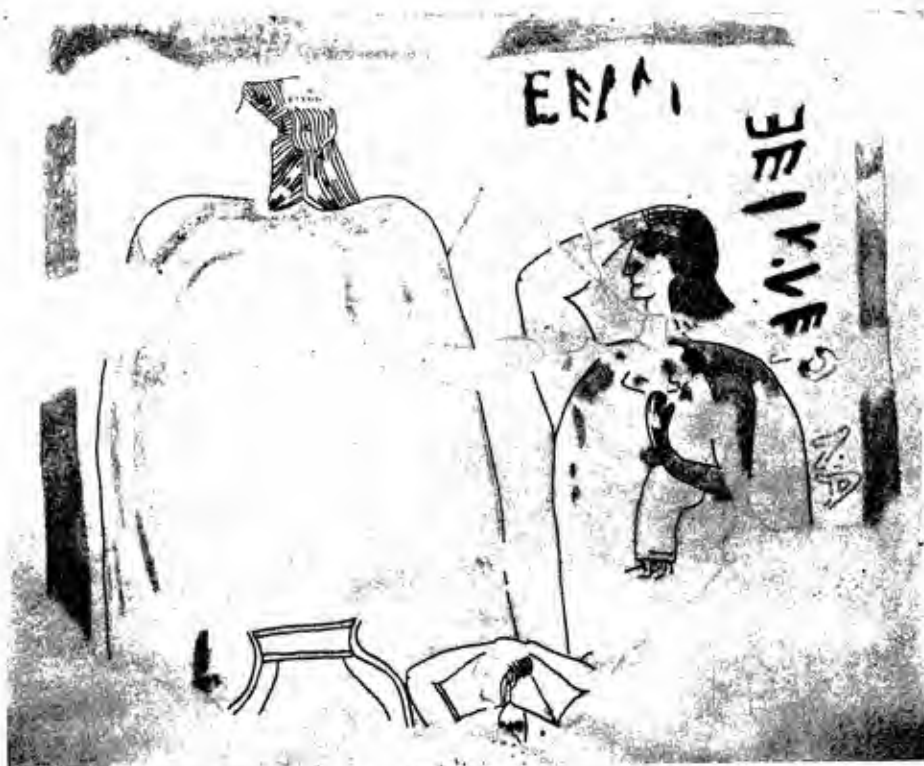
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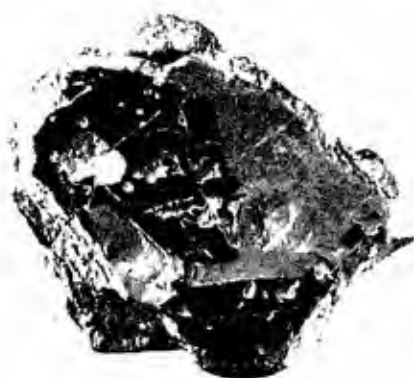
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(a)



(b)



(c)

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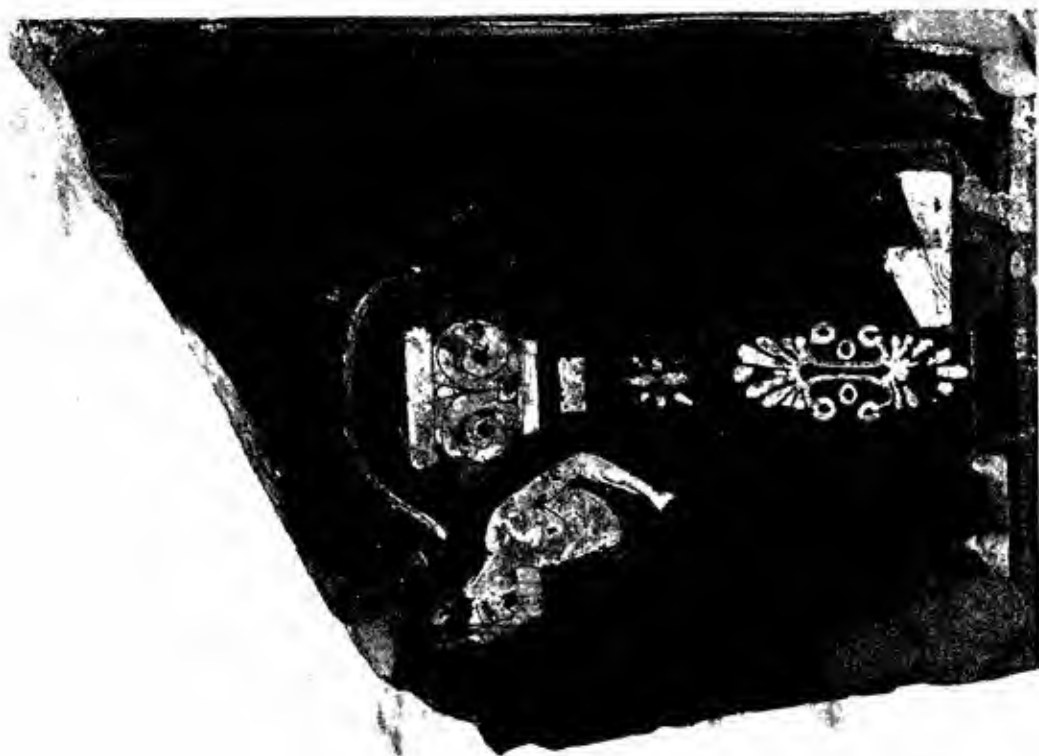
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(b)



(c)



(a)

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(a) ATHENS. VLASTO COLLECTION (30). (b) ATHENS. VLASTO COLLECTION (21). (c) ATHENS NM 2501.32.



(a)



(b)



(c)



PAINTED FUNERARY PLAQUES.

(a) VIENNA. TRAU COLLECTION (20). (b) WALTERS ART GALLERY (34). (c) ATHENS. VLASTO COLL. (35).



(b)



(d)



(a)



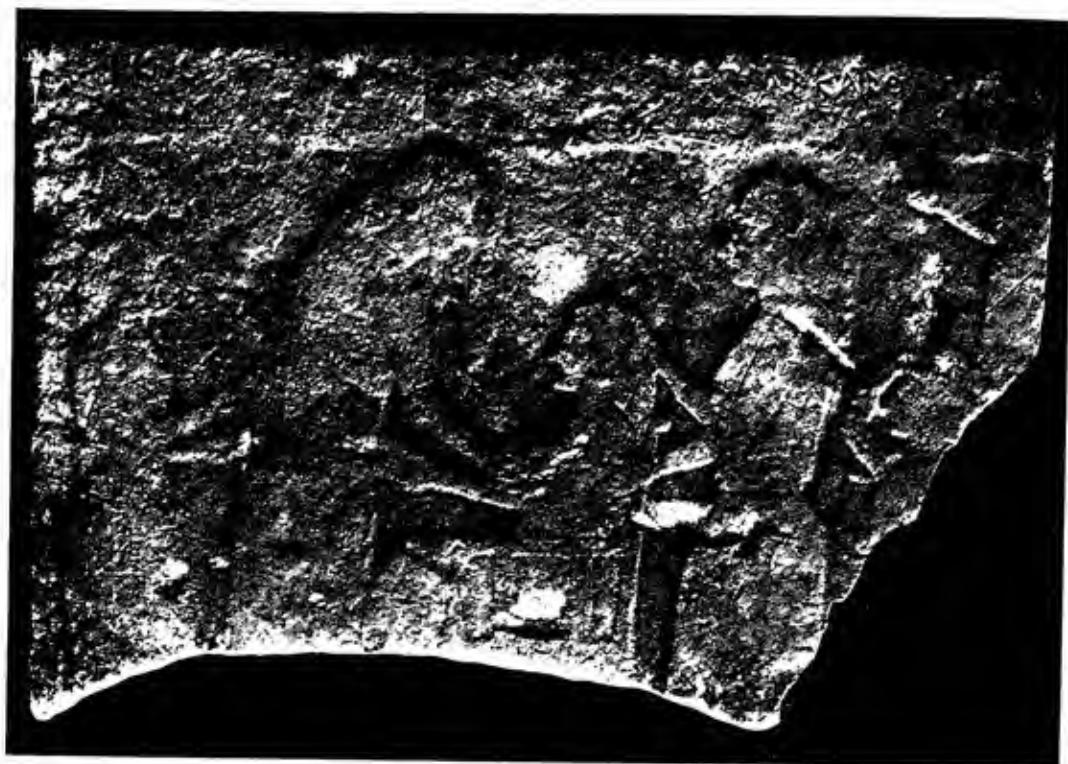
(c)

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(a) FRAGMENT FROM MILETUS (?), IONIA NO. 1 [c. 1:4]. (b) FRAGMENT FROM BOEOTIA, SIDE [c. 1:4]. (d) THE SAME, TOP, SHOWING INSCRIPTION [c. 1:4]. (c) FRAGMENT FROM MILETUS (?), IONIA NO. 2 [c. 1:4].

IKOS M

EM EKATPOHK



(a)



(b)



(c)

## FURTHER COMMENTS ON ARCHAIC GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

(a) KALCHEDON FUNERAL STELA (c. 1: 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Stela; 1: 3, inscription). (b) IG IV 496. (c) FRAGMENT FROM IONIA (?). IONIA No. 3 (c. 1: 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ).



(a)  
VIEW OF HARBOUR FROM THEATRE.



(b)  
VIEW OF HARBOUR FROM CIRCUIT WALL ON EAST.





(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

MARBLES IN HALICARNASSUS: (c) = INSCRIPTION NO. 4.



(d)



(f)



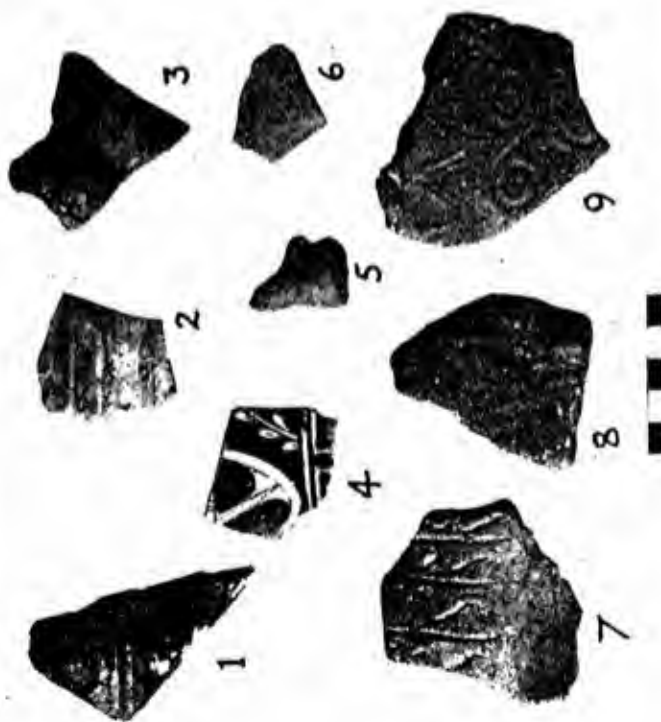
(b)



(a)



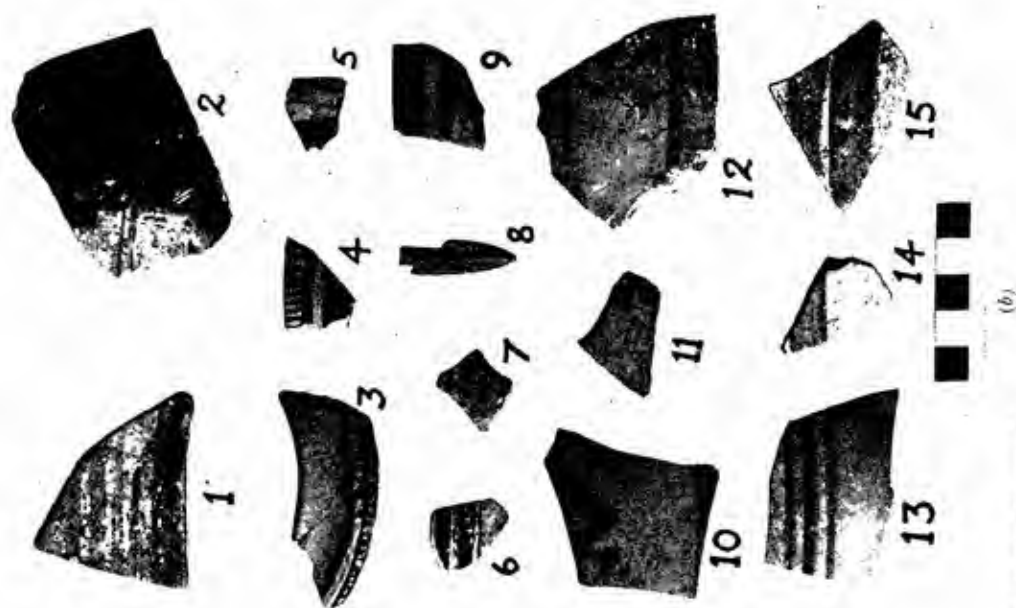
(c)



(e)

OBJECTS FROM HALICARNASSUS AND PENINSULA.

(a) AT BEYTNAR, (b, d) IN HALICARNASSUS, (c, e) SHELDS FROM VARIOUS SITES, (f) AT MAZI  
(INSCRIPTION No. 65).



SHERDS FROM HALICARNASSUS AND SITES ON THE PENINSULA.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

HALICARNASSUS AND PENINSULA.  
 (a) BURGAZ, (b) HALICARNASSUS, (c) KARADAĞ, (d) AT GÖKBEL [INSCRIPTION NO. 67], (e) AT HALICARNASSUS  
 [INSCRIPTION NO. 24].





(c)



(f)



(b)



(e)



(a)



(d)

HALICARNASSUS PENINSULA.

(a-e) WALL, CISTERN AND TOMB AT THEANGELA. (d-f) TUMULUS AND FARMHOUSE EAST OF HALICARNASSUS.



(c)



(b)



(a)



(e)

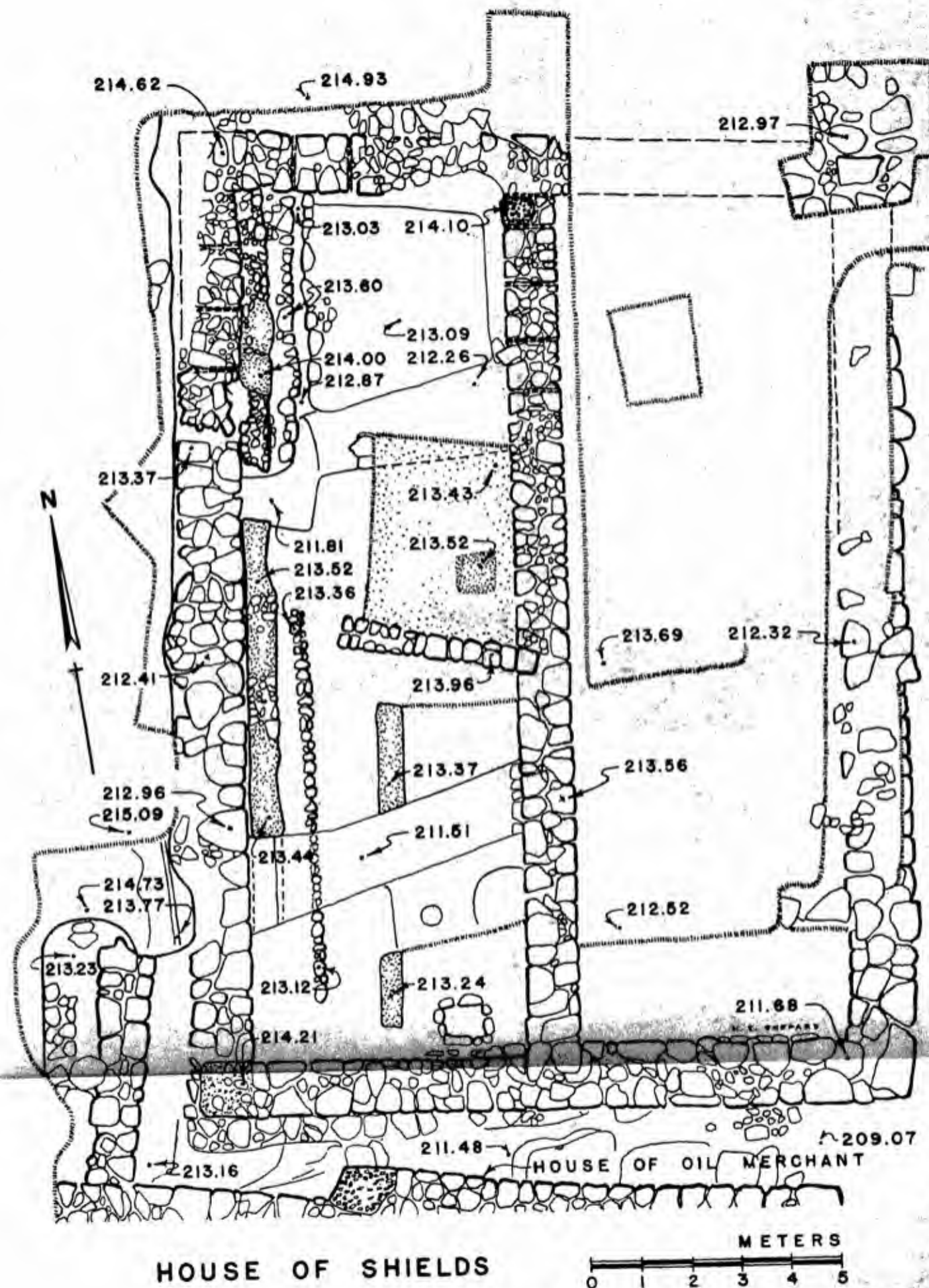
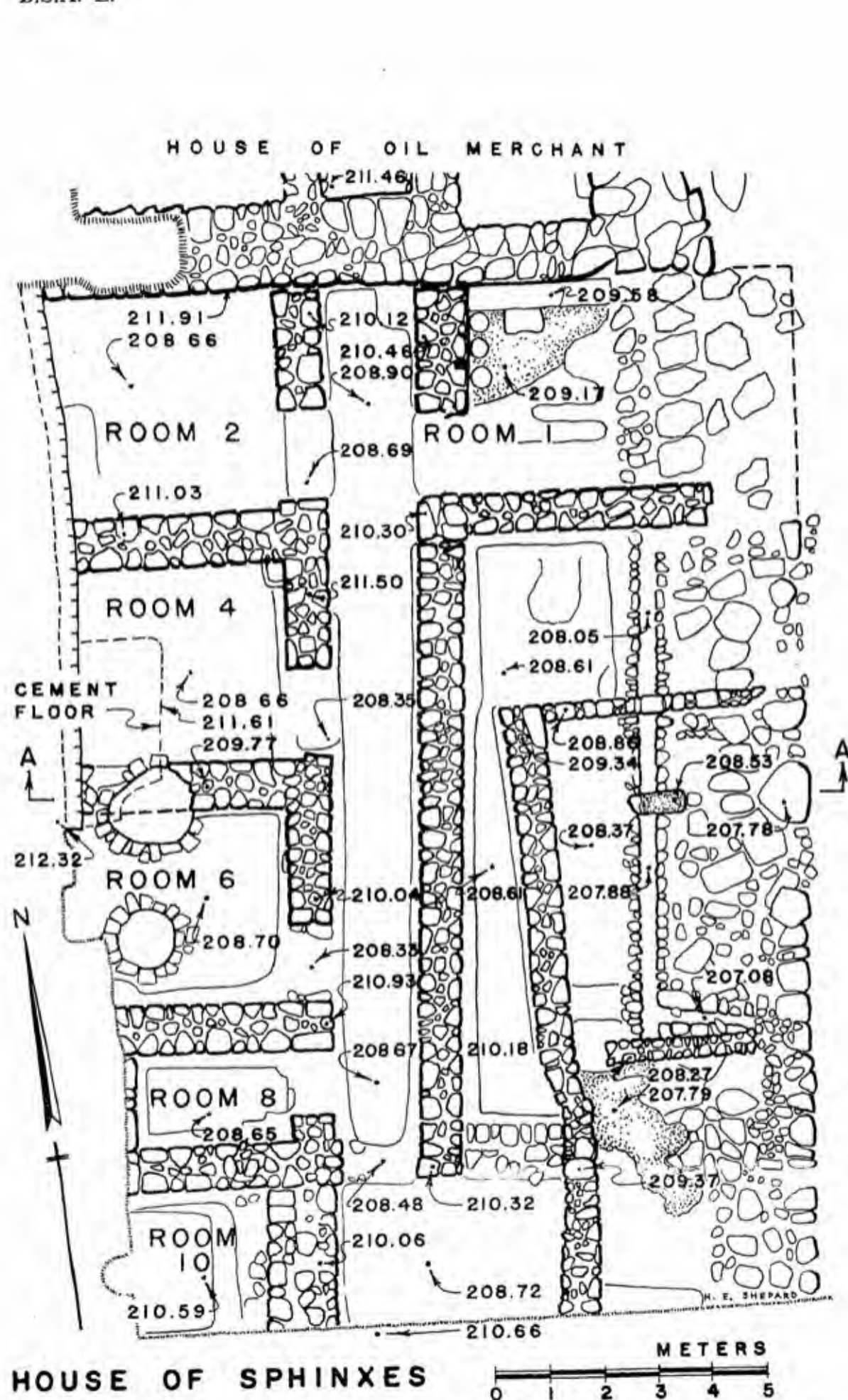


(d)

HALICARNASSUS PENINSULA.

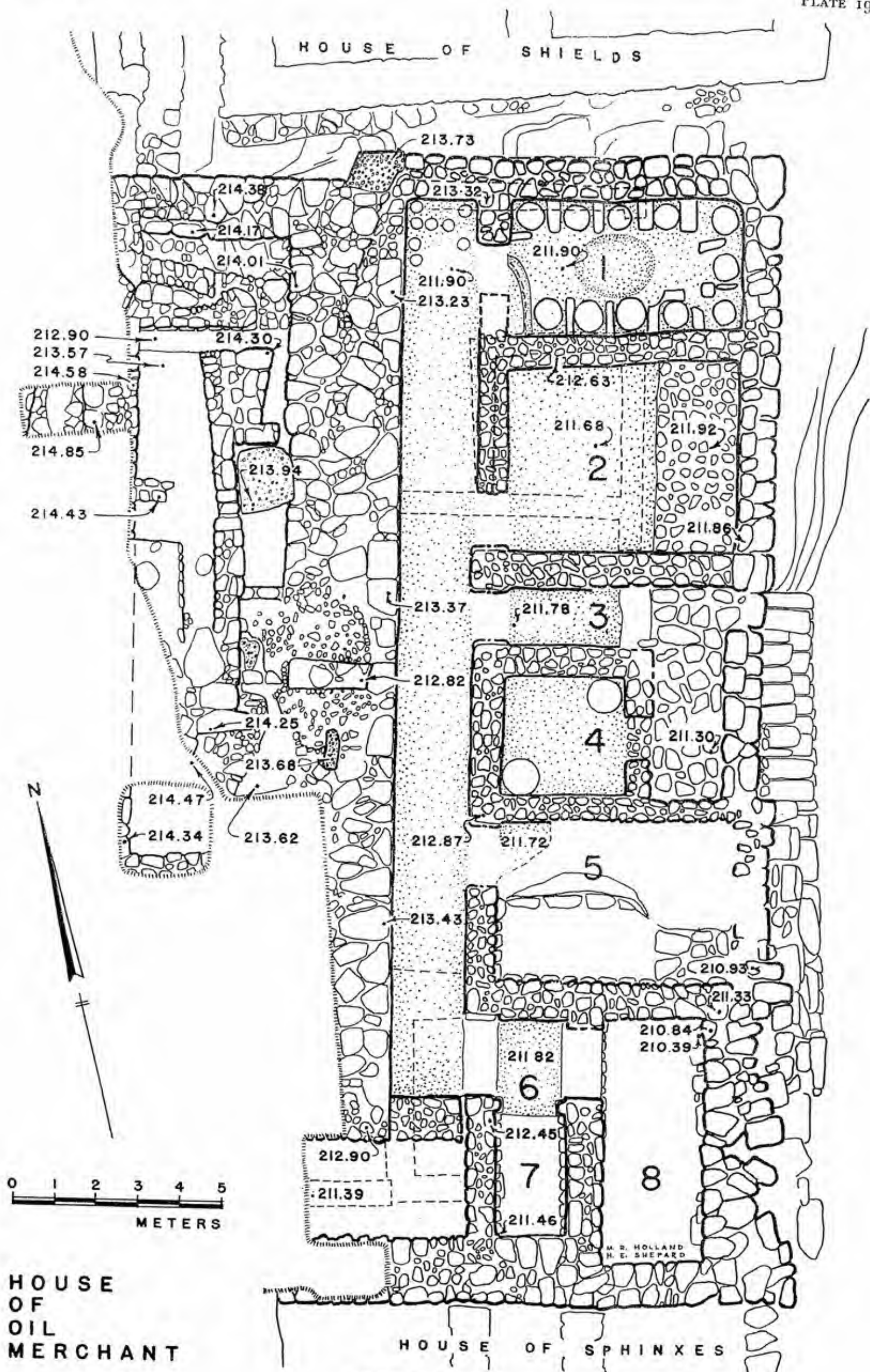
(a-b) QUARRIES AT KOTYNEBABA, (c) GÖL, (d) TOMB AT GÜRCİ, (e) ASARLIK.











FOR KEY SEE FIG. 3, p. 181.





(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

MYCENAE.

CITADEL HOUSE. (a) STOREROOM. (b) IMPORTED AMPHORA. (c) DEEP BOWL, L.H. III C.  
(d) EARTHENWARE TUB.





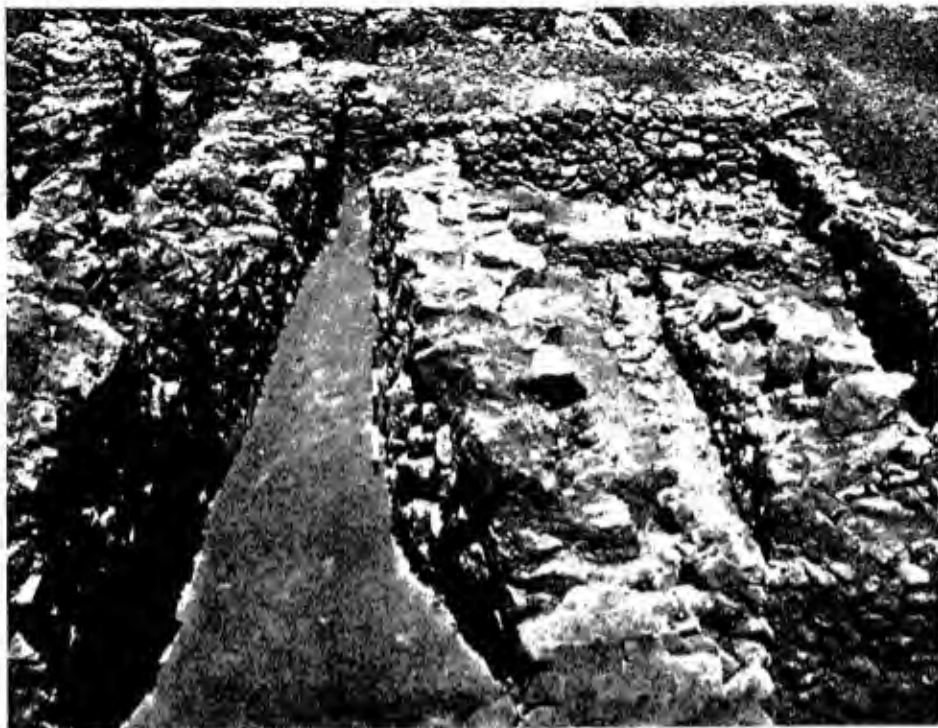
(a)



(b)

MYCENAE.

HOUSE OF SHIELDS. (a) WEST ROOM, WEST WALL WITH BENCH. (b) WEST ROOM,  
SOUTH WALL ALONG LANE.



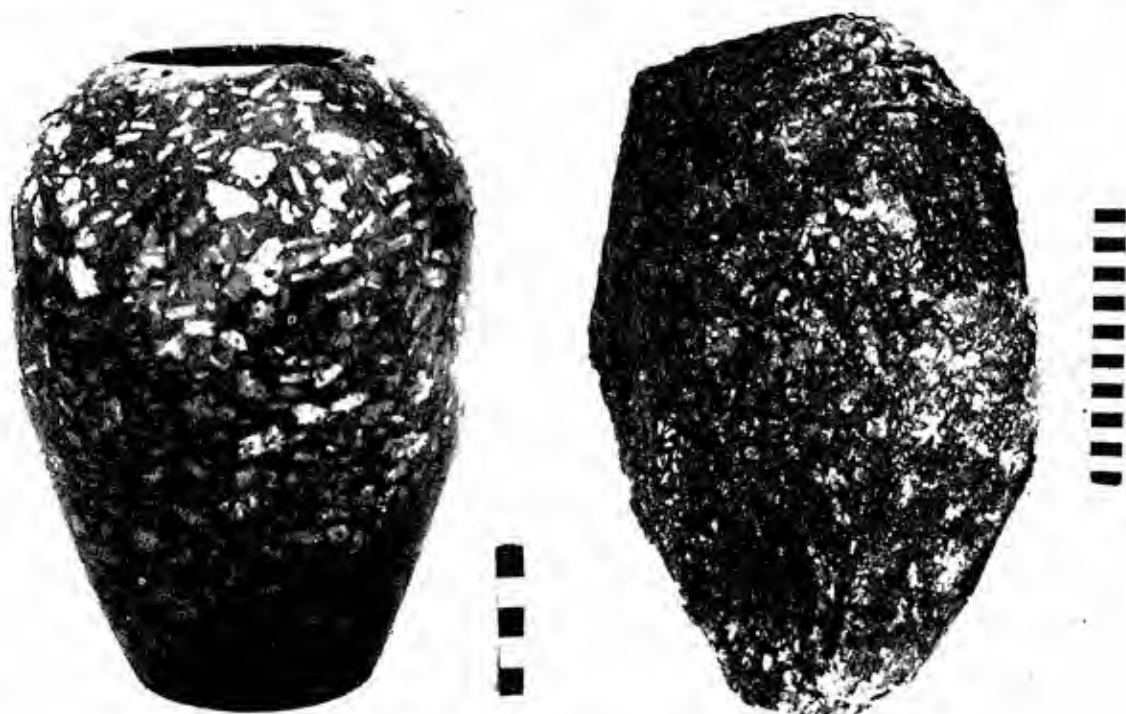
(a)



(b)

MYCENAE.

HOUSE OF SPHINXES. (a) CORRIDOR FROM SOUTH. (b) WEST ROOMS FROM NORTH.



(a)

(c)



(b)

MYCENAE.

HOUSE OF SHIELDS. (a) VASE OF *Lapis Lacedaemonius*. (b) VASE OF *Lapis Lacedaemonius*, BASE INSIDE.  
 SCALE ABOUT 1 : 2. CITADEL. (c) *Lapis Lacedaemonius*, NOUVELLE.



(a)



(b)



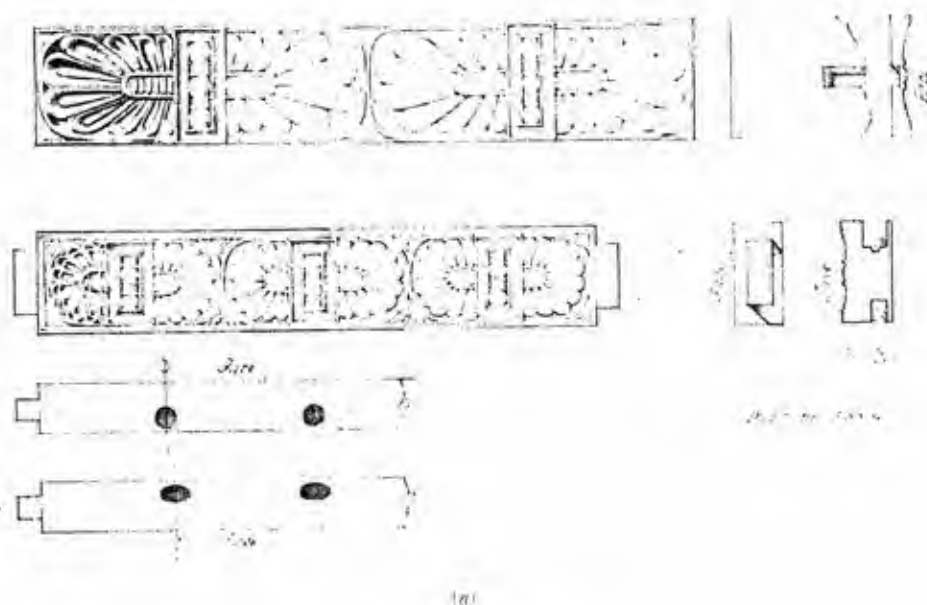
(c)

MYCENAE.

HOUSE OF SHIELDS. STONE VASES, (a) SERPENTINE, (b) LIMESTONE, (c) PUDDING STONE.

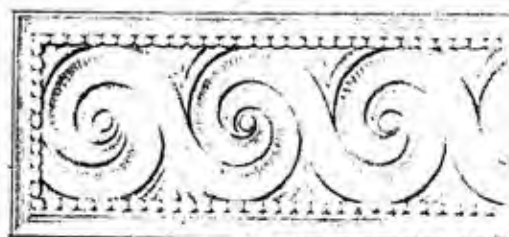




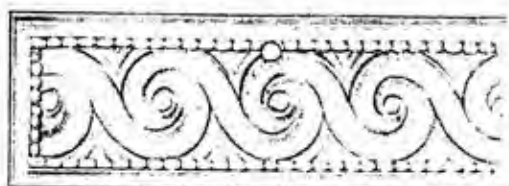
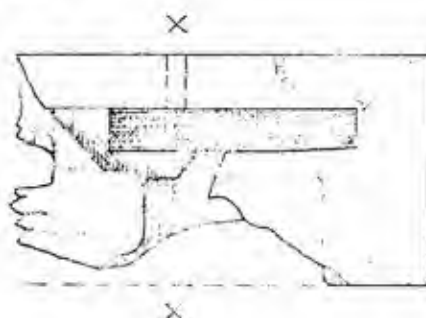


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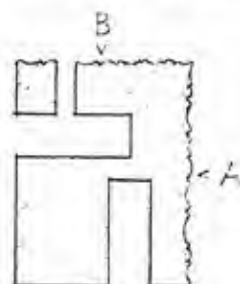
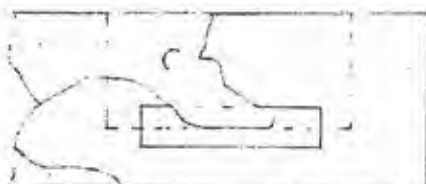
HOUSE OF SHIELDS. (a) (b) IVORY BARS WITH TRIGLYPH PATTERN.



A



B



PIET DE JONG



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

MYCENAE.  
HOUSE OF SPHINXES. (a d) DOMESTIC POTTERY.

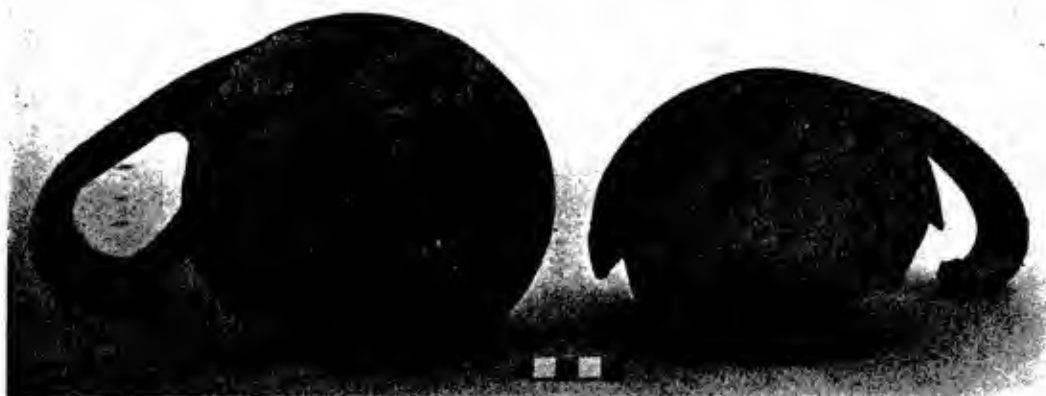




(a)



(b)



(c)

MYCENAE.

HOUSE OF SPHINXES. DOMESTIC POTTERY. (a) DRINKING CUPS, (b) LADLES, (c) STRAINERS.



(a)



(b)



(d)



(c)

## MYCENAE.

HOUSE OF SPHINXES. CARVED IVORIES. (a) (b) SEMI-COLUMNS, (c) IVY LEAF, (d) SHELLS.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

## MYCENAE.

HOUSE OF SPHINXES. (a) HELLENISTIC LATRINE. (b) IVORY PLAQUE. (c) PIRIFORM AMPHORA, L.H. IIIB. (d) ROOM 4, VASES *in situ*.



(b)

(b) RUBBLE WALL BEHIND EAST DROMOS WALL.



(a)

MYCENAE.  
"TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA." (a) DRAIN BELOW THRESHOLD.





(a)



(b)

MYCENAE.

'TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA.'

(a) HELLENISTIC THEATRE ABOVE DROMOS. (b) WEST DROMOS WALL.



(a)

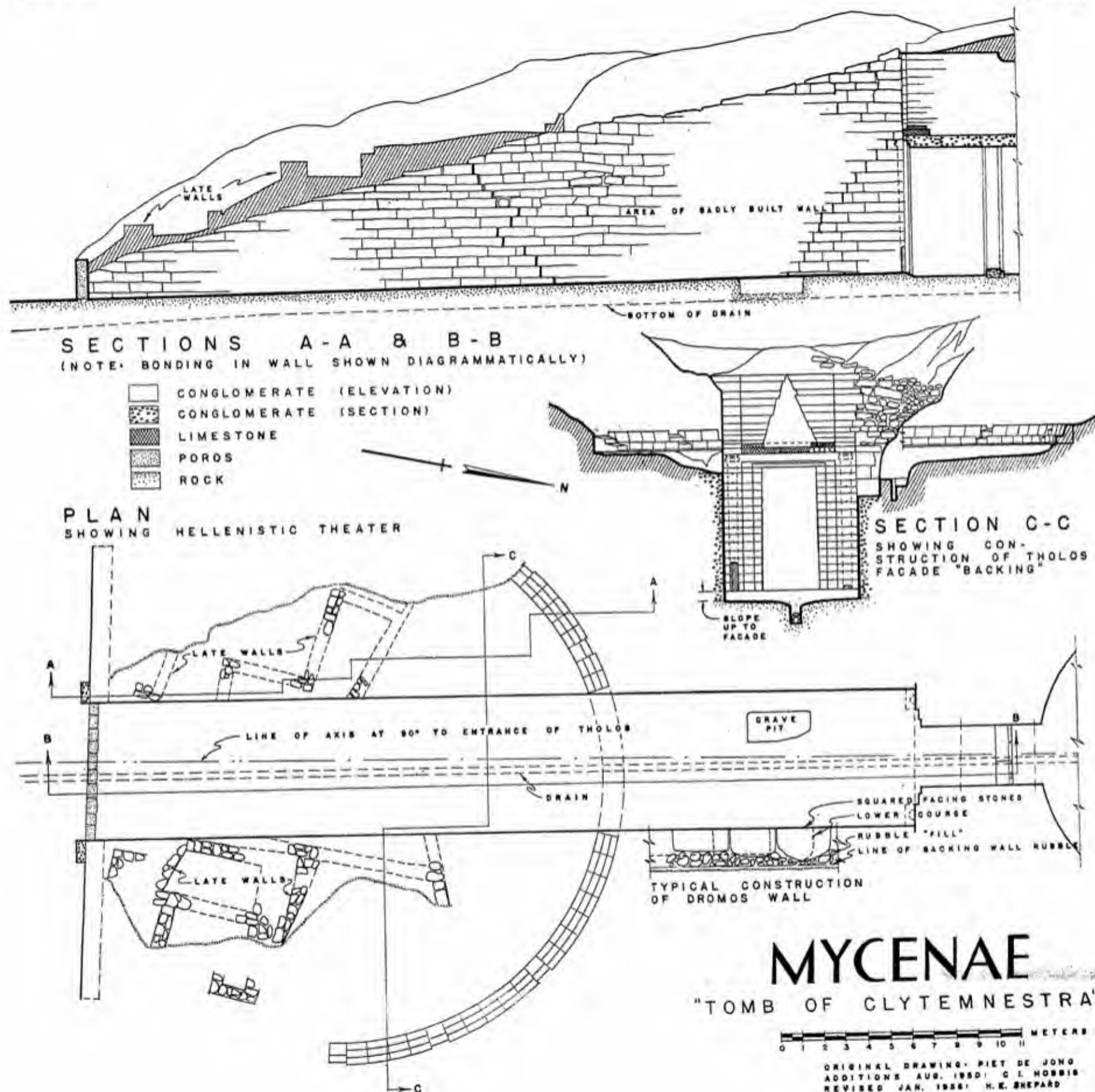


(b)

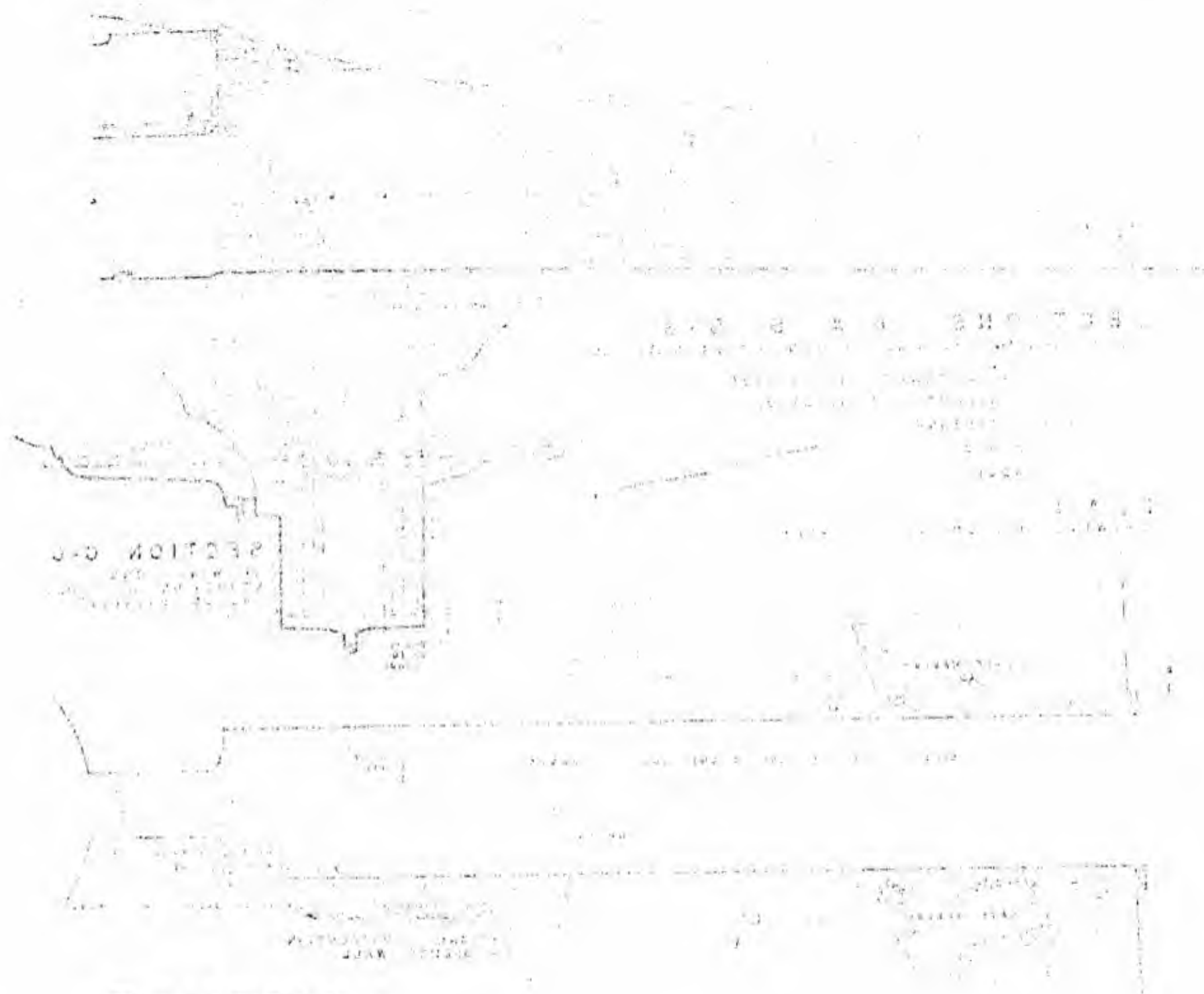
MYCENAE.

‘TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA.’ (a, b) FAÇADE, EAST END.



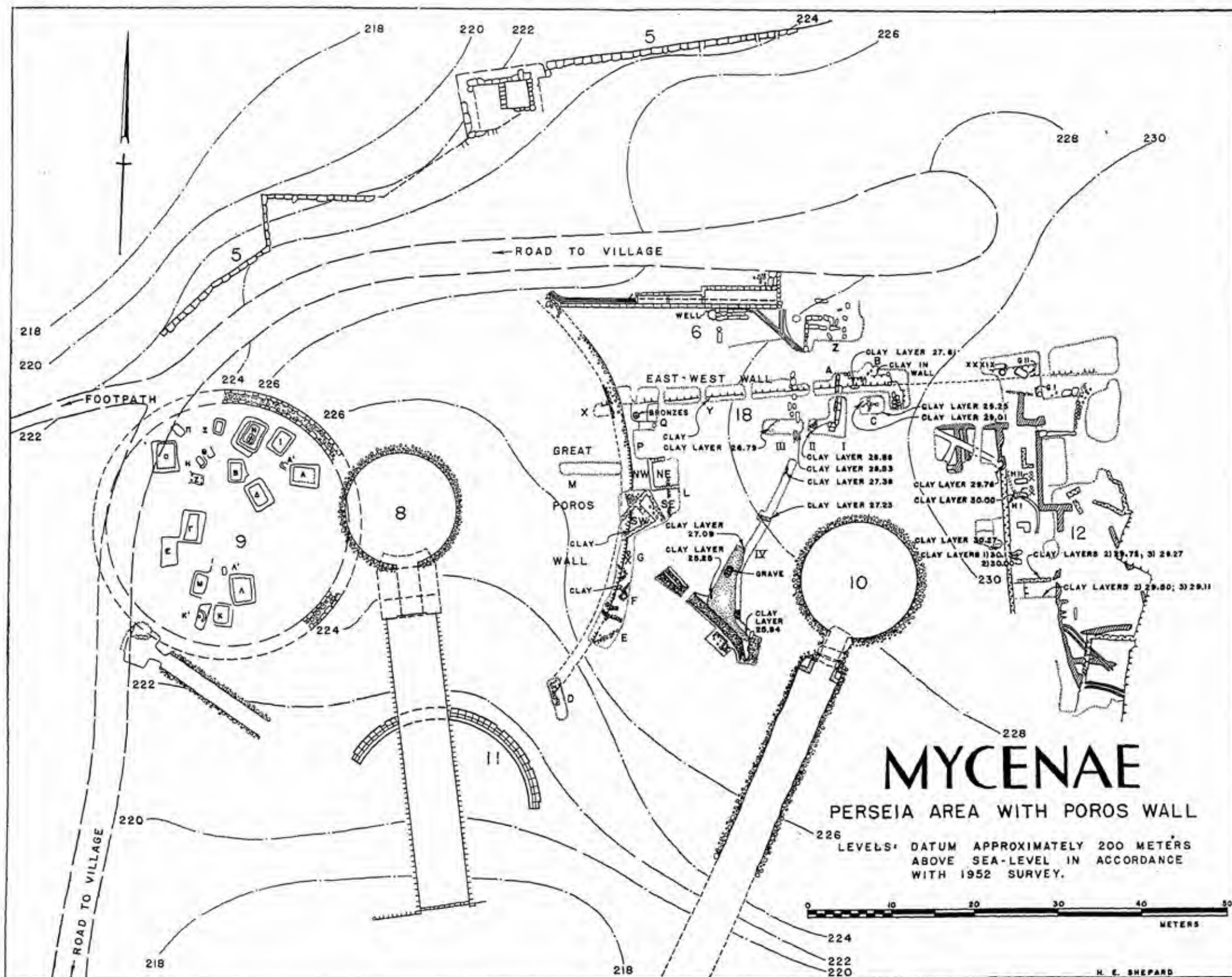






MYCENAE

TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA





MYCENE



(a)



(b)



(c)

## MYCENAE.

(a) AREA Z, FROM EAST—RECTANGULAR BUILDING. (b) AREA Z—STONE WATER CHANNEL UNDER MAIN BASIN OF PERSEIA FOUNTAIN HOUSE. (c) 'TOMB OF ARGISTHUS'—SLOPING CLAY LAYER IN TRENCH III.





(a)

Socket →



(b)



(c)

MYCENAE.

(a) EAST-WEST WALL AREA—LINTEL OR THRESHOLD BLOCK. (b) AREA Z—SOCKET FOR STELA? (c) LENTOID SEAL NO. 7 FROM EAST-WEST WALL AREA.



(a)



(b)



(c)

MYCENAE.

(a) 'TOMB OF AEGISTHUS'—SLABS IN TRENCH II. (b) EAST-WEST WALL, FROM E. (c) DRAWING OF SEAL IMPRESSION ILLUSTRATED IN PLATE 38, r.



(b)



(d)



(a)



(c)

## GREAT POROS WALL, TRENCH L.

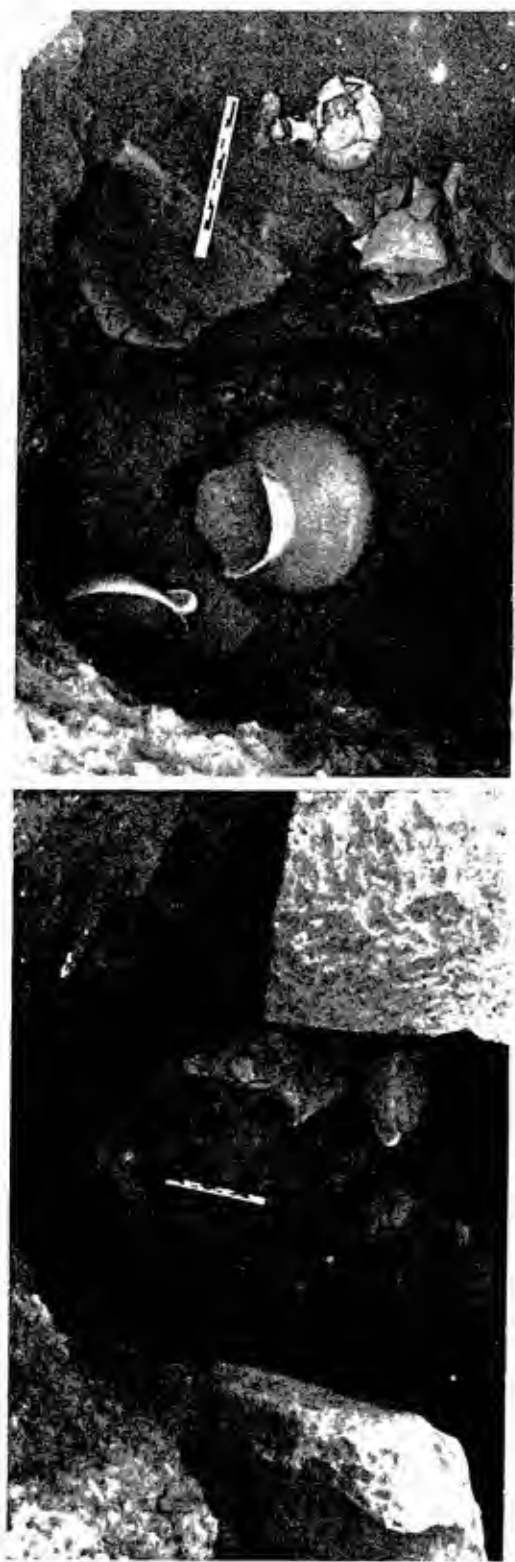
(a) TRENCH L FROM S. (b) N.E. SECTOR—HYDRONIA NO. 27 *in situ*. (c) N.W. SECTOR, SHOWING FOUNDATIONS OF WALL. (d) POROS WALL IN S.W. SECTOR.



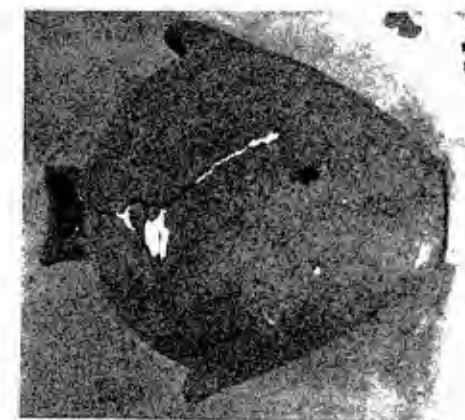
## GREAT POROS WALL.

(a) POROS BLOCKS IN TRENCH E—WALL (i) IN THE FOREGROUND, RIGHT. (b) SKELETON AGAINST WALL IN TRENCH G (FROM THE N.). (c) POROS BLOCKS IN TRENCH D—WALL (k) IN THE FOREGROUND, LEFT.





(a)



(c)



(d)



(e)

## GREAT POROS WALL.

(a) KYLIKES *in situ* ABOVE SKELETON IN TRENCH G. (b) POTTERY *in situ* IN TRENCH L, S.E. SECTOR. (c) HYDRIA No. 27. (d) POROS WALL IN TRENCH F, CROSSED BY WALL (e). (e) STIRRUP-JAR No. 32 *in situ*.



(a)



(b)



(c)

(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)



(h)



(i)

## L.H. III VASES FROM GREAT POROS WALL.

(a) BOWL NO. 8. (b) TWO-HANDLED AMPHORA NO. 34. (c) (d) MINIATURE JUGS NOS. 5 AND 35. (e) (f) TWO-HANDLED JARS NOS. 20 AND 76. (g) TWO-HANDLED CUP NO. 15. (h) ANGULAR BOWL NO. 13. (i) PEDESTALLED BOWL NO. 29.



(a)

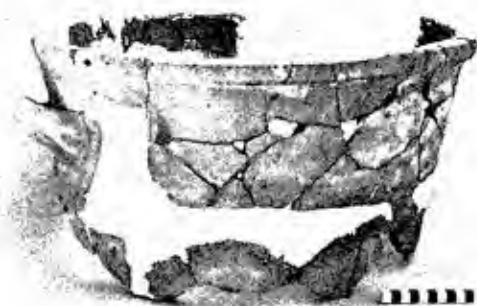
(b)



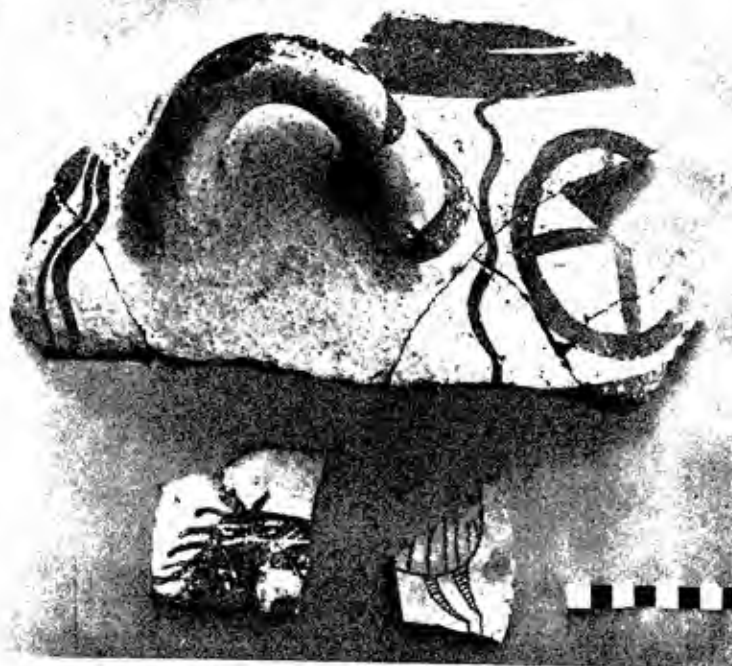
(c)



(d)



(e)



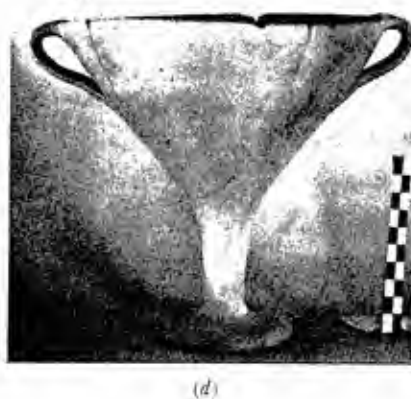
(f)

(g)

(h)

## L.H. III VASES FROM GREAT POROS WALL.

(a) (b) STIRRUP-JARS NOS. 33 AND 64. (c) THREE-HANDLED JAR NO. 47. (d) TANKARD NO. 41. (e) LARGE TUB NO. 46.  
 (f) (g) (h) KRATER FRAGMENTS NOS. 37, 78, AND 21.



## I.H. III VASES FROM GREAT POROS WALL.

(a) (b) DOMESTIC JARS NOS. 51 AND 67. (c) STIRRUP-JAR No. 32. (d) KYLIX No. 70. (e) KYLIX No. 26. (f) MEG No. 57. (g) STIRRUP-JAR No. 24.





(a)



(b)



(c)

MYCENAE. THREE GEOMETRIC GRAVES.

(a) G 603, (b) PG 602, (c) G 603.



(f)



(e)



(d)

MYCENAE. THREE GEOMETRIC GRAVES.

(a) 54-263. (b) 54-264. (c) 54-220. (d) 54-269. (e) 54-270. (f) 54-219.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

MYCENAE. THREE GEOMETRIC GRAVES.

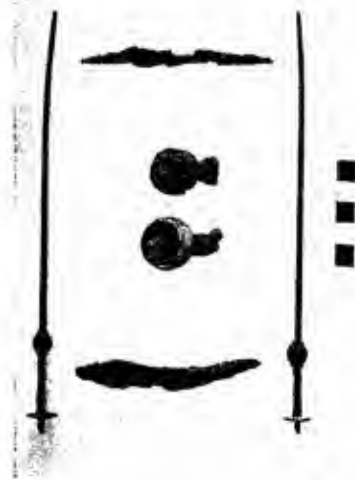
(a) 54-267. (b) 54-261. (c) 54-266. (d) 54-265. (e) 54-268. (f) 54-262.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(f)

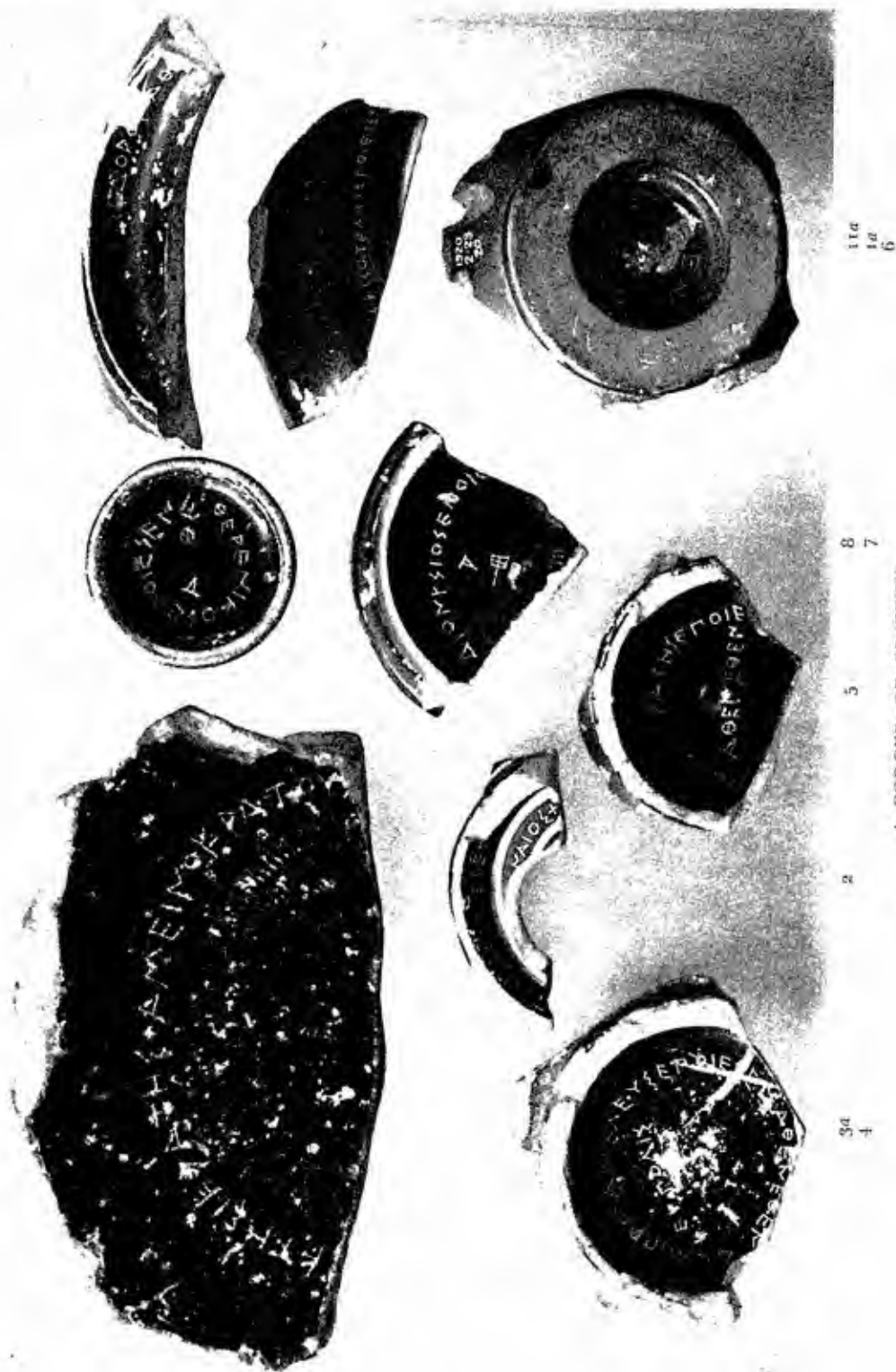


(d)

## MYCENAE. THREE GEOMETRIC GRAVES.

(a) 54-214. (b) 54-213. (c) 54-215-218. (d) 54-212. (e) 54-211. (f) 54-161-164.







A FORGER OF GRAFFITI.  
SHARDS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. SCALE 2:3.



17  
23

15  
19

21

20

A FORGER OF GRAFFITI.

SHERDS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. SCALE 2:3.

16  
22  
18



26



31



29a



30a



25



28



29b



30b

## A FORGER OF GRAFFITI.

- 25 CAMBRIDGE, MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY. 26 ALEXANDRIA. 28 CAMBRIDGE. 29 ATHENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM.  
30, 31 HALLÉ, PROFESSOR PERK.  
25, 29, 30, 31: SCALE ABOUT 2 : 3.







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